

INTERACT – RESEARCHING THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS’ INTEGRATION AS A THREE-WAY PROCESS - IMMIGRANTS, COUNTRIES OF EMIGRATION AND COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION AS ACTORS OF INTEGRATION

Co-financed by the European Union

The Educational integration of migrants. What is the role of sending society actors and is there a transnational educational field?

Dirk Jacobs

INTERACT Research Report 2013/03

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Integration

Research Report
Position Paper
INTERACT RR2013/03

The Educational Integration of Migrants.
What is the Role of Sending Society Actors
and is there a Transnational Educational Field?

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If cited or quoted, reference should be made as follows:

Dirk Jacobs, The Educational Integration of Migrants. What is the Role of Sending Society Actors and is there a Transnational Educational Field?, INTERACT RR 2013/03, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, 2013.

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INTERACT - Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration

Around 25 million persons born in a third country (TCNs) are currently living in the European Union (EU), representing 5% of its total population. Integrating immigrants, i.e. allowing them to participate in the host society at the same level as natives, is an active, not a passive, process that involves two parties, the host society and the immigrants, working together to build a cohesive society.

Policy-making on integration is commonly regarded as primarily a matter of concern for the receiving state, with general disregard for the role of the sending state. However, migrants belong to two places: first, where they come and second, where they now live. While integration takes place in the latter, migrants maintain a variety of links with the former. New means of communication facilitating contact between migrants and their homes, globalisation bringing greater cultural diversity to host countries, and nation-building in source countries seeing expatriate nationals as a strategic resource have all transformed the way migrants interact with their home country.

INTERACT project looks at the ways governments and non-governmental institutions in origin countries, including the media, make transnational bonds a reality, and have developed tools that operate economically (to boost financial transfers and investments); culturally (to maintain or revive cultural heritage); politically (to expand the constituency); legally (to support their rights).

INTERACT project explores several important questions: To what extent do policies pursued by EU member states to integrate immigrants, and policies pursued by governments and non-state actors in origin countries regarding expatriates, complement or contradict each other? What effective contribution do they make to the successful integration of migrants and what obstacles do they put in their way?

A considerable amount of high-quality research on the integration of migrants has been produced in the EU. Building on existing research to investigate the impact of origin countries on the integration of migrants in the host country remains to be done.

INTERACT is co-financed by the European Union and is implemented by a consortium built by CEDEM, UPF and MPI Europe.

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Abstract

It is well documented that in most European countries migrants have lower educational attainment levels than natives. Access to education for migrant children is almost universally guaranteed in the EU, but this does not automatically equate to access to adapted education, taking into account specific needs linked to socio-economic disadvantages and linguistic challenges. Furthermore, social and ethnic school segregation constitutes a serious barrier towards access to good education for migrant children. Sending society actors seem to have only a limited impact on the educational integration of migrant children in destination countries, but initiatives like diaspora schools constitute one strategy to try and improve the educational outcomes of migrant children. The scientific literature has only given limited space to the potential role played by sending society actors for access to good education for migrant children. The Interact-project should aim to cover this field and assess whether the role played by sending society actors has not unjustly been overlooked.

1. Introduction to the field of research, identifying main issues

We were requested to focus this position paper on how actors in the sending societies (might) influence optimal participation in education of children from migrant backgrounds (originating from third countries). This is a relatively new kind of question, as most research has focused on assessing migrant educational achievement and explaining outcome differences with the non-migrant population in countries of destination, with little importance given to sending country effects. It is well documented in the PISA-studies that, in most EU countries, children with a migrant background have a lower level of educational attainment than non-migrant children (OECD, 2010). A substantial part of the differences between migrant and non-migrant pupils is related to socio-economic status and the language spoken at home (Hanushek & Wössmann, 2011, Jacobs & Rea, 2011; Schneeweis, 2011; Entorf & Lauk, M., 2008 ; Rangvid, 2007 & Ammermüller, 2007 ; Cobb-Clark *et alii*, 2012). Above and beyond this pattern at the individual level there seems to be school related and educational system related factors such as the presence or absence of early tracking and the level of academic or socio-economic segregation all of which plays a role (Hanushek & Wössmann, 2006 ; Jacobs & Rea, 2011; Cobb-Clark *et alii*, 2012). As access to education for migrant children is almost universally guaranteed in the EU, the issue at stake is whether they have (equal) access to good education, taking into account their individual and collective needs. Research consistently suggests that school segregation is one of the major obstacles to equal educational opportunities. Social and ethnic school segregation is something actors from sending societies have little effect on. However, if they deem that the educational opportunities offered in the receiving society are insufficient, they may focus on alternative strategies. One of these can be to create or subsidize diaspora schools. A case in point is the creation of diaspora schools in the Netherlands and Belgium by the Turkish community: the *Hizmet* movement, as it is called, was inspired by the teachings of Islamic scholar Fettullah Gülen. A transnational alliance of businessmen and intellectuals, sharing a similar set of societal and religious convictions in accordance with the *Hizmet* philosophy, have created and financed (elite type) schools for Turkish origin children whom they consider not well catered for in receiving societies. It is worth investigating to what extent governments of sending countries or non-governmental actors from sending countries monitor the educational achievement of their diaspora abroad and what kind of strategies they develop to counter problems.

In some countries the presence of migrant children and their residential concentration has led to specific educational efforts targeted towards these children. In countries like Sweden and the Netherlands programs for bilingual teaching (also in the language of the country of origin) were developed in the 1970s and 1980s. However, they have been severely reduced in the last years. Development of this special education in the “language and culture of the country of origin” has often also been done in cooperation with sending countries. A series of countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg and Spain) have bilateral agreements with sending countries on migrant education about the language and culture of the country of origin.

Another area for efforts in international coordination lies in the field of curricula and degree recognition. In order to assure the better inclusion of adult emigrants in their countries of destination, sending countries might invest in equivalence (and recognition) of their scholarly programmes with international standards. On the European level the Bologna process is supposed to create this alignment within the EU, but obviously the readability and transferability of degrees is a topic with a wider international relevance.

All these topics have to our knowledge until now only received limited scholarly attention.

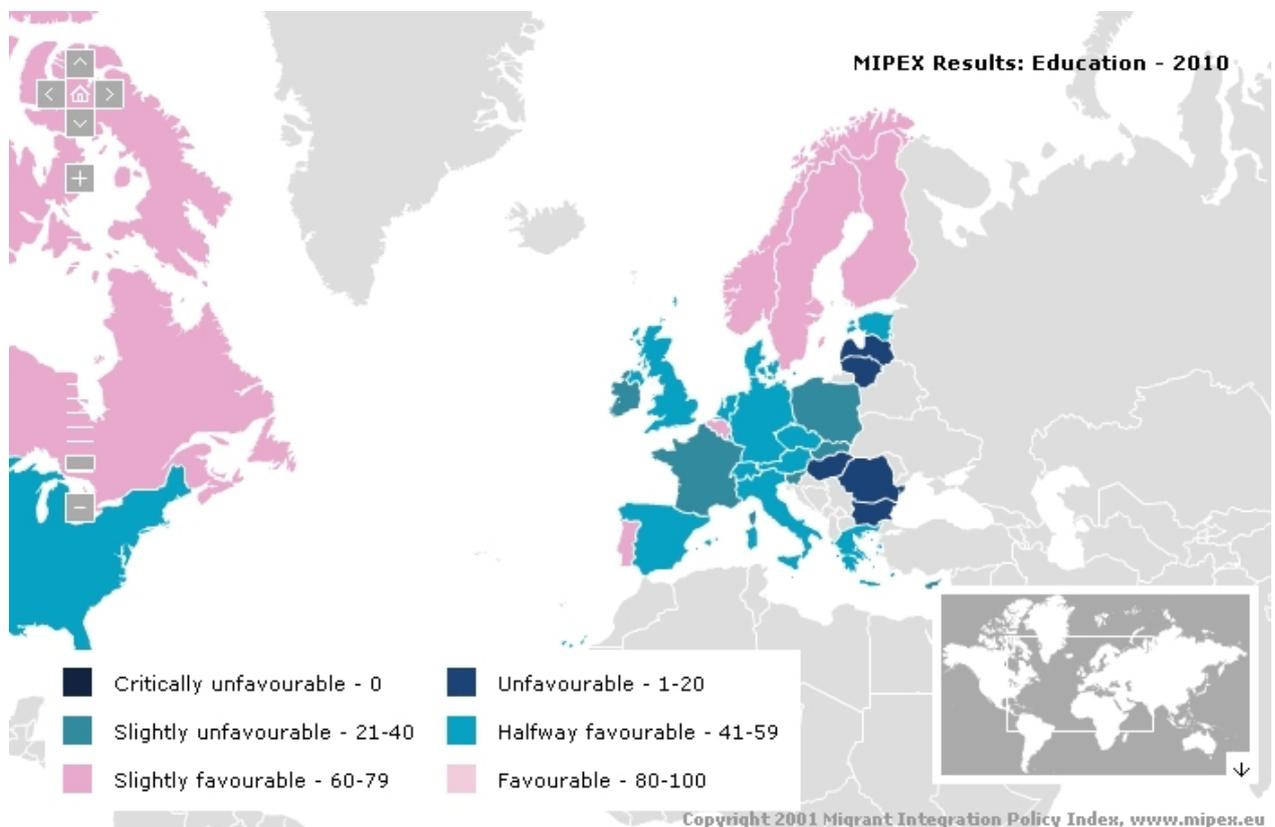
2. Methodology used in research in the field

As already stated, the focus of this position paper is not on country of origin effects on the educational attainment levels of migrants but rather on *access* to (good) education and the role played in this by sending society actors. The topic has rarely been studied in a direct manner. Most focus has been on the educational attainment levels of migrants and the reasons for the existence of a performance gap between migrant and native pupils.

Analytically we can distinguish efforts by sending society actors on receiving society actors to put into place inclusive educational systems for migrant children on the one hand and efforts by sending society actors to provide themselves educational support to migrant children in the diaspora. It should be borne in mind that these efforts do not tell us anything about the effectiveness of educational outcomes of migrant children.

The main methodological approaches in researching integration in education is the use of large scale survey data, mostly internationally comparative data-sets such as PISA. This data partly allows the scholar to individuate the influence of societies of origin on educational attainment. But the research was not specifically designed for this. For the particular question at hand for this position paper, *access to education*, there are overview studies such as MIPEX (Huddleston & Niessen, 2011). However, these do not allow any investigation of the impact of origin society actors. The MIPEX study does give a good overview of the situation with regard to access to education for migrant children across Europe. Making use of a set of indicators (based on expert judgments), it allows us to rank countries with regard to the degree of openness of the educational system towards migrant pupils. The figure below gives a synthetic overview for 2010. Full details on indicators, methodology and results can be found on the MIPEX website: www.mipex.eu.

Figure 1. Score on the educational strand of the Migrant Integration Policy Index



Source: <http://www.mipex.eu>, last consulted 03-11-2013

MIPEX only provides indicators on countries of destination, not on countries of origin. To the best of our knowledge there is no comparable database available for monitoring the efforts of countries of origin to influence educational outcomes among diaspora children. One exception is the EURYDICE (2009) study on provisions for the teaching of language and culture of the country of origin on the European level.

There are a number of (mainly) descriptive case studies on transnationalism, diaspora and education in which some interest is given on the effect of actors of societies of origin but most of the time only in a superficial manner. We equally found a number of economic articles simulating country of origin effects in their models, without, however, using actual data (for instance Bertoli & Brücker, 2011). It seems safe to conclude that there is currently no encompassing study that systematically addresses country of origin effects: that is they do not tackle the issue from the perspective of sending society actors' mobilization around education.

We should, however, also critically reflect on to what extent such a study will actually shed further light on the educational inclusion of migrant children in other countries. Indeed, one needs to ask to what extent actors in the sending country are even theoretically in a position to influence educational outcomes of diaspora children in important ways. The INTERACT study is important in investigating this issue, both from a theoretical as well as from an empirical perspective.

3. Discussion of the literature: focus on the role of the country of origin

In most of the literature (see Levels & Dronkers, 2008; Kanas & Van Tubergen, 2009 ; Levels, Dronkers & Kraaykamp, 2010), the main focus is on the country of origin effect in the educational attainment of migrants. This means that when all other factors are held constant (country of destination, individual characteristics) there are still significant differences to be observed depending on what country a migrant originates from. Furthermore, the potential impact of a number of country characteristics are examined: GDP, growth, MIPEX-score, political stability, democracy, etc.. In these studies, there is no direct examination of what role meso-actors or micro-actors play in determining these macro-level country of origin effects. In indirect ways some of this literature does, however, raise some points pertaining to the role played by sending society actors and its consequences for educational attainment levels.

As Kanas & van Tubergen (2009) point out many immigrants in Europe come from developing countries and are, therefore, often less educated than natives. Furthermore, the skills or degrees immigrants have acquired in their countries of origin are often less valued than skills or degrees obtained in the host country because they would be “of lower quality, difficult to transfer, or employers are more uncertain about these skills” (Kanas & van Tubergen, 2009). Obviously, countries have an interest in keeping the people in whose education they have invested. If individuals pursue their further education abroad, countries have an interest in being able to attract them to come back to their country of origin, send remittances or invest through other means. Of course, sending countries can adapt their educational systems to international standards to facilitate the recognition of degrees and skills abroad – if only in terms of accountability and possibilities of evaluation – but this does also entail some the risk of facilitating brain drain. High level migration can, however, also bring benefits to sending societies, for instance through the importance of remittances. Receiving countries on their part have an interest in attracting a migrant population that has an added value in solving shortages on the labour market without having to invest too much in additional training. It has been shown in the Immigrant Citizen Survey (Jacobs & Callier, 2012) in a number of European cities that migrants are often overqualified for the jobs they do and would benefit from recognition of foreign degrees and skills: some migrant talent is not used in an optimal manner.

Education increases levels of cultural capital and enhances possibilities for the socio-economic integration of migrants. Van Tubergen & van de Werfhorst (2007) point out that in many studies insufficient distinction is made between pre-migration and post-migration schooling. In a study on

Dutch data Kanas & Van Tubergen (2009) make three contributions to the literature: (1) they use direct measures for origin and host-country schooling; (2) they examine whether the returns to pre-migration schooling differ between immigrant groups and the region of living; and (3) they test the claim that host-country schooling has mainly a positive effect on immigrant economic outcome because of increased social capital in the host society. They concluded that residential concentrations have no impact and that the positive effect of host-country schooling on economic outcome is of a direct nature, not mediated by increased social capital. In addition, other studies (Jacobs & Batista, 2012) have shown that social and ethnic segregation on the school level pushes performance levels of migrant students down.

We did not come across literature addressing, in a systematic way, the issue of what actors in the sending country do to overcome the identified difficulties for educational attainment of children in the diaspora. We propose the Interact project would, above all for pragmatic reasons, focus on initiatives by state actors in sending states and investigate their prevalence, using the MIPEx procedure and EURIDICY report as an inspiration for data-gathering. The following issues should be minimally addressed:

- a) Are there bilateral or multilateral agreements on education and what are they about?
- b) Do state actors financially support and/or monitor schools abroad?
- c) Do state actors keep track of educational integration of its diaspora abroad? Are there indicators or monitoring?
- d) Does the educational system adapt itself to international standards (transferable credits, syllabi, program content) in order to facilitate student mobility?
- e) Do state actors provide funding for student mobility? (What form does it take? What are the conditions?)
- f) Does the educational system have formal and informal contacts with the educational system of receiving societies?
- g) Is there an agency or policy that improves the educational attainment of expatriates?
- h) Do state actors provide advice to emigrants on strategies for good schooling for their children abroad?

4. Proposed theoretical framework

When addressing the central research question, we should first of all distinguish whether we are focussing on adult migrants or on migrant children. Migrant children will attend a significant proportion of their educational trajectory in the destination country. They have either have acquired some schooling in the country of origin or they did all their formal schooling in the country of destination. In the case of migrant children, we should, hence, also take into account generation and age of migration. Some children will not have undertaken a migration during their life course. But they will be highly influenced by the migrant status of their parents in their quest for integration in their society. Children that did undertake a migration, did so in the framework of family reunification or as a family member – with the exception of unaccompanied minors: here the age of migration (and the number of years of schooling in origin and destination countries) is of particular importance.

A second analytical distinction to be made concerns the scope of transnational actions. A transnational analytical framework, as Erel (2012) describes it, “makes a case for researching migrants as participants in two societies, within a globalizing system, focusing on migrants’ social relationships and positionings as ‘fluid and dynamic’ (Glick Schiller *et alii*, 1992)”. Sending society actors may opt to try and influence receiving society actors to put into place inclusive educational systems for migrant children; in such a case the final responsibility remains in the hands of actors in the receiving society. This kind of action is not really transnational in scope. Or they might attempt to provide educational

support to migrant children in the diaspora. In this case we can speak about a transnational educational network. With regard to sending society actors trying to promote access to (better) education, we should distinguish: the high level international mobility of expats (and the creation of international schools); and diaspora efforts in creating their own educational infrastructure in destination countries with the help of actors from the sending society. Indeed, there is quite a difference between providing access to good education for richer expat children, by means of (often) expensive and good quality international (private) schools or private tutoring; and better educational inclusion for migrant children in less socio-economically privileged positions. Diaspora groups may wish to organize their own schools, either to ensure specific cultural or religious education (e.g. Jewish schools); to keep links with the host society; or because migrant (sub)groups wish to strengthen their human capital and are disappointed by the “standard” education on offer (e.g. the Turkish schools of the *Hizmet* movement).

A third analytical distinction to be made concerns the type of mobilising actor: state or non-state. Different kinds of actors can be analytically distinguished. Here we can move gradually from the micro to the macro level: family members, transnational social networks, religious, political or socio-cultural organisations, government actors and international political venues. With regard to sending society actors trying to influence receiving society actors we should distinguish diplomatic and state centred endeavours (bilateral talks, international agreements, etc.) from non-state actors (NGOs, religious communities, media) trying to influence actors in other countries. An important aspect for state centered endeavours is the existence of the European Council Convention on the protection of regional and national languages (1995), even though in the European context it does not always have consequences for children of third-country national background.

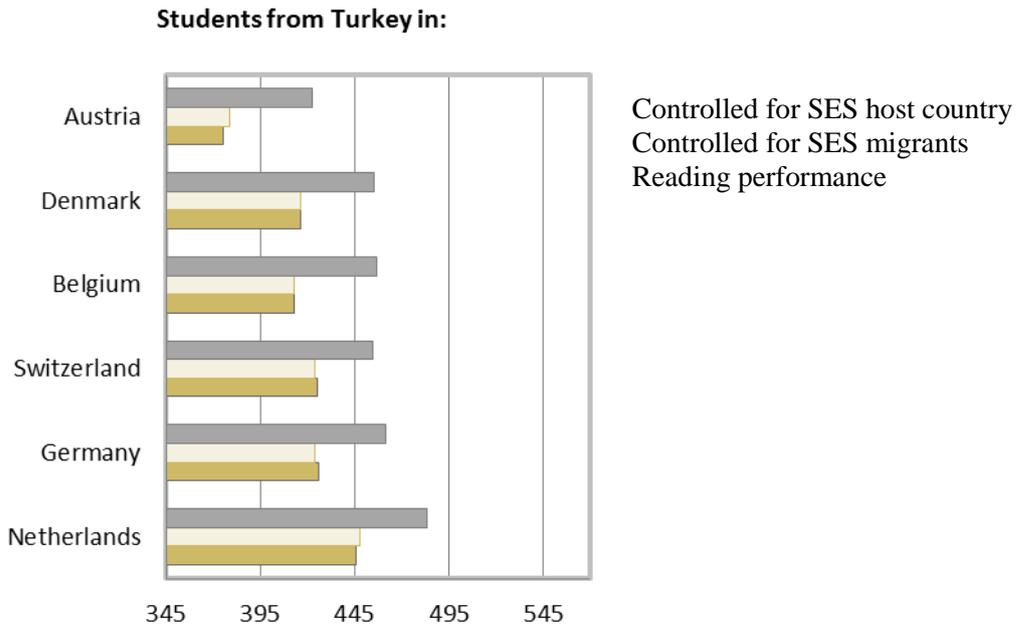
A fourth analytical distinction to be made is to what extent migration was undertaken for the deliberate purpose of enhancing educational capital of individuals (or not?). A special case is the international market for (higher) education (Sze Yin Ho & Sok Foon, 2012), where children of the elite of developing countries are sent away to pursue top (higher) education abroad. It should be noted in this context that the increased interest by Asian – notably Chinese – students for western education – seen as an instrument to secure access to “top jobs” (Waters, 2005) – and the need to have some benchmarks for decision making, has contributed to the international ranking systems for higher education institutions (Dehon *et alii*, 2008).

It would be interesting to take into account all dimensions. We propose, though, that for pragmatic reasons the Interact project focus on state actor initiatives and pursue an exhaustive inventory of all actions targeted towards migrant children and adult migrants. If time permits, this could be expanded with investigating initiatives by non-state actors, mainly NGOs and organizations active on the meso-level.

5. Case studies: identify, in the given field, a relevant research case and draw conclusions

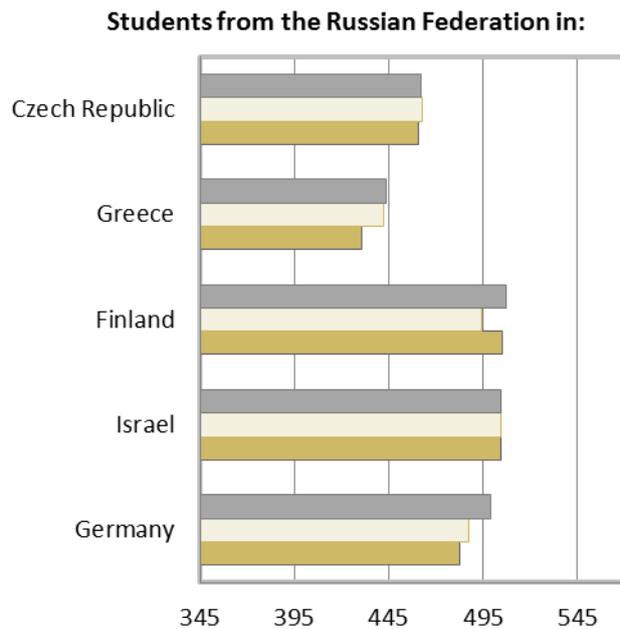
Impact of the country of origin on PISA scores

Figure 2: Mean reading score for Turkish origin students in selected countries, PISA 2009 controlling for the SES of the host country and controlling for SES migrants (Source: OECD, 2009)



Source: PISA 2009, OECD, "Surmonter le milieu social"

Figure 3: Mean reading score for Russian origin students in selected countries, PISA 2009, controlling for SES of the host country and controlling for SES migrants (Source: OECD, 2009)



Migrants from the same origin countries do not achieve the same educational outcomes in different destination countries. This can be illustrated by focussing on achievement levels by Turkish and Russian origin pupils in different countries highlighted in the latest PISA-studies (PISA, 2009). Obviously, we cannot automatically assume that students from the same country of origin share the same characteristics from one country of destination to another. Patterns of migration (for instance chain migration due to social networks, linked to particular demographic characteristics) might be different for particular groups in the country of origin and they might prefer different countries of destination. Furthermore, selectivity of migration policies in countries of destination might be different. Nevertheless, the empirical results show persistent differences once we control for the socio-economic status of migrant groups and the host country.

Some authors have also highlighted country of origin and community effects on attainment levels (see Levels & Dronkers, 2008; Levels, Dronkers & Kraaykamp, 2010). These studies are laudable. But they are also extremely complicated and methodologically sophisticated and they run the risk of overstressing what is possible with the PISA-data set. We should be careful with sweeping statements on this issue, especially as they can have important political consequences. Doing multi-level analysis on large-scale international research (such as PISA) to disentangle country of origin, country of destination and community effects have “high potential”, but are also subject to “high risk”. A number of methodological caveats should be noted: one can only include countries with suitable data. There are not really enough upper level cases for multi-level analysis and we are confronted with an underestimation of standard errors by not using an iterative procedure for plausible values. Taking this into account, some of the noteworthy – but sometimes counterintuitive – conclusions of Levels & Dronkers (2008) are that the economic development of origin countries has a negative impact. Likewise, migrants from politically more stable countries obtain better results and that relative community size matters.

I would propose that, given the high level of risk, no reporting for multilevel modeling of country of origin effects should be undertaken, unless the results are statistically very robust: this will most likely not be the case, given the results of simulations we did ourselves.

Education of language and culture of origin

According to the EURYDICE report (2009) around twenty European countries have issued regulations or recommendations on school-based provision for mother tongue tuition for immigrant pupils. Sweden and Netherlands were among the pioneering countries.

As explained by Cabau-Lampa (2000) Sweden in 1977 introduced programs of teaching in the “own language and culture” of migrant children, partly in continuity of diversity policies oriented towards the Sami and Finnish minority groups. It concerns in 2000 about 12% of the student population, but with important variations between municipalities. The most taught languages are Arabic, Finnish, Serbian, Spanish and Iranian. In the early nineties the program underwent important budgetary cuts.

In the Netherlands there were programs for “onderwijs in eigen taal en cultuur” (OETC: “education in own language and culture”), in 1995 transformed into “onderwijs in allochtone levende talen” (OALT: “education in allochtonous living languages”). Since 2000 the OALT system was gradually cut by local governments who are responsible for implementation. Then, in 2004, it was almost completely abolished by central government.

In Latvia, minority language programs, including the option to attend schools where the mother tongue is the language of instruction, was developed for national ethnic minorities: Estonian, Lithuanian, Polish, Belorussian, Jewish, Romany and Russian. This, however, also applies to immigrant groups. The situation is similar in Lithuania, with Polish, Belorussian and Russian being the most important languages for which there is a program in place for ethnic minorities which can be beneficial to immigrant pupils.

A number of countries have arranged for the provision of tuition of immigrant pupils under bilateral agreements concluded between the host country and the countries from which the main immigrant communities present in the country originate (EURYDICE, 2009: 21). As the EURYDICE report states, in Poland, Slovenia and Liechtenstein mother tongue classes for immigrant pupils are financed by embassies, consuls or cultural associations of the country of origin of pupils. According to the same report, in France, Germany, Luxembourg, the French and Flemish communities of Belgium and in Spain, activities covering language and culture of origin teaching at the pre-primary level are organized under bilateral agreements. The comprehensive EURYDICE report gives a good overview of bilateral agreements. The French Community of Belgium has a bilateral agreement on mother tongue tuition for immigrant pupils with Greece, Italy, Morocco, Portugal and Turkey. The Flemish Community of Belgium has agreements with Greece, Italy, Morocco, Spain and Turkey. Germany has bilateral agreements with Croatia, Greece, Italy, Morocco, Portugal, Spain and Turkey. Spain has bilateral agreements with Morocco and Portugal. France has bilateral agreements with Algeria, Croatia, Italy, Morocco, Portugal, Serbia, Spain, Tunisia and Turkey. Luxembourg has a bilateral agreement with Portugal. Slovenia has bilateral agreements with Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Germany, Montenegro, Russia and Serbia.

On an official Turkish website¹ we can read the following statement about education and Turkish mother tongue courses:

“In order to ensure active participation, it is of vital importance to provide equal opportunity for the immigrants’ children to learn their mother-tongue as well as culture and history.

In this context, the opportunity for the Turkish community to learn their mother tongue is an issue closely followed by Turkish Government. Turkish citizens who are bilingual and have the opportunity to preserve their own identity would be a more equipped individual in today’s globalized world and would contribute to further bilateral relations between Turkey and the host countries.

To this end, Turkey has been appointing, in cooperation with host countries, teachers for Turkish language and culture. Currently 1.618 Turkish language teachers, 112 Turkish language lecturers are posted to the countries where the members of the Turkish community live. Our missions are working in close cooperation with the parents’ associations with a view to increase the number of teachers, to enable locally employed teachers of Turkish origin to participate in in-service trainings in Turkey and to increase the number of teachers of Turkish origin at pre-schools”.

I would propose that the Interact project systematically tracks down: the policies and strategies of sending states with regard to education of children abroad; and their efforts with regard to recognition of educational degrees from the sending society for adults living abroad.

Schools for expat children

Several countries have schools for expatriate children. Interestingly, in 2001 Dutch schools were created in Rabat and Casablanca², partly out of demand of mixed couples with a Dutch and Moroccan background, thus expanding the “classic” audience of highly educated and well paid expatriates seeking education for their children in the language and culture of their country of origin. This case demonstrates that transnational education through international schools also is (partly) influenced by patterns of (partial) return migration. To our knowledge there is currently no systematic study of these tendencies, but it seems to be an interesting topic to pursue.

It would, on a more basic level, be interesting to create an overview of what countries have schools abroad, how they are financed and organized and what the prevalence is.

¹ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-expatriate-turkish-citizens.en.mfa> [last consulted: 02-11-2013]

² Source: <http://www.republiekallochtonie.nl/migranten-willen-onderwijs-in-eigen-taal-en-cultuur> [last consulted: 02-11-2013]

Migration for educational purposes: the case of Chinese students

According to Waters (2005) “overseas education” is a “key manifestation of symbolic or cultural capital assumed to embody significant international *value* in both business and professional spheres”. Waters stresses that for Chinese students an overseas educational experience is “believed to indicate (in its bearer) fluency in the English language as well as less obvious qualities, such as confidence, sociability, cosmopolitanism and possession of valuable social capital” (Waters, 2005: 363). As such educational strategies become embedded in the creation and maintenance of transnational social networks which are seen as additional instruments to secure social mobility. As Bourdieu stated: “The ‘interest’ that an agent (or class of agents) brings to her ‘studies’ [...] depends not only on her current or anticipated academic success (by anticipated is meant her chances of success given her cultural capital), but also on the degree to which her social success depends upon her academic success” (Bourdieu, 1996: 276). Waters (2005) notes that this explains the success of overseas education for Chinese middle-class students, as a means of escaping fierce local competition and gaining an additional advantage by pursuing education abroad. He also highlights that for some Chinese middle-class families it is actually cheaper to invest in a migratory project. This allows a family to invest in the future of their children and profit from educational facilities of receiving societies, instead of trying to enroll their children in international schools and universities with high tuition fees and at a high cost. Waters (2005) in this context highlights two particular profiles enacting transnational strategies: “lone satellite children” (children or youngsters living alone abroad for schooling purposes) and “astronaut families” (families abroad with one of the parents, often the man, returning to Asia to work and provide for the family after experiencing socio-economic integration difficulties as migrants).

It would be interesting to make an inventory of state actor initiatives to promote or facilitate studying abroad with the European Union as a destination for educational purposes.

6. Conclusions

Migrants in the EU in general have lower educational attainment levels than natives. Access to education is as good as universally guaranteed for migrant children across the European Union. The real issue though is another: do migrant children have access to good education catering for their specific needs? One of the main challenges is that social and ethnic school segregation often limits this access to good education, in which sufficient opportunities are given to migrant children to discover and develop their talents. Sending society actors have relatively little impact on the educational integration of migrant children in host societies. However, this does not mean that there is no transnational dimension to the educational integration of migrant children and sending society actors can have some stakes and input in the process. Several countries have bilateral agreements on teaching in the language and culture of origin of migrants and Interact should strive to make an exhaustive inventory of these agreements and their implications. Furthermore, an overview is needed of the adaptation of sending society educational and administrative systems to the needs and challenges of emigrating pupils and adults. Do they help the diaspora to achieve recognition of skills and degrees abroad? Do they monitor the situation of expatriate children in the field of education and do they develop policies in this regard? Although we propose that the Interact project would, above all for pragmatic reasons, focus on initiatives by state actors in sending states and investigate their prevalence, one should not exclude non-state actors *a priori*. NGOs and religious organizations can especially play an important role in setting up, financing and organizing diaspora schools, thus creating a transnational educational field. As it is probably difficult to find informants who are knowledgeable about both state actors and non-state actors in the field of education for expatriates, we would prioritise state actors, whose initiatives can be more easily tracked. The MIPEX project and EURIDICY reports could serve as examples.

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