Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Check for updates

POLICY AND PRACTICE IN LANGUAGE SUPPORT FOR NEWLY ARRIVED MIGRANT CHILDREN IN IRELAND AND SPAIN

by Rosa M Rodríguez-Izquierdo ⓘD, *Education and Social Psychology, Pablo de Olavide University, Seville, Spain* and Merike Darmody ⓘD, *ESRI, Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, Ireland*

AQ1
AQ2

5

ABSTRACT: Over the last decades, migration across Europe has continued to increase. Consequently, offering educational support for migrant students in the schools of host countries has been an extensively debated issue across Europe and further afield, especially in countries with a history of immigration. However, less is known about how education systems in the 'new' immigration countries have responded to the needs of recently arrived migrants. This article focuses on language support measures set up for migrant students in state-funded schools in the Republic of Ireland and Spain – both multilingual countries with more than one official language and with a heterogeneous migrant population. In reviewing educational policy and practice in these jurisdictions in the areas of language support for migrants, this article seeks to contribute to the debate on challenges involved in supporting language acquisition by migrant students in formal educational settings.

Keywords: immigration, education policy, Ireland, Spain, language support, multilingual countries

10

15

20

1. Introduction

International migration has, for a long time, been a global phenomenon. However, recent social and structural developments have caused changes to patterns of migration, particularly with regard to EU expansion, recent worldwide recession and the deepening refugee crisis. For most European countries, the profile of migrants in Europe is very heterogeneous in terms of ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, as well as educational attainment (McGinnity and Gijsberts, 2015).

While some groups, typically coming from more prosperous countries, may have a greater amount of social and cultural capital at their disposal leading to a relatively easy transition period, others from less advantaged backgrounds may find it more difficult to settle in the host country. Refugee and asylum seekers, in particular, may have higher levels of vulnerability and may have experienced significant trauma. Differences in the backgrounds between migrant groups are likely to be reflected in their educational and other needs. Educational supports in formal education do not always address these complex needs. However, how

25

30

35

children and young people with a migrant background fare in the education system, and later in the labour market, depends on their experiences and success in the new education system (Smyth *et al.*, 2009).

Policies and practices across Europe aimed at supporting education of migrants tend to vary and often depend on historical legacies and history of immigration in a jurisdiction as well as the profile of migrants in the country. A report by European Commission (2013) indicates that all countries aim to help migrants with acquisition of the language of the host country as a matter of priority. It is generally acknowledged that it is necessary to eliminate or minimize any potential barriers that may impede migrant children from accessing the regular curriculum and interacting with their peer group (Booth and Ainscow, 2002). Across a number of OECD countries, the main pattern of providing language acquisition in primary and secondary schools involves migrant students attending mainstream classes while being given additional support in learning the language of instruction, although the number of hours and duration of support tends to vary across countries (European Commission, 2013). In some countries, such as Sweden and Finland, there is an initial phase of separate intensive host language tuition for migrant children before transfer to mainstream classes. Schools in the United Kingdom tend to combine withdrawal from class for supplementary tuition with the increased provision of within-class support for students (European Commission, 2013).

Proficiency in the language of the receiving country has been found to play a key role in the migrant-native achievement gap across a number of studies (Kristen *et al.*, 2011). The migrant-native achievement gap has been explained by a number of factors including age of arrival to the destination country, financial difficulties, level of parental involvement and educational attainment, school-related factors, including interactions with teachers, socio-economic background and other individual factors, as well as community and neighbourhood conditions (Berry *et al.*, 2006; Filindra *et al.*, 2011; Levels and Dronkers, 2008). Single-country studies (Arnot *et al.*, 2014) as well as PISA results suggest that the gap in achievement between migrant and native children is less in countries where language support programmes are well established with clearly defined aims and goals (OECD, 2006). It can also be argued that migrants may find additional challenges in countries with more than one official language and where the teaching body is relatively homogenous in terms of teachers' ethnic and linguistic background (Merike, 2011).

This article builds on the results, published in an earlier paper, of a large-scale empirical study on academic and social support measures available in Irish secondary schools (Faas *et al.*, 2015; Smyth *et al.*, 2009), and offers a comparative perspective by describing policy and practices in Ireland and Spain. Faas and colleagues showed that addressing the needs of a newly culturally and linguistically diverse student body is not only challenging, but that approaches taken can vary across schools, arguably resulting in different experiences for the students. However, how the policy development underpinned approaches

adopted in schools was not discussed by the authors in any great detail. In addition, relatively little is known about how policy development underpinning practice can vary between countries 'new' to receiving migrants. To address this gap, the current article focuses on national educational policies and school-level approaches to providing linguistic support to young migrants in two 'new' migrant-receiving countries with more than one official language – Ireland and Spain.

The definition of 'migrants' is difficult due to the heterogeneity of the group. The UN Convention on the Rights of Migrants postulates that 'the term "migrant" in article 1.1 (a) should be understood as covering all cases where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned, for reasons of "personal convenience" and without intervention of an external compelling factor' (quoted in Perruchoud, 1992). However, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights has proposed a broader definition according to which migrants are (a) persons who are outside the territory of the State of which they are nationals or citizens, are not subject to its legal protection and are in the territory of another State; (b) persons who do not enjoy the general legal recognition of rights which is inherent in the granting by the host State of the status of refugee, naturalized person or of similar status; and (c) persons who do not enjoy either general legal protection of their fundamental rights by virtue of diplomatic agreements, visas or other agreements (Pizarro, 2002).[1] This extended definition more successfully captures the complex lives of individuals moving to host countries. However, broader policy documents in Ireland and Spain tend to utilize 'migrant' or 'immigrant' as a generic term that can be problematic, considering the heterogeneity of the group. This article explores the approaches taken in provision of language support to children and young people who have moved to Ireland and Spain from other countries. For the purposes of the article 'migrant children' are defined as children whose parents were born outside the two jurisdictions and who require additional tuition in the language of instruction. Considering the recent nature of immigration in Ireland and Spain, school-age children in these countries tend to be first-generation migrants, in most cases the children of EU migrant workers.

Exploring language support measures in Ireland and Spain is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, a notable increase in cultural diversity in both countries due to relatively recent large-scale immigration makes Ireland and Spain interesting case studies. In both cases, the category 'migrant' is far from homogenous and comprises nationals from EU countries, non-EU countries, unaccompanied minors, refugee children and asylum seekers (Parker-Jenkins and Masterson, 2013; Smyth *et al.*, 2009). Secondly, in both countries the linguistic background of the migrants is very diverse, with most migrants speaking a language other than that of the host country. Thirdly, the teaching body in both countries is fairly homogeneous in terms of ethnic, socio-economic and linguistic background of the teachers (Aguado *et al.*, 2008; Keane and Heinz, 2015, 2016; Vélez and Ayala, 2016). Finally, social transformations in Ireland

(FitzGerald, 2014) and Spain coincided with the economic downturn which had a detrimental effect on public spending, including significant reduction of funding for education and migrant integration (McGinnity *et al.*, 2012).

In order to ensure that migrant children have the same life chances as native children, the availability of targeted support measures at state and school level is crucial (Devine, 2013; European Commission, 2009; Sime and Fox, 2015; Smyth *et al.*, 2009) as it may have long-term consequences for future life chances of these young people. The article builds on existing knowledge on school-based language support for migrant children placing the discussion in the policy development in the area. The policies adopted at state level have a strong impact on the practice adopted in schools. The article is likely to be of interest to other countries with a large proportion of newly arrived migrants.

2. Changing Social Fabric in Ireland and Spain

In the not too distant past, Ireland and, to a lesser extent, Spain were seen as countries of emigration, often driven by high levels of unemployment. During the last decades, both countries have undergone a substantial social transformation. Between Census 2006 and Census 2011 the number of non-Irish nationals increased by 124,624 or 30%, with the largest increases among EU-12 national groups: Poles, Lithuanians and Romanians (CSO, 2012, p. 33). The migrant population in Ireland is very heterogeneous, representing 196 nationalities and 182 languages (CSO, 2012). While there has been some decrease in the rate of flow of migrants during the recession, non-Irish nationals still made up 11.6% of the population in 2016, down from 12.2% in 2011 (CSO, 2017). Compared to the native population, migrants to Ireland are highly educated, with a higher proportion having tertiary education compared to the Irish (Röder *et al.*, 2014). Despite their high levels of educational attainment, they tend to fare less well than Irish nationals in the labour market[2] across a range of indicators, including access to higher paid and higher status jobs, experience of discrimination at work and levels of unemployment (O'Connell and McGinnity, 2008). Mirroring the trends in Ireland, the number of migrants in Spain nearly quadrupled in a short period of time. At present Spain has 5,294,710 foreign nationals living in the country (NIS, 2016). The main nationalities represented are Romanian, Moroccan and British (Ministry of Employment and Social Security, 2012). However, these groups are not comparable since the British tend to be retired individuals without school-age children residing with them, while the first two groups usually arrive with their families or have children after arrival in Spain. The majority of migrants come from the Americas, Europe and Africa. Children arriving from the Americas make up 47% of the total migrant child population, followed by arrivals from a number of European countries (25%), and those from Africa (24%). The bulk of migrant pupils are in primary education (44%), reflecting the age profile of the new arrivals. The next largest group is in compulsory secondary education (27%), and a smaller group is in preschool

education (19%). In 2016, Spain had the highest proportions of foreign-born migrants with low educational attainment (40.9%) in Europe (Eurostat, 2016).

Migratory movements in both countries have contributed to the growth of linguistic diversity in schools, a diversity that is not new, but which is more noticeable in recent years. The academic and social integration of migrants is often influenced by issues around proficiency in the language of the receiving country (Merike and McCoy, 2011). Schools and teachers may act (overtly or covertly) to legitimize the dominant culture (Bernstein, 1975) and thus contribute to the misrecognition of migrant social and cultural capital, including linguistic capital (Devine, 2011). Language can be seen as an instrument of power. Migrant students and their parents, for whom the language of the host country is not their first language, may experience considerable difficulties negotiating their way through the education system and establishing themselves as partners in the home–school interface. While most migrant children may have certain levels of conversational proficiency, this is not always sufficient to access the curriculum, especially in secondary schools where the subject-related vocabulary is more complex. Both countries have addressed the need to assist the migrants with learning the languages of instruction by developing relevant policies and practices at school level. The approaches taken tend to reflect broader government policies aimed at migrant integration.

In Ireland, the language of instruction in most primary and secondary schools is English. However, some schools are operating through the medium of Irish, the first official language in Ireland, although only used by a minority of the population as their first language at home. Irish is also one of the core subjects in Irish schools, although some groups of students, including those who have started schooling in a different jurisdiction, can be exempt from it.[3] While Spanish is the main language of instruction in a number of areas in Spain, some other languages also have an official status, and some, such as Catalan, are often the main languages in schools. It is generally believed that younger children find it easier to adopt a new language or languages. In fact, there is a consensus among the authors that the ease with which young people adopt an additional language depends on the age of their arrival – younger children tend to be more successful in learning to speak with native fluency (Naserdeen, 2001; Schuster, 2005).

3. APPROACHES TO SCHOOL-BASED EDUCATIONAL AND LANGUAGE SUPPORT FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN

Approaches to the delivery of language support vary across Europe. Christensen and Stanat (2007) identify five different types of language support:

- Immersion: students receive no specific language support but are immersed in the language of instruction in mainstream classrooms.

- Immersion with systematic language support: students are taught in mainstream classrooms, but receive instruction in specified periods to increase proficiency.
- Immersion with a preparatory phase: students participate in a preparatory programme before making the transition to the language of instruction.
- Transitional bilingual: students initially learn in their native language before teaching gradually shifts to the language of instruction.
- Maintenance bilingual: students receive significant amount of instruction in their native language, with programmes which aim to develop proficiency both in the native and the second language.

A recent report on educational support (European Commission, 2013) focused specifically on newly arrived migrant children (NAMs). Although the report acknowledged the importance of the proficiency in the language of the receiving country, it highlighted the importance of an integrated approach to NAMs's inclusion rather than focusing on language alone. Yet support in developing proficiency in the dominant language of a jurisdiction has remained the main approach to supporting migrants at school in Europe and further afield (Kambel, 2014). While some countries pursue a bilingual approach by integrating the mother tongue of migrant pupils into the educational progress, this approach is relatively rare in Europe, possibly due to the diversity of the language background of the new arrivals (Siarova and Essomba, 2014).

In Ireland, policy development regarding supporting the education of migrant-origin children has been relatively *ad hoc*, especially at the time of the first significant inflow of migrants. The increased numbers of migrant students in Irish schools over the past decades have challenged schools to adapt their practices and policies. It has also stimulated policy development at system level. The response has included the allocation of additional EAL teachers, funding of various agencies to develop curriculum, resources and materials and the provision of continuing professional development for teachers in the area of diversity. The key national support measure for migrant children in Irish schools remains the provision of additional English-language tuition for those who do not speak English as their first language (DES, 2012a). Children can learn either in English-medium or Irish-medium schools, depending on parental preference. As the majority of NAMs attend English-medium schools, the policy focus is on the provision of additional English language tuition for the migrants. According to Smyth *et al.* (2009), additional tuition is generally provided by withdrawing migrant students from some subject classes (mainly Irish or Religious Education).[4] The National Development Plan 2007–2013 (Government of Ireland, 1998) allocated significant funding for language support teachers to enable EAL learners to 'acquire a sufficient knowledge of the English language to enable them to benefit from the Irish education system at the same level as their peers'. However, during the recession, the number of EAL teachers was reduced considerably (Smyth *et al.*, 2009). While English remains the main

targeted support, migrant students can also avail themselves of general social and academic support (including the government-funded DEIS programme, pastoral care programmes) available for all students.[5] Furthermore, it is also possible to sit the final state exam (Leaving Certificate) in 15 EU languages. There have been some concerns about the preparedness of teachers to provide educational support for migrant children, especially in the early stages of the large-scale immigration (Faas *et al.*, 2015). Over time an increasing number of higher education institutions that provide initial teacher education have focused on increasing diversity in Irish classrooms. As yet, there is no specific policy for supporting teachers who teach migrant students. The Teaching Council in Ireland, a statutory body established in 2006, has highlighted the importance of continuous professional development programmes in preparing teachers to teach in increasingly diverse classrooms.[6] Apart from the language support, many policies and school-level initiatives concern all students who need social and academic support, irrespective of their background. In general, educational support for refugee and asylum-seeking students is part of a mainstream approach targeting all migrant children in the case of English-language tuition and a mainstream approach targeting all children with special or additional educational needs in the case of all other supports (Merike and Arnold, forthcoming).

In Spain, there is no general legislative framework for migrant education and the legislation may vary significantly between Autonomous Communities.[7] The educational system is decentralized and allows for Autonomous Communities and school autonomy.[8] Measures to assist migrant students in learning the language of instruction are thus specific to each community. Since 2000 all the Autonomous Communities and the Autonomous Cities have developed their own programmes.

The regulations adopted in each Autonomous Community vary according to whether they include linguistic support for migrant students and how this provision is delivered. The measures of linguistic support of each Autonomous Community also differ in the degree of autonomy given to schools. For example, while La Rioja enables each centre to follow its organizational guidelines, the process is very different in the Autonomous Cities of Ceuta and Melilla, where the process of integration of migrant students is the responsibility of the ministry of education, which regulates the specific measures to assist migrant students. The third aspect that marks a difference between the various administrations is the existence of another official language within the Autonomous Community (Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Galicia, the Basque Country and Valencia). Such communities began the legislative development on linguistic policy in the 1980s. They can be seen as pioneers in the adoption of linguistic adaptation measures for students. Their regulation is also more specific and detailed than the legislation developed by the other Autonomous Communities on this matter (Grañeras *et al.*, 2007). Some of the bilingual Autonomous Communities (Catalonia, Baleares and Galicia) give priority to their own regional language and limit the teaching of Spanish to certain subjects. Other regions, while adopting regional

languages as the language of instruction, have developed a variety of models. For example, Navarra and the Community of Valencia utilize linguistic models based on the predominant language in an area, territory or municipality. Both linguistic models combine several possibilities for learning both languages, regional as well as Spanish.   300

Although the measures to support migrant students vary significantly between communities, one of the key programmes has been the so-called 'specific linguistic classrooms'. These multi-denominational classrooms[9] have generated significant academic interests.[10]

The students that participate in these classes are traditionally placed in the   305
regular classroom but receive additional support in specific classes for part of the school day or week. Students join mainstream classes for some subjects that do not require a high level of competency in the language of instruction (e.g. Arts or Physical Education). In addition, the model provides students with access to practical subjects. While language support focuses on the provision of basic   310
vocabulary, efforts are also made to teach subject-specific vocabulary. Typically, when the newly arrived student enters a specific class in a state school, the main focus is on language acquisition. As the student's knowledge of the language improves, additional subjects will be introduced. These classrooms are mainly available at secondary school level, although most of the communities work with   315
students from primary and secondary school sector.

Various authors have explored the benefits and challenges associated with the introduction of 'special classes for migrants'. Opinions tend to vary with most authors criticizing the 'segregating' nature of this approach (Gibson and Carrasco, 2009; Terrén, 2008). Some studies (García *et al.*, 2010) have shown   320
that these measures not only do not reach their goal of access to the regular classroom with sufficient linguistic knowledge, but also make it difficult to have social interaction between migrant and the indigenous students (Castilla, 2014; Martin, 2003). Subsequently, these classrooms are seen by some as 'host bubbles' (García, 2010). Furthermore, some studies (Terrén, 2008) have found that   325
students who attend these classes experience notable difficulties in transitioning to regular classrooms.

In terms of teacher education, there are notable differences between the communities. Initial teacher education has been found to be lacking in preparing teachers for work in multicultural and plurilingual classrooms (Núñez *et al.*,   330
2006). Training in Spanish as a Foreign Language is only included in the syllabus of initial teacher education programmes in Madrid and in the Basque Country (Arroyo, 2014).

This section has considered the provision of language support for migrant children in Ireland and Spain. The practices adopted at school level tend to be   335
embedded in government policies. Policy developments regarding the educational support for migrant children in Ireland and Spain have been reactionary rather than proactive, often reflecting *ad hoc* approaches to immigration policies. The policies focus mostly on language acquisition, often treating migrant

students as a homogenous group based on their linguistic ability, as discussed   340
below.

4. DISCUSSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In both the EU and the OECD, the migrant population has grown notably since
2000 (OECD, 2015). Subsequently countries have developed various policies
and measures regarding migrant integration, including supporting migrant chil-   345
dren in schools in the receiving countries. Policies and practices related to
immigration and education tend to have a direct impact on students' educational
careers and well-being in general. While factors that impact migrant progression
in education are many and varied, the main barrier to social and academic
engagement tends to be limited proficiency in the language of instruction   350
(Rodríguez-Izquierdo, 2010, 2011). Low proficiency in the language of the
host country may result in social exclusion and limited post-school pathways
as well as difficulties in interaction with different communities.

A recent report by the European Commission (2015) notes that factors that
are likely to prevent migrant children with limited proficiency in the host   355
language from reaching their potential include insufficient resources and staff
competencies; assessment tools and negative perceptions of the abilities of
migrant children that results in placing them in lower ability tracks and special
education classes; and lack of opportunities to develop their mother tongue
competencies to higher levels (p. 5). Furthermore, a homogeneous teaching   360
workforce, where some members may not be adequately prepared to teach in
newly multicultural and plurilingual classrooms, can be seen as an additional
challenge. These are areas to be considered by policymakers to ensure policies
are devised to support all children in reaching their potential. At the same time,
limited attention given to heritage languages conveys a message that not all   365
cultures are appreciated equally and may have serious consequences for the
students' sense of belonging to the school. It also undermines the importance
of the mother tongue in the learning process and cognitive development
(Cummins, 1979).

Ireland and Spain have both experienced rapid large-scale immigration that is   370
relatively recent. Both countries are currently developing measures to support
migrant students who do not speak the language(s) of the receiving country and
may know little of its history, culture and present circumstances. The main
targeted policy measure in both countries is the provision of additional tuition
in the language of instruction, with little or no provision in place for learning   375
heritage languages. In Ireland, this support lasts for 2 years, although there is
some discretion regarding the circumstances of individual schools. A recent
report notes that almost one third of first-generation migrants are below the
basic level of proficiency in English reading, hence limited language support at
school level may have damaging long-term consequences (McGinnity *et al.*,   380
2013). The Department of Education and Skills (2012a, 2012b) has identified

examples of good practice across the schools in Ireland in supporting EAL students. However, both evaluations have found scope for more effective differentiation of class programmes and lessons for EAL pupils and the need for closer collaboration between mainstream class teachers and EAL support teachers. At secondary level, the evaluations suggest the need for a broader acceptance that every subject teacher is also a language teacher. Across both levels, the reports identify a need to provide further professional development opportunities for teachers. Furthermore, the Migrant Integration Policy Index observed there is scope for improving the government's response to the diversity in Irish schools (ECRI, 2013). While specific supports targeting migrant students were severely impacted by budgetary cuts across various sectors, including education, it is hoped that with an improving economic situation the policy development informing practice in schools will once again focus on the diverse needs of migrant students. More government investment is also needed for initial teacher education and continuous professional development.

As in Ireland, policymaking in Spain is characterized by its reactionary rather than proactive approach to migrant education and the focus on additional support in the acquisition of language(s) of instruction. In both countries the approaches vary in how the language support is provided in schools. In Ireland the migrants are generally placed in mainstream classes and withdrawn from some subjects, whereas in Spain separate classes are used in order to provide initial grounding for the students. Ireland also differs from Spain by offering additional support from a school-based pastoral care team. This team, made up by a number of teachers including guidance counsellors, home school liaison teachers, chaplains and others, addresses the needs of all disadvantaged children and collaborates with organizations such as the Child and Family Agency. Migrant children can also benefit from the government-funded DEIS scheme that provides additional resources for disadvantaged areas. These measures ensure the needs of migrant children go beyond only meeting their language needs.

Although migrant populations in Ireland and Spain are highly heterogeneous in terms of socio-economic background, legal status and types of capital these individuals possess, current government policies for migrant support at school tend to focus on language acquisition. This leaves schools to provide help to migrant children and young people, some of whom may have had fragmented educational careers and may need basic literacy education and/or may have experienced trauma. While most migrant children settle in well, more vulnerable individuals are more likely to experience difficulties in navigating the education system of the host country. Furthermore, the communities where migrant children and their families settle are likely to have an impact on their success in education. Drawing on PISA 2012 results, Jiménez and González (2012) note that a high concentration of disadvantaged students is more likely to result in low academic attainment than the proportion of migrant children in school. In both countries under the discussion in this article, migrant children tend to attend

schools that are not over-subscribed. Such schools are often found in more   425
disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

In order to help migrant children to reach their full potential, educational
support for these pupils needs to be multi-dimensional, considering different
circumstances of migrant students and their families. Recognition, rather than
misrecognition, of one's cultural background is likely to enhance children's self-   430
confidence and assist in coming to terms with their mixed identities (European
Commission, 2015). Cummins (1979) has argued that concepts and skills
acquired in the first language are transferable to or are accessible through
the second language. Tuition in heritage languages in Irish and Spanish schools
is generally not provided. This gap has been addressed by some migrant com-   435
munities by providing mother tongue tuition in unofficial 'weekend schools'.
While in Ireland the importance of mother tongue is acknowledged in the
Intercultural Education Strategy, it is not known how this is reflected in the
everyday school practices. It is argued here that at school level there needs to
exist an official school policy on intercultural education that recognizes the   440
importance of mother tongue and supports the role of parents in the language
maintenance.

The situation becomes even more complex when the receiving country has
more than one official language, in which case the migrants are faced with
learning two new languages.   445

Lack of proficiency in the language(s) of instruction is just one of the
challenges facing schools. Some authors highlight the importance of cultural
distance in social and academic engagement (Carrasco *et al.*, 2011; Rodrigo-
Alsina, 2009). In order to 'bridge the cultures', these studies call for greater
interaction between native and migrant-origin young people, their families and   450
school staff. Dividing students into different linguistic or cultural groups is likely
to have a negative impact on social integration and a sense of belonging for the
students.

Integration and language learning tend to be more successful in environments
supporting cultural recognition and promoting diversity. Based on our analysis of   455
policies regarding language support to migrant students in Spain and Ireland, it is
evident that a number of conditions need to be in place in order to improve the
experience of these students. As Gibson and Carrasco posits (2009) despite
official efforts to welcome migrant youth, the Spanish education system operates,
paradoxically, in ways that are unwelcoming, relegating migrant youth to the   460
margins of school life. In Ireland, Merike *et al.* (2012) note that some migrants
are likely to experience cumulative disadvantage, whereby migrant students are
often found in disadvantaged large urban schools, are allocated to lower aca-
demic streams or non-academic programmes in schools (see also Smyth *et al.*,
2009). Poveda *et al.* (2014) note that the support for migrant students in schools   465
has adopted an 'externalizing logic', in which responsibility for educational
outcomes is transferred to processes and programmes outside 'ordinary' teachers'
realm of action, rather than an inclusive educational approach. In order to help

the migrants to reach their potential it is essential to recognize that language proficiency must be at the core of educational policies and integration processes in the destination countries, alongside diverse, coherent, intercultural education policy. Teachers need to be trained not to perceive migrant children only as children 'who lack a language' (deficit perspective)[11] but see them as 'plurilingual students' or 'new speakers' who ought to be the model of reference for all students in the twenty-first century. Finally, in order to cater for the diverse needs of migrant population, the importance of strong inter-agency collaboration between various sectors embedded in coherent state policies and supported by sufficient funding cannot be overlooked.

5. DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

AQ9   No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

6. NOTES

[1] Gabriela Rodríguez Pizarro, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human rights in A/57/292, Human rights of migrants, Note by the Secretary-General. 9 August 2002.

[2] It should be noted, however, that Western Europeans are a more advantaged group.

[3] For further information see Merike and Smyth (2016).

[4] The Intercultural Education Strategy 2010–2015 states that 'given the diversity of cultures now present in Ireland, it is not possible to commit to teaching all mother tongues in mainstream education provision' (DES and OMI 2010, p. 47).

[5] Other associated supports include the distribution of language assessment kits to primary and post-primary schools, in-service provision for language support teachers, guidelines on EAL for all teachers, and a booklet on intercultural education in both primary and post-primary schools.

[6] A DICE project focuses on the development of intercultural education within initial teacher education. The programme is funded by the Irish Aid and is currently operating in the 5 Colleges of Education that cater for the pre-service formation of primary teachers in the Republic of Ireland.

[7] Spain in divided into (17 Communities and the 2 autonomous cities of de Ceuta y Melilla), which makes the situation very complex.

[8] In the Spanish context, although it is supposed to be a comprehensive system, there is the possibility of introducing measures or specific programmes available to certain students outside the ordinary classroom. For instance, linguistic programmes for immigrant students, special programmes for learning disabilities or special programmes for disabled children.

[9] *Aulas Enlace* in the Community of Madrid, *Aulas d'acollida* in Catalonia, *Aulas Temporales de Adaptación Lingüística* in Andalusia, *Aulas de inmersión Lingüística* in La Rioja, *Aulas de inmersión lingüística* in Asturias, *Aulas de Acogida*, among others. Currently some of these classrooms are under reform due to the economic recession of the country.

[10] In Madrid (García, 2010; García *et al*., 2010); in Andalucía (Guerrero, 2013; Ortiz, 2011); or for the case of Catalonia (Espelt, 2009; Oller and Villa, 2008; Palaudarias and Garreta, 2008; Vila *et al*., 2009).

AQ10

[11] Fore more information see: http://www.mothertongues.ie/partners.html.

ORCID

Rosa M Rodríguez-Izquierdo ⓘ http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9432-1280   515
Merike Darmody ⓘ http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3264-8031

7. REFERENCES

Aguado, T., Gil-Jaurena, I. and Mata-Benito, P. (2008) El enfoque intercultural en la formación del profesorado: Dilemas y propuestas, *Revista Complutense de Educación*, 19 (2), 275–292.   520

Arnot, M., Schneider, C., Evans, M., Liu, Y., Welply, O. and Davies-Tutt, D. (2014) *School Approaches to the Education of EAL Students, Language Development, Social Integration and Achievement* (Cambridge, University of Cambridge). Available at: https://www.educ.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/ealead/Fullreport.pdf (accessed 29 September 2016).   525

Arroyo, M. J. (2014) *Aprendizaje de la lengua y alumnado inmigrante. Un acercamiento a las aulas de adaptación lingüística y social* (Madrid, MECD).

Bernstein, B. (1975) *Class, Codes and Control* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul).

Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L. and Vedder, P. (Eds) (2006) *Immigrant Youth in Cultural Transition: Acculturation, Identity and Adaptation across National Contexts*   530 (Mahwah, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates).

Booth, T. and Ainscow, M. (2002) *Index for Inclusion: Developing Learning and Participation in Schools* (Bristol, CSIE).

Castilla, J. (2014) Las ATAL : ¿Integración o segmentación vertical? In C. Peláez and M. I. Jociles (Eds) *Estudios etnográficos de las políticas públicas en contextos*   535 *educativos*, 57–66. *Actas definitivas del III Congreso de Etnografía y Educación*.

Central Statistics Office. (2012) *Population and Migration Estimates* (Dublin, CSO).

Central Statistics Office. (2017) *Census 2016 Summary Results* (Dublin, CSO).

Christensen, G. and Stanat, P. (2007) *Language policies and practices for helping immigrants and second-generation students succeed*. Migration Policy Institute   540 Report. Available at: www.Migrationpolicy.org (accessed 9 September 2015).

Cummins, J. (1979) Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children, *Review of Educational Research*, 24, 273–282.

Department of Children and Youth Affairs. (2012) *State of the Nation's Children: Ireland 2012* (Dublin, Government Publications).   545

Department of Education and Skills. (2011) *Overcoming School Failure: Policies that Work* (Paris, OECD, National report-Ireland).

Department of Education and Skills. (2012) *Looking at English as an additional language*. Available at: http://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Inspection-Reports-Publications/Evaluation-Reports-Guidelines/Looking-at-EAL-Post-Primary-Schools-.   550 pdf (accessed 19 November 2016).

Department of Education and Skills. (2012a) *English as an additional language in primary schools in 2008*. Available at: https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/ Inspection-Reports-Publications/Evaluation-Reports-Guidelines/EAL-in-Primary-Schools.pdf (accessed 25 July 2017).   555

Department of Education and Skills. (2012b) *Looking at English as an additional language, teaching and learning in post-primary schools in 2008*. Available at: https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Inspection-Reports-Publications/Evaluation-Reports-Guidelines/Looking-at-EAL-Post-Primary-Schools-.pdf (accessed 17 July 2017).   560

Department of Education and Skills and the Office of the Minister for Integration. (2010) *Intercultural Education Strategy 2010–2015* (Dublin, Government Publications).

AQ11
AQ12
AQ13
AQ14
AQ15

Devine, D. (2011) Securing migrant children's educational well-being: Perspective of policy and practice in Irish schools. In D. Merike, N. Tyrrell and S. Song (Eds) *Changing Faces of Ireland, Exploring Lives of Immigrant and Ethnic and Minority Children* (Rotterdam, Sense), 34–42.

Devine, D. (2013) Valuing children differently? Migrant children in education, *Children and Society*, 27, 282–294. doi:10.1111/chso.12034

Espelt, L. (2009) The reception classroom as a space for language learning: The teacher's perspective, *Dosieres Segundas Lenguas e Inmigración*, 18, 1–119. Available at: http://www.segundaslenguaseinmigracion.es/Dosieres/Dosier18.pdf

European Commission. (2009) *Integrating Immigrant Children into Schools in Europe* (Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union).

European Commission. (2013) *Educational Support for Newly Arrived Migrant Children* (Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union).

European Commission. (2015) *Language Teaching and Learning in multilingual classrooms*. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/languages/library/policy/policy-brief_en.pdf (accessed 5 September 2016).

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI). (2013) *Fourth Report on Ireland, 19 February 2013, CRI (2013). Council of Europe* (Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union).

Eurostat. (2016) *Migrant integration statistics–education*. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migrant_integration_statistics_-_education (accessed 25 November 2017).

Faas, D., Sokolowska, B. and Darmody, M. (2015) Everybody is available to them: Support measures for migrant students in Irish secondary schools, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 63 (4), 447–466. doi:10.1080/00071005.2015.1049974

Filindra, A., Blanding, D. and Coll, C. G. (2011) The power of context: State-level policies and politics and the educational performance of the children of immigrants in the United States, *Harvard Educational Review*, 81 (3), 407–438. doi:10.17763/haer.81.3.n306607254h11281

FitzGerald, J. (2014) Ireland's recovery from crisis, *A Quarterly Journal on European Economic Issues*. Available at: http://www.esri.ie/pubs/JACB201418.pdf (accessed 13 February 2017).

García, J. A. (2010) Las aulas de enlace madrileñas: Burbujas de acogida del alumnado extranjero, *Segundas Lenguas e Inmigración en red*, 3, 109–128.

García, J. A., Sánchez, P., Moreno, I. and Goenechea, C. (2010) Estudio del sistema y funcionamiento de las aulas de enlace de la Comunidad de Madrid. De la normativa institucional a la realidad cotidiana, *Revista de Educación*, 352, 473–493.

Gibson, M. and Carrasco, S. (2009) The education of immigrant youth: Some lessons from the U.S. and Spain, *Theory into Practice*, 48 (4), 249–257. doi:10.1080/00405840903188118

Government of Ireland. (1998) *Education Act* (Dublin, Stationary Office).

Grañeras, M., Vázquez, E., Parra, A., Rodríguez, F., Madrigal, A., Vale, P. and Mata, P. (2007) La atención lingüística al alumnado extranjero en el sistema educativo español: Normativa, actuaciones y medidas, *Revista de Educación*, 343 (2), 149–174.

Guerrero, R. (2013) Integración sociocultural y enseñanza del español en Andalucía. Aplicación del programa Aulas Temporales de Adaptación Lingüística (ATAL), *Perfiles Educativos*, 35 (142), 42–53. doi:10.1016/S0185-2698(13)71848-8

Jiménez, J. S. and González, D. S. (2012) Selección escolar y efectos de la inmigración sobre los resultados académicos españoles en PISA, *Revista de Educación*, 358, 382–405.

Kambel, E. (2014) *Language Support for Migrant Children in Early School Years: Mapping European Policies*. Available at: http://www.sirius-migrationeducation.org/

wp-content/uploads/2015/02/WP2.2-Language-support-mapping-report.pdf (accessed 12 January 2017).

Keane, E. and Heinz, M. (2015) Diversity in initial teacher education in Ireland: The socio-demographic backgrounds of postgraduate post-primary entrants in 2013 and 2014, *Irish Educational Studies*, 34 (3), 99–116. doi:10.1080/02607476.2017.1251103

Keane, E. and Heinz, M. (2016) Excavating an injustice?: Nationality/ies, ethnicity/ies and experiences with diversity of initial teacher education applicants and entrants in Ireland in 2014, *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 1–21. doi:10.1080/02619768.2016.1194392

Kristen, S., Sodian, B., Thoermer, C. and Perst, H. (2011) Infants' joint attention skills predict toddlers' emerging mental state language, *Developmental Psychology*, 47, 1207–1219. doi:10.1037/a0024808

Levels, M. and Dronkers, J. (2008) Educational performance of native and immigrant children from various countries of origin, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31 (8), 1404–1425. doi:10.1080/01419870701682238

Martin, L. (Dir.) (2003) *¿Asimilar o integrar? Dilema ante el multilingüismo en las aulas* (Madrid, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia).

McGinnity, F. and Gijsberts, M. (2015) *Perceived group discrimination among Polish migrants to Western Europe: Comparing Germany, The Netherlands, the UK and Ireland*. ESRI Working Paper 502 (Dublin).

McGinnity, F., Quinn, E., Kingston, G. and O'Connell, P. (2012) *Annual Monitoring Report on Integration 2011* (Dublin, ESRI and The Integration Centre).

McGinnity, F., Quinn, E., Kinston, G. and O'Connell, P. (2013) *Annual Monitoring Report on Migration 2012* (Dublin, ESRI and The Integration Centre).

Merike, D. (2011) Power, education and migration into Ireland, *Power and Education*, 3 (3). doi:10.2304/power.2011.3.3.224

Merike, D. and Arnold, S. (forthcoming) Refugee children and young people in Ireland: Policies and practices. In J. McBrien (Ed.) *Educational Policies and Practices of English-Speaking Refugee Resettlement Countries* (Rotterdam, Sense Publishers). Manuscript in preparation.

Merike, D., Byrne, D. and McGinnity, F. (2012) Cumulative disadvantage? Educational careers of migrant students in Irish secondary schools, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 17 (1), 129–151.

Merike, D. and McCoy, S. (2011) Barriers to school involvement: Immigrant parents in Ireland. In D. Merike, N. Tyrrell and S. Song (Eds) *Changing Faces of Ireland, Exploring Lives of Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Children* (Rotterdam, Sense), 145–167.

Merike, D. and Smyth, E. (2016) *Attitudes Towards Irish as a School Subject among 13-Year Olds* (Dublin, ESRI).

Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports. (2014) *Datos y cifras. Curso escolar 2014/2015* (Madrid, Secretaria General Técnica).

Ministry of Employment and Social Security. (2012) *Secretaría de Estado de inmigración y emigración* (Madrid). Available at: http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/index.html (accessed 23 July 2016).

Naserdeen, D. (2001) Second language study in elementary schools, *Multicultural Education*, 8 (3), 21–23.

National Institute of Statistics (NIS). (2016) *Sección prensa/Estadística del Padrón Continuo* (Madrid). Available at: http://www.ine.es/prensa/padron_prensa.htm (accessed 22 October 2016).

Núñez, M. P., González, A. and Trujillo, F. (2006) La formación del profesorado de   665
    español como segunda lengua. Situación actual y propuestas, *Textos de Didáctica de
    la Lengua y la Literatura*, 42, 65–80.
O'Connell, P. and McGinnity, F. (2008) *Immigrants at Work – Ethinicity and Nationality
    in the Irish Labour Market* (Dublin, ESRI).
Oller, J. and Vila, I. (2008) El conocimiento de catalán y castellano del alumnado de   670
    origen extranjero, tiempo de estancia en Cataluña y lengua inicial al finalizar la
    enseñanza Primaria, *Segundas Lenguas e Inmigración en Red*, I (1), 10–24.
    Available at: http://www.segundaslenguaseinmigracion.es/revista/RevistaSL&i1.pdf
    (accessed 24 February 2017).
Ortiz, M. (2011) Enseñanza de la lengua en contextos escolares de acogida. El caso de las   675
    Aulas Temporales de Adaptación Lingüística (ATAL) de Andalucía. In F. J. García
    and S. Carrasco (Eds) *Población inmigrante y escuela: Conocimientos y saberes de
    investigación* (Madrid, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte), 661–694.
Parker-Jenkins, M. and Masterson, M. (2013) No longer 'catholic, white and gaelic':
    Schools in Ireland coming to terms with cultural diversity, *Journal Irish Educational*   680
    Studies, 32 (4), 477–492. doi:10.1080/03323315.2013.851438
Perruchoud, R. (1992) Persons falling under the mandate of the international organization
    for migration (IOM) and to whom the organization may provide migration services,
    International Journal of Refugee Law, 4 (2), 1, 205–215. doi:10.1093/ijrl/4.2.205
Pizarro, G. (2002) *Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights in A/57/292,*   685
    Human Rights of Migrants, Note by the Secretary-General. Available at: http://www.
    unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glos
    sary/migrant/ (accessed 23 July 2017).
Poveda, D., Jociles, M. I. and Franzé, D. (2014) Immigrant students and the ecology of
    externalization in a secondary school in Spain, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*,   690
    45 (2), 185–202. doi:10.1111/aeq.12058
Röder, A., Ward, M., Frese, C. and Sánchez, E. (2014) *New Irish Families: A Profile
    of Second Generation Children and Their Families* (Dublin, Trinity College Dublin).
Rodrigo-Alsina, M. (2009) (In)comunicación intercultural. In A. García (Ed.) *El diálogo
    intercultural* (Universidad de Murcia, Servicio de Publicaciones), 83–118.   695
Rodríguez-Izquierdo, R. M. (2010) Éxito académico de los estudiantes inmigrantes.
    Factores de riesgo y de protección, *Educación XXI*, 13 (1), 101–123. doi:10.5944/
    educxx1.13.1.279
Rodríguez-Izquierdo, R. M. (2011) Discontinuidad cultural: Estudiantes inmigrantes y
    éxito académico, *Aula Abierta*, 39 (1), 69–80.   700
Schuster, B. G. (2005) Did a foreign language in the elementary schools (FLES) program
    in a Kansas school district affect students' academic achievement in English? *Foreign
    Language Annals*, 38, 344–356. doi:10.1111/j.1944-9720.2005.tb02221.x
Siarova, H. and Essomba, M. (2014) *Language Support for Youth with Migrant
    Background*. Available at: http://www.sirius-migrationeducation.org/wp-content   705
    /uploads/2014/11/Polciy-Brief-4_Language-Support.pdf (accessed 10 April 2016).
Sime, D. and Fox, D. (2015) Migrant children, social capital and access to services
    post-migration: Transitions, negotiations and complex agencies, *Children and
    Society*, 29, 524–534. doi:10.1111/chso.12092
Smyth, E., Merike, D., McGinnity, F. and Byrne, D. (2009) *Adapting to Diversity, Irish*   710
    Schools and Immigrant Students (Dublin, ESRI).
Terrén, E. (2008) La integración educativa de los hijos de familias inmigradas. In A.
    Izquierdo (Ed.) *El modelo de inmigración y los riesgos de exclusión* (Madrid,
    Fundación Foessa), 155–211.
Vélez, A. and Ayala, E. (2016) Objetivos y contenidos sobre interculturalidad en la   715
    formación inicial de educadores y educadoras, *Estudios Sobre Educación*, 18, 37–57.

AQ?0

Vila, I., Canal, I., Mayans, P., Perera, S., Serra, J. M. and Siqués, C. (2009) Las aulas de acogida de la educación primaria de Cataluña el curso 2005–2006: Sus efectos sobre el conocimiento de catalán y la adaptación escolar, *Infancia y Aprendizaje*, 32 (3), 307–327. doi:10.1174/021037009788964123

Correspondence
Education and Social Psychology
Pablo de Olavide University
Ctra. Utrera, km. 1
41089 Sevilla, Spain
Email: rmrodizq@upo.es