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**Strength through diversity's
Spotlight Report for Sweden**

**Lucie Cerna,
Hanna Andersson,
Meredith Bannon,
Francesca Borgonovi**

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STRENGTH THROUGH DIVERSITY'S SPOTLIGHT REPORT FOR SWEDEN

OECD Education Working Paper No. 194

Lucie Cerna (OECD), Hanna Andersson (OECD), Meredith Bannon (Pennsylvania State University) and Francesca Borgonovi (OECD)

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

Lucie Cerna (lucie.cerna@oecd.org) and Francesca Borgonovi (francesca.borgonovi@oecd.org)

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Abstract

Within OECD countries, Sweden has historically welcomed large numbers of migrants, in particular migrants seeking humanitarian protection. Since 2015, this large influx of new arrivals with multiple disadvantages has put a well-developed integration system under great pressure and highlighted a number of challenges for education policy given current institutional frameworks. PISA 2015 shows that immigrant students fare considerably worse than native students in terms of academic and well-being outcomes also after accounting for differences in social-economic background. The OECD has identified four priority areas for Sweden for closing the gap between immigrant and native students: (1) Facilitating the access of immigrants to school choice, (2) Building teaching capacity, (3) Providing language training and (4) Strengthening the management of diversity. The findings in this Spotlight Report are based on existing OECD work in the area of immigrant integration in education, OECD and national data, a questionnaire on the range of policies and practices in Sweden and good practice examples for the integration in the education system in peer-learner countries and regions [Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and North America (Canada and the United States)], which were identified of particular relevance for Sweden. The report also includes policy pointers on what policies and practices Sweden could adopt to respond to the current integration challenges in the four priority areas.

Résumé

Dans les pays de l'OCDE, la Suède a toujours accueilli un grand nombre de migrants, en particulier des migrants en quête de protection humanitaire. Depuis 2015, cet afflux important de nouveaux arrivants présentant de multiples désavantages a mis un système d'intégration bien développé sous une pression forte et a mis en évidence un certain nombre de défis pour la politique de l'éducation compte tenu des cadres institutionnels actuels. Le PISA 2015 montre que les résultats obtenus par les étudiants immigrés sont bien pires que ceux des élèves autochtones en termes de résultats scolaires et de bien-être. L'OCDE a défini quatre domaines prioritaires pour la Suède afin de réduire l'écart entre étudiants immigrants et autochtones : (1) Faciliter l'accès des immigrés au choix de l'école, (2) Développer des capacités d'enseignement, (3) Fournir une formation linguistique et (4) Renforcer la gestion de la diversité. Les conclusions de ce rapport sont basées sur les travaux actuels de l'OCDE dans le domaine de l'intégration des immigrants dans l'éducation, sur des données de l'OCDE et nationales, sur un questionnaire sur l'éventail des politiques et des pratiques en Suède et sur des exemples de bonnes pratiques d'intégration des systèmes de formation par les pairs dans des pays et régions apprenants [Autriche, Allemagne, Pays-Bas et Amérique du Nord (Canada et États-Unis)] qui revêtent une importance particulière pour la Suède. Le rapport inclut également des indications sur les politiques et les pratiques que la Suède pourrait adopter pour répondre aux défis actuels de l'intégration dans les quatre domaines prioritaires.

Foreword

Within OECD countries, Sweden has historically welcomed large numbers of migrants, in particular migrants seeking humanitarian protection. Since 2015, the very large influx of new arrivals with multiple disadvantages has put a well-developed integration system under great pressure and highlighted a number of challenges for education policy, given current institutional frameworks.

There is a considerable gap in academic and well-being outcomes between immigrant and native students. PISA 2015 shows that 76% of native-born students of native-born parents attained at least proficiency level 2 in the three PISA core domains – math, reading and science. While not taking into consideration the newly arrived students from 2015 onwards, PISA findings further indicate that, similar to most OECD countries, first-generation immigrant students in Sweden were the most academically disadvantaged among students with an immigrant background. PISA allows to identify several groups of students with an immigrant background: *First-generation immigrant students* are students who were not born in the country in which they sat the PISA test at age 15 and have two foreign-born parents. *Second-generation immigrant students* are students who were born in the country in which they sat the PISA test but who have two foreign-born parents. *Returning foreign-born students* are students who were not born in the country in which they sat the PISA test but who have at least one parent who was born in such country. *Native students with mixed heritage* are students who were born in the country in which they sat the PISA test and who have one native-born parent and one parent who was foreign-born.

The proportion of first-generation immigrant students who did not attain baseline academic proficiency (61%) was greater than the proportion of second-generation immigrant students who did not (43%). This difference (almost 19 percentage points) is significantly greater than the OECD average (11 percentage points). Furthermore, the gap in the percentage of students reporting a sense of belonging at school between native and first-generation immigrant students was 15 percentage points, significantly above the OECD average gap (9 percentage points). First- and second-generation immigrant students were also 8 and 13 percentage points less likely, respectively, to report low levels of schoolwork-related anxiety compared to native students. These gaps have led to a national debate on how to better integrate immigrant students, and how to adapt the education systems so that these students are not left behind.

In response to this national debate, the Swedish Ministry of Education and Research invited the OECD's Strength through Diversity project to prepare this Spotlight Report on the integration of immigrant and refugee students in Sweden, with a primary focus on compulsory education (primary and lower secondary). The Spotlight's objectives were to: (1) produce new insights about policy responses that can help the Swedish education system adapt to successfully integrate migrants, so as to achieve better outcomes for these immigrants and for communities as a whole; and (2) provide tailored policy advice to Sweden on developing and implementing more effective policies and practices.

The aim of the OECD's collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Research on a Spotlight Report Project is to build upon recent policies as well as to identify new actions Sweden can consider taking to ensure that immigrant and refugee students are well integrated into the education system in the short- and long-term.. The Spotlight Report aims to inform the development of new approaches and the redesign of current policies and

practices, drawing from the OECD's expertise in comparative education policy so that Sweden may benefit from international evidence to create opportunities for sustained and inclusive economic growth in the future. In contrast to an in-depth education country review, the Spotlight Report targets four priority areas concerning immigrant integration in Sweden's education sector that were identified by the OECD in consultation with the Ministry of Education and Research and other stakeholders in Sweden:

1. Facilitating the access of immigrants to school choice;
2. Building teaching capacity;
3. Providing language training; and
4. Strengthening the management of diversity.

The findings in this Spotlight Report reflect existing OECD work, OECD and national data, questionnaire results on policies and practices implemented in Sweden to support immigrant students' educational achievement and socioemotional well-being, in addition to examples of good practices for the integration in the education system in peer-learner countries and regions (notably Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and North America). A scoping mission took place to Stockholm on 9-10 April 2018, which included meetings with officials from the Ministry of Education and Research, the National Agency for Education, and representatives from teacher training institutions, municipalities, independent schools, unions of teachers and principals, as well as researchers (Annex A).

The Spotlight Report is divided into an overview section and four thematic sections corresponding to the identified priority areas. Each section describes current, relevant policies, analyses the situation and provides Sweden with promising examples from peer-learner countries at various policy levels: the classroom, the school (or university in some instances), the municipality, the region and the system. This is meant to emphasise the shared responsibility across all levels of the education system in integrating immigrant and refugee students. Finally, policy pointers are provided to guide Sweden on how best to respond to the current integration challenges in these four areas. The OECD, with its Strength through Diversity project, stands ready to support Sweden in developing an education system that promotes the integration of immigrant and refugee students into its education system.

The OECD team is indebted to the Swedish government for supporting this initiative, under the leadership of the Ministry of Education and Research. Special thanks are due to Swedish team members Kjell Nyman, Veronica Borg, Åsa Källén, Charlotte Persson, Cristina Pontis, Amanda Johansson and Lovissa LH Helberg for their guidance and support in developing this report. We are also grateful to Katalin Bellaagh, Anna Ambrose, Anders Auer, Therese Ahlqvist, Ingalill Hägglund, Camilla Holmberg, Eva Lundgren, Maria Schwartz and Isabell Zupanc from the National Agency for Education for organising the meetings with stakeholders and for their comments, and to Kjell Nyman, Peter Johansson (in early stages) and Veronica Borg for co-ordinating the whole process. We would like to thank the many participants in the visit who shared their views, experience and knowledge.

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1. Assessment and Policy Pointers

1.1. Background

This Spotlight Report for Sweden focuses on the integration of immigrant and refugee students in education, a policy area which has been prominent on the political agenda with the large number of newcomers that have come to Sweden since 2015.

Drawing on international evidence, the Spotlight Report aims to inform the development of new approaches and the redesign of current policies and practices to create opportunities for sustained and inclusive economic growth in the future.

This section summarises the key conclusions of the Spotlight Report in four identified education areas and provides action points on what policies and practices Sweden could test to help reduce the gap between immigrant and Swedish students in academic and well-being outcomes. The policy pointers in each area are ordered by decreasing order of priority and attempt to indicate the magnitude of expected costs and benefits.

1.2. Facilitating the Access of Immigrants to School Choice

Aim: Managing school choice and residential segregation to promote more diverse distributions of students and provide equal opportunities to all students

There is a significant gap in educational performance within Swedish schools that can be partly explained by school composition with regards to family and migration backgrounds. To close this gap, while improving learning outcomes for both immigrant and native students, it is necessary to include integration measures into school choice policies. While the Parliament voted down in May 2018 a proposal for the school provider or head teacher to facilitate the development of a balanced social composition, policy pointers on school choice discuss what Sweden could do to manage school choice and provide equal opportunities to all students.

Sweden is considering a proposal for a compulsory school choice programme amid several concerns

The current programme allows a parent to choose a school after they have opted out of their location based school. However, many students in the Swedish system have simply accepted their “location-based” school. Evidence suggests that current choice systems tend to favour the most resourceful parents and children. Under a new policy proposal, every guardian would be required to choose a school for their child to attend. In the National Strategy for Knowledge and Equal Opportunities Report (*Nationell strategi för kunskap och likvärdighet*), the Swedish School Commission (*Skolkommission*) recognises that the term ‘compulsory’ may be too strong, explaining that guardians should never be forced to submit an application to a school; in the case a guardian does not submit an application, a school placement would be decided upon.

Policy pointer 1.1: Provide quality information and support for an active school choice so that all parents and guardians can choose schools that best respond to the needs of their children

In Sweden, combining active school choice with quality information and support that is targeted especially to less resourceful parents could help parents choose the right school

for their children. Following the example of the Netherlands, Sweden could establish knowledge-centres for mixed schools in municipalities aimed to help change preferences and misconceptions of foreigners through tours of the local schools organised by municipalities. These tours would provide parents with the opportunity to discuss enrolment options, learn more about the schools in their area and help them make informed decisions for their children.

The current school choice system disadvantages immigrant students

School choice is just one of the factors that can lead to increased segregation in schools. For example, the ‘first-come-first-serve’ principle discriminates against newly arrived students because newly immigrated parents do not have the ability, as native parents do, to put their children on a school’s waiting list many years in advance. In addition, schools can become more segregated simply through other discriminatory practices at the school-level: some schools circumvent mandated school choice practices (such as ‘first-come-first-serve’ acceptance) by only advertising to certain groups of high-achieving students and placing schools in areas that are typically homogenous and high-achieving. Furthermore, many researchers conclude that native parents/guardians select schools on the basis of race, ethnicity and class in addition to rational, objective measures of school quality, whereas immigrant parents tend to choose schools for different reasons, such as location of the school or the presence of students from same ethnic groups.

Policy pointer 1.2: Promote lightly controlled freedom of choice to balance providing an equitable education and freedom of choice

Freedom of choice is a guarded right in Sweden. Lightly-controlled choice schemes that use quotas or reserves to give a slight priority to disadvantaged students can establish a balanced compromise between providing an equitable education for all and allowing parents complete freedom of choice. Experiences from other countries show that lightly controlled choice programmes can provide choices for students and parents, while at the same time control the compositional balance of the student body often in terms of socio-economic status.

Incentivising independent schools, especially to use the special quota system to give priority to students who have lived in Sweden less than two years, could further support the rights of students to equally access quality education.

Sweden could introduce lightly controlled choice schemes that supplement parental choice to ensure a more diverse distribution of students at schools. This requires ensuring that equity criteria are adopted for schools to prioritise disadvantaged students or that funding arrangements make disadvantaged students more attractive to high-performing schools. While such lightly controlled systems entail some financial implications and oversight, they could potentially make the Swedish education systems more equitable, thus leading to benefits for all.

Defining disadvantage beyond ethnicity and immigration status remains a challenge

The definition of disadvantage has an important impact on the level of weighted funding and the selection of criteria in controlled school choice systems. Engaging school communities in the definition of these criteria and allowing for local variation can ensure that they are sensitive to local context, which can in turn significantly ease their implementation. Some countries such as the Netherlands have moved away from defining disadvantage based on country of origin to a definition encompassing all children, regardless of ethnic background. Defining disadvantage remains a challenge also in

Sweden. Evidence suggests that the current achievement gap between schools with a higher concentration of immigrants is not related to immigration background per se, but rather the fact that the concentration of socio-economic disadvantage has a negative effect on education outcomes.

Policy pointer 1.3: Establish concrete, robust and comprehensive definitions of disadvantage that go beyond migration status

In the event of a future proposal to ensure a balanced school composition, the development and communication of a concrete, robust and comprehensive definition of a balanced school composition, is crucial in order to enable effective implementation. Definitions focusing on socio-economic status and parental educational attainment rather than ethnicity or immigration status can avoid discrimination of particular students and help create a more balanced social composition, benefiting students and the whole education community with some financial implications.

Weighted funding programmes are not used consistently across municipalities to address the needs of disadvantaged students

In Sweden, the equalisation approach means that every student should have the same opportunity for a good quality education. While state grants use this equalisation approach to ensure that funding responds to local needs, funding from the state grant is not earmarked specifically for education. Municipalities can allocate resources across public services and then between schools, taking into consideration that schools and students have differing needs. Municipalities in Sweden have much autonomy, as they decide how resources will be distributed between their schools. The distribution of school resources as well as the capacity to use these resources varies among municipalities.

There are no clear guidelines for schools and funding strategies do not necessarily prioritise disadvantaged students across all municipalities, possibly implying that independent schools become more selective towards more advantaged students, given the same student costs.

Policy pointer 1.4: Introduce clear goals and criteria in a weighted funding programme to ensure equity and consistency in school funding that supports disadvantaged students

For additional financial support given to schools catering to specific students, it would be helpful for Sweden to mandate municipalities to propose clear goals and criteria of funding formulae (such as low student-teacher ratio, more teachers specialised in language teaching, and special funding for parental engagement and communication) and to demonstrate how funding formulae respond to the specific need. Municipalities would refer to national guidelines and be expected to share the goals and outcomes of funding formulae with the national government. Making the process more transparent and linking goals and outcomes could help ensure appropriate and effective funding for those students and schools with the most need. It would also allow funding formula policies to be better understood by those who are tasked with implementation, and thus, more likely to be implemented correctly. Providing guidelines and mandates is a cost-effective way of achieving considerable benefits for supporting disadvantaged students and schools.

1.3. Building Teaching Capacity

Aim: Building capacity to respond to shortages in both the quantity and quality of teachers through specific diversity training and professional development

In the 2018/19 school year, Sweden's compulsory education (*grundskola*) system is expected to accommodate over 1 million students, up from 886 000 students in the 2010/11 school year. According to projections by Statistic Sweden, the number of students is expected to rise until at least 2030. To respond to the fast increase in the number of students (mainly due to population growth) it is necessary to both hire more teachers and retain the current ones. The shortage of teachers is expected to reach the 80 000 figure (including teachers and pre-school teachers) by 2031. Capacity building, however, is not solely limited to the quantity of teachers. Of equal importance, in the medium and long-term, the key challenges for Sweden are how to incentivise teachers to work in schools that have a relatively disadvantaged intake, and how to prepare and train teachers to teach in classrooms that are multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-language. Although some of the adults who migrate to Sweden hold teaching qualifications, many face obstacles in obtaining a teaching degree valid for teaching in Swedish schools. Thus, the vital areas of capacity building are attracting talent to the teaching profession, training new and current teachers, and adding extra support measures for diverse classrooms across Sweden. The government has directed considerable efforts towards schools facing the largest challenges in integrating newcomer students.

Programmes to boost teacher salaries exist, but they do not sufficiently address working conditions particularly in disadvantaged schools

Recruiting and retaining teachers can help respond to increasing student numbers and teacher shortages. The literature indicates that when salaries are higher, teachers are less likely to leave the teaching profession. Thus, programmes like the ***Teacher Salary Boost*** (*Lärarlönelyftet*) could ameliorate the current teacher shortage in Sweden, but they also raise some concerns about equity among teachers. The programme aims to increase wages for up to 60 000 teachers per year, selected by the municipality or independent school provider based on a certain number of requirements.

However, the Swedish National Audit Office also found that the initiative has created deterioration in the working environment among the teachers as there are not enough funds for universal wage increases. Additionally, *Statskontoret* found that the ***Teacher Salary Boost*** is linked to an imbalance in motivation; some principals reported that motivation increased among the teachers who received pay increases while it decreased among those who did not get pay raises. One reason could be that the financial contributions could create a perceived injustice.

Policy pointer 2.1: Increase teacher salary alongside other incentives to attract and retain teachers in disadvantaged schools

The evaluation of the first year of the Teacher Salary Boost, conducted by the Swedish Agency for Public Management, found that 90% of all school authorities chose to participate in the Teacher Salary Boost scheme, where the most skilled teachers have been rewarded had participated in the programme. It has increased the average salary for teachers and about 40% of the school authorities have introduced the salary boost as a permanent salary increase. This suggests that the programme could have a positive effect on the long-term salary growth for teachers. Nevertheless, while one of the objectives was to incentivise experienced teachers to work in disadvantaged schools, no significant part of the grant has

been attributed to these schools. The programme has also had limited effect on organisation and teaching methods (Statskontoret (The Swedish Agency for Public Management), 2017^[11]).

To create more equitable distribution of Teacher Salary Boost, the selection criteria would need to be revised and the definition of disadvantaged schools broadened beyond certain geographic areas, so that it can better target teachers in disadvantaged schools.

Research indicates that monetary concerns are not the only, or even, primary factor in shaping the decision to enter the teaching profession (Han, Borgonovi and Guerriero, 2017^[11]; Bergmark et al., 2018^[12]). To both recruit and retain teachers, increased salary initiatives to attract teachers to the profession should be combined with improvements in working conditions such as a reduction in instructional time, an increase in preparation time, more time for meeting with other teachers and family communication. These policy pointers could help improve the recruitment and retention of teachers especially in disadvantaged schools, although the financial costs could be considerable.

Programmes for teachers with an immigrant background do not sufficiently address challenges of combining work with study and overcoming Swedish language barriers

While Sweden has several programmes for teachers with an immigrant background or for educated immigrants and refugees, they could become more effective. One of the challenges for immigrant students in teacher education programmes (such as bridging programmes for people with foreign degrees in teaching – sometimes referred to as **ULV** in Swedish) is that it is difficult to complete the course while holding a job. Offering sufficient financial support for student teachers could reduce the significant financial burdens that many student-teachers bear (Turley and Nakai, 2000^[191]). Training to become a teacher can also be time-consuming. Thus, many (second-career) student teachers have financial concerns as it is difficult to concurrently hold a job (Haggard, Slostad and Winterton, 2006^[192]). Additionally, many of the student-teachers are migrants who are already facing financial burdens associated with relocation (Haggard, Slostad and Winterton, 2006^[192]). While student teachers in the ULV programme are entitled to receive some funding from the Swedish Board of Student Finance (CSN) (Stockholm University, 2018^[7]), financial reasons are an important factor for leaving the programme (Granath and Åström, 2018^[8]).

Another challenge is the high Swedish language level demanded from applicants in different programmes for immigrant and refugee teachers and the lack of intensive language training for participants. While participants in Fast Track for Migrant Teachers (*Snabbspår*) take part in Swedish for Immigrants or ‘Yrkessvenska’, the **KPU** programme does not offer any specific language training. For the **ULV** programme, the University of Gothenburg will offer from 2019 a full-time introductory course in Swedish language for those students who do not pass the new compulsory language placement test. However, this is not the case at other universities.

Policy pointer 2.2: Revise recruitment and teaching programmes for teachers with an immigrant background to offer financial support and language training

To respond to the challenge for teachers with an immigrant background to combine work with training, in addition to **Educational Basics for Displaced Teachers**, Finland also pays pre-service teachers a stipend to minimise financial burdens during training (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2013^[193]). Teachers in training can then dedicate more time to their studies and potentially avoid dropping out or interrupting their studies. Sweden could introduce a similar stipend for student teachers. While this would entail some

financial implications depending on the number of students in training, it would increase the likelihood that teacher candidates with an immigrant background finish their training and will be able to work in schools.

To respond to the challenge of overcoming language barriers for teachers with an immigrant background, Sweden could follow the examples of North-Rhine Westphalia (Germany) and Austria, and provide intensive language training for applicants and for participants in the teacher training and certification programmes. Without a high level of Swedish language skills, teacher candidates are not able to complete successfully their training programme and importantly, are not able to teach in schools in Sweden. While additional language training will entail some financial costs, the benefits are likely to be considerable.

Teacher training for diversity is covered only in elective courses with limited practical experience

Teachers need to be trained sufficiently to be able to teach in diverse classrooms, meaning that training does not only cover teaching methods and theoretical studies, but also exposes teachers to diverse classrooms through practical experience. While some universities in Sweden offer courses to prepare teachers for diverse classrooms, these are mostly elective courses and not all offer practical experience. In addition, no specific programmes exist that focus specifically on Swedish in a multicultural society.

Furthermore, it is important for aspiring teachers to learn how to integrate language teaching into the teaching of core subjects. In Swedish teacher education, student teachers study subject content and corresponding theory (Ämnes- och ämnesdidaktiska studier) in addition to educational core requirements. Although there are programmes to specifically become a mother tongue teacher, or a Swedish as Second Language (SAS) teacher (also only through subject teacher programme), they are not integrated in other teacher programmes.

Policy pointer 2.3: Prepare teachers for diverse classrooms through comprehensive training programmes in diversity including a language component

In the Swedish context specifically, all teachers would benefit from learning about specialised subjects such as knowledge around culture and diversity in classrooms, Swedish for Immigrants (SFI), mother tongue language education, and (SAS) which enable teachers of Swedish to understand how learning takes place from a second language acquisition perspective. If, for example, it is not possible to include the entire training for SAS in general teacher education, certain elements could be merged into the overall curriculum so that pre-service teachers would be required to contemplate the applicability of specific approaches in more homogenous/heterogeneous classrooms.

Following the example of universities in the United States, Finland and Australia, Sweden could implement comprehensive training programmes in diversity which include cultural immersion programmes, cultural exchanges through technology and specific explorations of the teachers' own cultural backgrounds. Besides training teachers for diverse classrooms, offering a language component in all teaching programmes would help teachers in Sweden develop such skills and be better prepared to help immigrant and refugee students. The benefits of these proposed changes in training programmes could be considerable for preparing teachers for diverse classrooms, while expected costs could be rather small.

Professional development courses exist, but more is needed to create a network of training and exchange

Solely providing training to pre-service teachers in diversity management is not sufficient; continuous professional development on how to best teach in heterogeneous classrooms is necessary for practicing teachers. In Sweden, an example of continuous professional development offered for teachers is ***A Boost for Teachers (Lärarlyftet)***. The National Agency offers teachers continuous professional development on teaching newly arrived students through material that is available for free on the website. In addition, it is responsible for offering courses that certify teachers to teach more subjects, through collaboration with the different universities in Sweden, which teachers can choose from and participate in while receiving 80% of their salaries. Examples of offered courses include SAS and “The Global Classroom”, which target all teachers regardless of the subject matter and inter-culture and multilingualism in pre-school 7.5 ECTS credits aimed at all staff in preschool. However, it would be important to establish a network of new and established educators to create a forum for training, exchange and support.

Policy pointer 2.4: Provide continuing professional development for diversity training and facilitate networks for training and exchange

Following the example of Germany, Sweden could provide funding to establish networks which target student teacher and teacher educators to offer specific workshops, seminars and activities around diversity to build a community of practice. The National Agency for Education could also prepare guidelines on offering and implementing comprehensive professional development programmes for diversity across schools and providing support to schools if needed. Providing guidelines would be a cost-effective measure, while offering funding to establish networks would entail small financial implications, but these could be effective measures in promoting professional development.

Mentoring programmes and student health services in schools do not sufficiently support new and established teachers in responding to the needs of immigrant students

The first few years of classroom teaching often bring many professional challenges for new teachers, sometimes including an additional component of teaching in challenging classrooms as many new teachers are placed in disadvantaged schools due to staffing difficulties. A proven method to support these teachers, especially those in disadvantaged schools or who have a migrant background, is comprehensive mentoring because it can help teachers learn the necessary skills more quickly or address unique challenges.

However, teachers in Sweden are no longer required to participate in an induction programme with a personal mentor to obtain a teacher certificate, resulting in fewer special mentorship courses being offered. Although the National Agency for Education has prepared a number of guidelines for mentorship, there are no established rules and regulations, nor is there a particular focus on mentoring new teachers on how to teach in diverse classrooms.

Additionally, teachers require support to deal with the social and emotional well-being of immigrant and refugee students. Refugee students especially might have experienced and continue to experience difficult conditions and trauma which can lead them to be unable to make the most of learning opportunities. These students require specialised mental health support in order to avoid long-term suffering. Teachers are not mental health professionals and should not be expected to provide mental health counselling.

While Swedish schools have a student health service on site, the professionals are not specifically trained to deal with newly arrived students and trauma. The National Agency has directed many efforts to helping the student health staff. For instance, together with Save the Children International, the National Agency organises a course in trauma wise care (TMO – traumamedveten omsorg). In 2018, around 35 schools in Sweden participated in this training.

Furthermore, there are no expert teams of psychologists, counsellors and trauma therapists on site to support the additional needs of immigrant and refugee children. The lack of support may prevent children who have experienced or are experiencing trauma and/or mental health issues from fully benefiting from other integration efforts.

Policy pointer 2.5: Offer extra support to teachers through comprehensive mentorships and expert teams to respond to well-being needs of immigrant and refugee students

Learning from the mentorship programmes in New Zealand, detailed guidelines, as well as a framework, are vital in supporting new teachers, especially those with migrant backgrounds. Scheduling mandated mentoring time would afford new teachers in Sweden the opportunity to develop their professional competencies.

Considering, however, that students are more likely to talk to specialists within their school/educational environment, it is important that schools have expert teams in terms of psychologists, counsellors and trauma therapists available to support the additional needs of immigrant and refugee children. While Swedish schools draw on the help of psychologists and social workers, having further experts on call (such as trauma therapists) like in Austria would be beneficial in supporting immigrant and refugee students' well-being. These policy pointers would entail some financial implications, but could offer teachers significant support in teaching and working with immigrant and refugee students.

1.4. Providing Language Training

Aim: Improving language support to immigrant and refugee students with limited Swedish skills

In Sweden, learning a language is an important component of the immigrant student experience; the overwhelming majority of new arrivals are non-native Swedish speakers and non-native immigrant students to Sweden are less likely to attain baseline academic proficiency than native-speaking immigrants. Additionally, learning Swedish continues to hold high importance even after finishing traditional schooling; many researchers and academics have concluded that it is a prerequisite for individuals to play an active role in Swedish society. For school-aged immigrants, this active role can begin in the classroom through the language learning process. However, a number of challenges exist that hinder language learning of immigrant and refugee students.

Initial language and skills assessment requires an individualised learning plan and continuous follow-up for all newly arrived students

In Sweden, early initial assessment is essential in providing language support to immigrant and refugee students because it indicates what level of support is needed by these students. Within two months of starting school, all new arrivals are assessed on their academic knowledge and language skills. Additionally, the assessments are offered in the students' mother tongues in order to best assess previous knowledge without language barriers. The challenge lies in ensuring that each student, upon early assessment, receives an

individualised study plan (which takes into account his or her background and specific needs) in order to facilitate the student's learning process.

Policy pointer 3.1: Promote an individualised learning plan in the early assessment model to better support all newly arrived students and follow up on their language progress and needs

While Sweden has an early assessment in place, providing an individualised learning plan for each student and continuous follow-up assessments could be beneficial for second language learners. Since August 2018, it is mandatory that newly arrived students in Sweden from grade 7 have an individual study plan. This is to be done within two months of arrival to the school. There is also a requirement for schools do an initial mapping of the student's previous knowledge and experience (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[8]). It would be important to extend the requirement for an individual study plan to newly arrived students of all grades so that students can be supported early on. When promoting such a plan, Sweden could learn from Finland. Extending such a plan to all students could have considerable benefits for each student (but also for the schools and municipality) and would entail limited costs.

Special language courses such as SAS are not integrated in the curriculum and not specifically designed for newly arrived students

Promoting specialist language courses such as SAS can help develop the Swedish language skills of immigrant and refugee students. However, evaluations by the National Agency for Education, the former Agency for School Improvement (Myndigheten för Skolutveckling) and the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet) have all noted several shortcomings in that SAS is sometimes regarded as a support intervention in Swedish rather than a separate equivalent, SAS classrooms tend to be composed of the weakest students, and SAS sometimes has a low status. Furthermore, although SAS and Swedish are intended to be equivalent in terms of learning outcomes, there are some important differences. The SAS curriculum is also not designed for newly arrived students who begin to learn the Swedish language.

Policy pointer 3.2: Integrate SAS in the curriculum and focus on newly arrived students

To promote SAS, it would be important to design a specific curriculum for newly arrived students in Swedish as a Second Language and develop more analytical and reflective approaches in the curriculum rather than focus mainly language communication. This could help decrease the negative perceptions of the subject. Raising the status and standards of SAS and target more newly arrived students is important and would entail limited financial implications.

The provision of mother tongue tuition and study guidance does not currently reach all students

Mother tongue tuition is an important component of language learning in Swedish schools. Numerous studies have shown that mother tongue education results in increased cognitive development and second language literacy. While Sweden offers mother tongue tuition in schools, participation is voluntary, hours are limited and tuition is not fully integrated into the curriculum. The availability of teachers of some mother tongue languages is also insufficient, which further limits the opportunities of students to receive mother tongue instruction.

Policy pointer 3.3: Increase mother tongue tuition and study guidance so that all immigrant students can access them

It is important to increase the hours of mother tongue tuition and offer additional settings outside of formal education for mother tongue tuition to take place in. Providing guidelines for mother tongue language teaching and study guidance, as well as offering more teacher training in mother tongue language would also promote the development of language learning of immigrant students. With shortages in mother tongue teachers and a considerable need for mother tongue tuition and tutoring in more remote areas, it might be also beneficial to draw more strongly on technology and synchronised distance education to reach all students, an approach taken in Australia. Mother tongue tuition and study guidance are a key feature of Sweden's education system. The suggested policy pointers, especially creating guidelines and making greater use of technology would result in small costs but potential great impacts.

Plurilingual policies exist, but they are not well integrated in schools

A main step in promoting plurilingualism is to value cultures and different languages, which allows students with an immigrant background to learn Swedish and integrate into Swedish society more quickly. Thus, promoting plurilingualism in schools could be beneficial to all students. Strategies to do this include ensuring that first languages of diverse students are not replaced by the host country language, offering continuing support through language maintenance courses and adapting the curriculum and teaching style to reflect the learning and existence of different languages in schools.

Policy pointer 3.4: Promote plurilingualism in schools and develop guidelines to enable a systematic implementation across all schools

Many Swedes speak two or more languages, so it would be useful to have this diversity reflected in a language policy that embraces plurilingualism. While the National Agency for Education already provides guidelines for schools on how to respond to language learning and plurilingualism, guidelines should be implemented systematically across all schools. Costs of this policy pointer are rather small, but benefits could be considerable.

Summer schools and leisure centres do not reach all students who might benefit irrespective of the family's situation

Language learning does not only take place in the classroom thus promoting programmes that offer language learning experiences outside of schools and through the community can be beneficial. One activity is (language) summer camps where immigrant students can improve their language skills in an informal setting by interacting with other foreign-born and native students as well as the staff. Many municipalities offer different types of summer camps to students, but not all are free for students, which can make access difficult especially for low-income families. Sweden also already offers summer camps to students failing one or more subjects in grades 8 and 9, but there are no similar camps offered to younger children who might need additional support, except in some municipalities. Following examples in Austria, language camps could be offered to children aged 6 and above.

Another activity for language learning is leisure centres, which children between 6 and 12 years of age can attend and thus practice Swedish in an informal setting at the exception of children whose parents are unemployed because they are not given access due to their work status. As the children of immigrant and refugee parents would benefit considerably from leisure centres, access to all parents would be helpful.

Policy pointer 3.5: Offer language camps and access to leisure centres to all students irrespective of their family's situation

Following examples in Austria, language summer camps could already be offered to children aged 6 and above so that all children who might need additional support are able to receive it. Making summer camps in all municipalities accessible to all students is important, irrespective of their financial situation.

Furthermore, leisure centres are a good tool to practice Swedish in an informal setting. As the children of immigrant and refugee parents would benefit considerably from leisure centres, access to all parents would be beneficial irrespective of the family's situation.

Swedish languages courses for immigrant adults are available, but are not well integrated with language support for their children

Engaging parents and families in language learning could help immigrant students to improve their language and vocabulary skill, enabling students to participate more easily in all aspects of their schooling as well as integrating socially. While Sweden offers SFI to adult migrants that have received a permission to stay, there is no clear bridge between SFI and parent engagement in school and language learning of their children. Parents of immigrant students are often not included in learning of the host country language, which can slow down the learning process of their children.

Policy pointer 3.6: Engage immigrant families in language learning so that they are able to support the language skills and integration of their children

Following examples from Austria and Germany such as the Backpacker Parents Project, Sweden could incorporate family through national, local and school initiatives to connect learning in the classroom with learning outside the classroom. Since newly arrived immigrants must learn Swedish, language training (Swedish for Immigrants) for parents with pre-school and school-aged children could benefit from being integrated in the education system of their children.

1.5. Strengthening the Management of Diversity

Aim: Promoting a comprehensive approach to managing diversity across educational communities in times of more diverse immigrant flows

While diversity in the classroom is increasing in Sweden, most highly diverse classrooms are located in metropolitan or densely populated areas. In the years preceding the refugee crisis, the metropolitan areas had the highest number of immigrants, with approximately 15-16 immigrants per 1 000 inhabitants in areas such as Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. In contrast, in the north, there were approximately 10-11 immigrants per 1 000 inhabitants. After the great influx of refugees in 2015, this has resulted in more immigrants being allocated in the northern regions of Sweden, reaching similar numbers of immigrants per inhabitants typical of metropolitan areas (around 15-16 per 1 000 inhabitants) (Statistics Sweden, 2018^[2]; Statistics Sweden, 2018^[3]).

Regardless of the levels of diversity in a classroom, all students can benefit from an education that includes multiple perspectives. Educational systems need to be responsible for all students regardless of their individual characteristics, making sure no segregatory measures are created for different categories of students and that all students should feel socially and academically involved in school as part of a learning community. Managing diversity involves including all students in education as well as using diversity as an

educational tool to promote learning and improve the acquisition of important skills and competences.

In Sweden, a comprehensive approach does not exist in classrooms or schools to manage diversity. It is often up to individual teachers and school leaders to adopt practices on how to promote tolerance and openness to diversity, and introduce inclusive education for all students. While the curriculum develops democratic values and promotes an understanding for cultural diversity, it might not be sufficient in the long-term to deal with increasing diversity in the classroom and potential conflicts. A broader approach to inclusion is necessary so that all students develop values and skills to live in an open and tolerant society. Teachers and school leaders are also often not trained to manage diversity in classrooms. On behalf of the government, the Swedish National Agency for Education has made knowledge-enhancing efforts in order to prevent xenophobia and intolerance. These have taken the shape of regional conferences, web-based support material and podcasts.

Diversity-conscious curriculum is limited and not implemented consistently across schools

Teachers need to be aware of the messages they send to students by selecting topics, people and themes that reflect positive messages about who students are and who they can expect to become in the future. The exact methods to achieve such diversity-conscious curriculums are often unique to classrooms. However, methods such as separate subjects on tolerance and including multiculturalism as a content topic for language classes, history and civic education can help students to develop critical thinking and understand societal processes better. While some schools in Sweden are already engaging in such practices, it is important that designing a diversity-aware curriculum is implemented consistently across schools.

Policy pointer 4.1: Implement a diversity-conscious curriculum consistently across schools

A diversity-conscious curriculum that promotes diversity, provides critical skills and challenges prejudices is also important, and can have a positive ripple effect beyond the classroom walls. Curricula should include multiculturalism and diversity as content topics in language classes, history and civic education. Sweden should apply and implement a diversity-conscious curriculum consistently across schools.

Inclusive education practices are not consistently interpreted and implemented, and usually focus only on special needs

Inclusive education does not only benefit immigrant students, but all students. For immigrant students, inclusive schools can increase their opportunities to learn because they are able to interact with other children, which in turn can promote their family and community participation. All students can benefit because they learn to respect and to value each other's abilities and experiences, as well as patience, tolerance and understanding. Adopting inclusive education means to manage differences among students by recognising their strengths and weaknesses, planning lessons effectively, using teaching strategies and adapting the curriculum to fit each student's ability and background. It also means knowing how to mobilise other teachers, parents, community members and other professionals to provide a good quality education to all students. However, in Sweden, there is no specific policy towards inclusive education beyond a focus on special needs students. Some research finds that considerable variation exists because municipalities and schools interpret national policy differently. Swedish policy is not as inclusive in practice as on paper.

Policy pointer 4.2: Promote inclusive education in schools so that all students can benefit from a good quality education

Even if teachers and principals believe in the importance of including all students in regular classrooms, many experience challenges in how this can be done in practice. Hence, teachers and administrative leadership need to be supported in implementing strategies to promote inclusive learning and in learning how such strategies can be designed in ways that benefit all students. Policies aimed at fostering inclusivity need imbedded flexibility. While the National Agency for Education offers online learning modules to support teachers and other staff in inclusive education, these modules might not reach all teachers and schools. Drawing on the example of Canada, Sweden should promote inclusive education for all students, and ensure that all students can benefit from a good quality education. Promoting and implementing inclusive education across all schools could bring many benefits to students, teachers, school leaders and communities, while costs of these proposed measures are expected to be minimal.

Citizenship education is not well integrated in the teaching of different subjects

Sweden's education system is focused on promoting democratic values. While Swedish students perform well in knowledge about the society and about democratic values, as schools become more diverse, an even more active citizenship education could be needed to ensure that youth, irrespective of their background, trust each other, trust public institutions, are mindful and open to diversity, and have the knowledge and skills to actively participate in the economic and social life of their communities.

Policy pointer 4.3: Develop active citizenship education in schools that can help students develop democratic values and skills

Following the example from Australia, Sweden should provide guidelines for creating an active citizenship curriculum in schools and offer funding for schools and teachers to create projects and programmes that can help students become active citizens. Funding would entail some financial implications, but the provision of guidelines could be rather limited in terms of costs. Developing active citizens could entail considerable benefits for Swedish society.

Professional development programmes do not specifically prepare school leaders for newcomer students

School leaders can play a key role in promoting and supporting diverse schools. They can develop comprehensive school-based policies and procedures on how to integrate immigrant and refugee students beyond legal requirements. They can introduce formal procedures for the practices from admission to assessment, and offer professional development to engage teachers and support staff in emerging practices and research. School leaders can also require teamwork among their teachers, and include scheduling time to adapt and develop curricula in order to provide quality instruction for newcomer students. Therefore, training for administrative leadership in diversity management is essential for integrating immigrant and refugee students.

Since 2010, newly employed school leaders in Sweden are required to take part in a National School Leadership Training Programme. The 3-year programme covers three main areas of knowledge: school legislation and public authority, management by goals, and objectives and school leadership. There is no specific module for managing diverse schools or multicultural classroom; but it can be a topic which is discussed within the school

leadership coursework. No systematic leadership programmes currently exist to prepare school leaders for newcomers across municipalities in Sweden.

Policy pointer 4.4: Offer training for administrative leadership in diversity management to prepare school leaders for increasingly diverse schools and to be able to support teachers, staff and students

Following the example of San Antonio (Texas), Sweden should provide specific diversity training for school leaders in diversity management and develop school leaders to support inclusive education practices. Such programmes could prepare leaders to work effectively in ethnically, racially, socially, and linguistically diverse educational environments. Through partnerships with local school districts and institutions of higher education, students could have the opportunity to apply leadership theories and practices in real-world settings

Whole-school approaches to diversity and inclusion are initiated by schools rather than through a national policy

Managing diversity and promoting an inclusive school climate is the responsibility of the entire school and involves all members of the school community including school staff, students, parents and carers, agencies that engage with the school, and other community members. A culture of inclusion cannot be established unless everyone embraces it. However, there is no particular national policy towards a whole-school approach to diversity and inclusion or the celebration of cultural events. Only some projects have tried to promote a positive school climate throughout schools without being scaled up to all schools.

Policy pointer 4.5: Reinforce a whole-school approach to foster an inclusive school climate and culture in order to welcome and integrate all students

Sweden could consider reinforcing a whole-school approach to managing diversity and promote an inclusive school climate and culture. The National Agency for Education could publish guidelines for schools on how to implement a whole school response to welcome and integrate immigrant and refugee students and how to develop an inclusive school climate and culture. This could entail guidelines for schools on cultural celebrations which are applied consistently across schools. Guidelines could also address how to engage parents more and how to build effective relationships between schools and communities. These policy pointers could be beneficial for whole-school communities and entail limited costs.

2. Overview and Context

In the past century Sweden has welcomed immigrants from around the world starting shortly before World War II and continuing in waves ever since with most arriving from neighbouring countries in Europe (particularly Eastern Europe). Sweden's immigration spike in 2014 and 2015 marked not only a considerable increase in the number of new arrivals but also a geographic shift, with individuals primarily coming from countries outside of Europe such as Syria, Afghanistan, Eritrea and Somalia. The number of foreign-born individuals in Sweden has increased more than 75% since 2000, now nearing one fifth of the total population.

The percentage of students with an immigrant background (which includes both foreign-born students and the children of at least one foreign-born parent) increased by nine percentage points between 2003 and 2015 according to the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). The OECD average increase over the same period was 6 percentage points. In 2015, almost one in three students in Sweden according to the PISA study had an immigrant background, a share that was considerably larger than observed across the OECD area on average (of one in four students). However, this number most likely underestimates the prevalence of newly arrived immigrants in Swedish schools because the latest PISA study was conducted in 2015 and students must be settled in their host country well before the administration takes place to guarantee minimal language skills and be part of the sampling frame. National data reveal that between the 2008/09 and 2017/18 school years, the number of newly arrived students (including those with an unknown background) in compulsory school has increased from approximately 33 000 to 81 000 (Skolverket, 2018^[4]). Newly arrived refers to students born abroad with two foreign-born parents and who have arrived in Sweden in the last four years (and who have permanent permission to stay in the country). They currently constitute 8% of all students in compulsory school.

The increase in the number of newcomers has important consequences for the Swedish education system, not only in terms of accommodating the large numbers of students, but also in managing diversity in the classroom and responding to individual learning needs of students. This creates challenges for principals, teachers, support staff, parents, students, education authorities and communities. The last four years, given the very large influx of new arrivals, and in particular of large groups of hard-to-cater-for-arrivals, have put a well-developed integration system under extreme pressure and highlighted a number of challenges for education policy, given current institutional frameworks. Sweden is a country with a strong provision of early childhood education and the possibility for children and their family to choose the school that they will attend. Finally, schooling and education are generally regarded as important for promoting skills development and as key foundations of Swedish democracy. As such, education plays an important civic role.

To address this recent upsurge in immigrants, the Swedish educational system has begun to implement policies that will provide a strong and effective education to all children. A change in the Education Act in Sweden from 2016 (Proposal 2015/16:184) re-regulates the education for newly arrived students to help these children be integrated through education as soon as possible. Newly arrived students have the same rights and obligations as other students. Independent schools can make exceptions to established selection rules and can implement a special quota to include newly arrived students who have resided in Sweden for less than two years.

Box 2.1. Note on definitions

Definitions of native and foreign-born students

Native students are students who have two native-born parents.

First-generation immigrant students are students who were not born in the country in which they sat the PISA test at the age of 15 and have two foreign-born parents (or one foreign-born parent in the case of students living in single-parent households).

Second-generation immigrant students are students who were born in the country in which they sat the PISA test at the age of 15 but who have two foreign-born parents (or one foreign-born parent in the case of students living in single-parent households).

Returning foreign-born students are students who were not born in the country in which they sat the PISA test but who have at least one parent who was born in such country (or one native-born parent in the case of students living in single-parent households).

Native students with mixed heritage are students who were born in the country in which they sat the PISA test at the age of 15 and who have one parent who was also born in the country and one parent who was foreign-born.

Definitions of different dimensions of resilience

Academically resilient students are students with an immigrant background who attained at least proficiency Level 2 in all three core PISA subjects: science, reading and mathematics.

Socially resilient students are students with an immigrant background who reported that they “agree” or “strongly agree” with the statement “I feel like I belong at school” and “disagree” or “strongly disagree” with the statement “I feel like an outsider at school”.

Emotionally resilient students (in terms of life satisfaction) are students with an immigrant background who reported a life satisfaction of 7 or higher on a scale from 0 to 10.

Emotionally resilient students (in terms of schoolwork-related anxiety) are students with an immigrant background who reported that they “disagree” or “strongly disagree” with the statement “I often worry that it will be difficult for me taking the test” and “Even if I am well prepared for a test, I feel very anxious”.

Motivationally resilient students are students with an immigrant background who report high motivation to achieve are students who “agree” or “strongly agree” with the statement “I want to be the best, whatever I do”.

Source: (OECD, 2018_[6])

2.1. Academic and well-being outcomes

In Sweden, the academic and well-being outcomes of students with an immigrant background have been lower than for native students. For example, data from the PISA study administered in 2015 reveal that 76% of native-born students of native-born parents in Sweden attained at least proficiency level 2 in the three PISA core domains – mathematics, reading and science. By contrast, only 49% of immigrant students (either first- or second-generation) did so, a statistically significant difference of 27 percentage points. This difference was greater than the OECD average difference of 18 percentage points.

Similar to most OECD countries, first-generation immigrant students in Sweden were the most academically disadvantaged among students with an immigrant background. The proportion of first-generation immigrant students who did not attain baseline academic proficiency (61%) was greater than the proportion of second-generation immigrant students who did not (43%). This difference of almost 19 percentage-points is greater than the OECD average of 11 percentage-points. In Sweden, first-generation immigrant students were 38 percentage points more likely than native students to under-perform academically (not reach at least proficiency Level 2 in the three PISA core domains). The difference was similar to the European peer-learners (Austria, Germany and the Netherlands), while in the United States it was lower (22 percentage points), and in Canada, native students and first-generation immigrant students were equally likely to under-perform academically.

Similar to most OECD countries, the proportion of second-generation immigrant students in Sweden who attained academic proficiency level 2 (57%) was greater than the proportion of first-generation immigrant students who did (39%). This difference of 19 percentage points is greater than the OECD average of 11 percentage-points, indicating that the long-term integration of immigrants works well. Unlike most OECD countries, immigrant students in Sweden with at least one native-born parent (returning foreign-born students and native students of mixed heritage) were as likely to attain baseline academic proficiency as native students. This is in contrast to countries such as Germany, where returning foreign-born students and native students of mixed heritage were respectively 16 and 12 percentage points less likely than native students to do so.

Figure 2.1. Academic and well-being outcomes in Sweden, by immigrant background

Note: Students without an immigrant background are students born in Sweden from two Swedish parents. First-generation immigrant students are foreign-born students of two foreign-born parents. Second-generation immigrant students are Swedish-born students of two foreign-born parents. Native students of mixed heritage are Swedish-born children of one Swedish-born and one foreign-born parent. Returning foreign-born students are foreign-born students of one or more Swedish-born parents.

Differences in all outcomes between students without an immigrant background and all categories of students with an immigrant background are statistically significant, except for the difference in the percentage of students with poor achievement motivation between students without an immigrant background and returning foreign-born students. Academic under-performance implies that a student failed to attain at least proficiency Level 2 in all three core PISA subjects: science, reading and mathematics. Weak sense of belonging implies that a student reported that he or she “disagrees” or “strongly disagrees” with the statement “I feel like I belong at school” and “agrees” or “strongly agrees” with the statement “I feel like an outsider at school”. High schoolwork related anxiety implies that a student reported that he or she “agrees” or “strongly agrees” with the statements “I often worry that it will be difficult for me taking a test” and “Even if I am well prepared for a test, I feel very anxious”. Poor achievement motivation implies that a student “disagrees” or “strongly disagrees” with the statement “I want to be the best, whatever I do”.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database (accessed 3 December 2018).

Figure 2.2. Academic and well-being outcomes of first-generation immigrant and native students, in peer-learner countries

Difference between first-generation immigrant and native students in the likelihood of weak academic and well-being outcomes

Note: Differences in all outcomes between first-generation immigrant students and native students are statistically significant, except for the difference in the percentage of students who under-perform academically in Canada, the difference in the percentage of students with a weak sense of belonging at school in the Netherlands, and differences in all outcomes except for academic under-performance in the United States.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database (accessed 3 December 2018).

Besides academic outcomes, immigrant students also score lower than native students in well-being outcomes. In PISA 2015, 65% of native students but only 60% of immigrant students in Sweden reported a sense of belonging at school, representing a gap of almost 15 percentage points, significantly above the OECD average gap of 9 percentage points. In Germany, the gap was only 8 percentage points, while in the Netherlands and the United States, the gap was not statistically significant. In Canada, first-generation immigrant students were more likely than native students to report a sense of belonging at school. In Saskatchewan, they were 15 percentage points more likely to report a sense of belonging, while in British Columbia and Alberta, they were eight and seven percentage points, respectively, more likely to report so. In Manitoba and Ontario there were no statistically significant differences in their likelihood to report so. Furthermore, foreign-born students in Sweden who arrived at or after the age of 12 were 33 percentage points less likely to report a sense of belonging at school compared to native students, a difference that almost doubles the OECD average of 17 percentage points.

Considering emotional resilience, first- and second-generation immigrant students in Sweden were 8 and 13 percentage points (respectively) more likely to report high levels of schoolwork-related anxiety compared to native students. By contrast, in the European peer-learner countries, first-generation immigrant students were at least 14 percentage points more likely than native students to report high levels of schoolwork-related anxiety. In Canada, they were four percentage points more likely to report such levels; however, this hides important differences by region. While in Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan first-generation immigrant students were as likely as native students to report high levels of schoolwork-related anxiety, in Ontario they were six percentage points

more likely, and in Quebec they were 20 percentage points more likely to report so. In Sweden, differences between students of mixed heritage and native students were not significant, but returning foreign-born students were 10 percentage points more likely to report high levels of schoolwork-related anxiety than native students. However, this figure should be interpreted with caution since the sample of returning foreign-born students is quite small, leading to uncertainty in estimates.

In terms of motivational resilience, immigrant students show on average across OECD countries greater motivation to achieve (by 6 percentage points) than native students but in Sweden, this difference nearly doubles (13 percentage points), showing immigrant students' high achievement motivation. The gap between native and first-generation students in reporting poor achievement motivation was 16 percentage points in Sweden, which is lower than in Austria (22 percentage points) and the Netherlands (36 percentage points).

However, language barriers are particularly pronounced in Sweden. PISA 2015 shows that among first-generation immigrant students, few spoke the language of the PISA assessment at home: 81% of first-generation immigrant students and 90% of first-generation immigrant students who arrived at or after the age of 12 to Sweden were non-native speakers (respectively 20 and 17 percentage points above the OECD average). In Canada and the Netherlands, the shares of non-native speakers among first-generation immigrant students were significantly lower (60% and 65% respectively), whereas the respective shares in Austria and the Netherlands were 76%, and in the United States, 81%.

For first- and second-generation immigrant students and for returning foreign-born students, there is no statistically significant difference in the percentage of academically resilient native- and non-native-speakers. By contrast, in the European peer-learner countries, language was a greater barrier for the academic resilience of immigrant students. In the Netherlands, native-speaking immigrant students were eight percentage points more likely than their non-native-speaking immigrant peers to attain baseline academic proficiency, while in Austria and Germany, they were 14 percentage points more likely. In Sweden, among native students of mixed heritage, non-native speakers were 17 percentage points less likely to be academically resilient compared to native-speakers. The difference was at least 20 percentage points in the European peer-learner countries. In Canada, native-speaking and non-native speaking students with different immigrant backgrounds were equally likely to attain baseline academic proficiency.

Figure 2.3. Share of non-native-speaking students, by immigrant background

Note: First-generation immigrant students are foreign-born students of two foreign-born parents. Late arrivals are first-generation immigrant student who arrived in Sweden after the age of 11. Second-generation immigrant students are Swedish-born students of two foreign-born parents. Native students of mixed heritage are Swedish-born children of one Swedish-born and one foreign-born parent. Returning foreign-born students are foreign-born students of one or more Swedish-born parents.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database (accessed 3 December 2018).

Linguistic barriers are relevant to social well-being among certain groups of students with an immigrant background. Among first-generation immigrant students, non-native speakers were 13 percentage points less likely to report a sense of belonging at school compared to native-speakers. By contrast, for second-generation immigrant students, returning foreign-born students and native students of mixed heritage, there is no statistically significant difference in the percentage of students reporting a sense of belonging at school. Similarly in Austria and Germany, linguistic barriers to social well-being were greatest among first-generation immigrant students.

Socio-economic barriers are also pronounced in Sweden. Immigrant-native differences in socio-economic background explain almost one fourth of the observed gaps in academic performance (compared to one fifth in the OECD area). After accounting for students' socio-economic status, the immigrant-native gap in the percentage of students attaining baseline academic proficiency between native and immigrant students dropped from 27 to 20 percentage points. On average across OECD countries this percentage decreased from 18 to 14 percentage points.

Figure 2.4. Immigrant native gap in the percentage of students attaining baseline academic achievement

Before and after accounting for socio-economic background, the language spoken at home and age at arrival

Note: Statistically significant gaps are marked in a darker tone. Gaps are estimated only for students with non-missing information on whether they speak the language of assessment at home, on their age at arrival and a non-missing score on the PISA index on economic, social and cultural Status (ESCS) index. Countries and economies with a non-adjusted gap that is statistically significant from the Swedish one are marked with an asterisk before the country/economy name. Countries and economies with an adjusted gap that is statistically significant from the Swedish one are marked with an asterisk after the country/economy name. The OECD average is calculated including the Swedish estimates, so the test of statistical difference between the OECD average and Swedish estimates should be interpreted carefully, since the two are not statistically independent. *Source:* OECD, PISA 2015 Database (accessed 3 December 2018).

In Sweden, immigrant students are 27 percentage points less likely to attain baseline academic achievement compared to native students (the OECD average difference is 17 percentage points). The gap is larger than in Sweden only in Austria, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Japan, Mexico and the Slovak Republic (although the gaps are not statistically different). The gap is statistically smaller in Australia, Canada, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Latvia, New Zealand, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States.

After accounting for students' socio-economic status, whether they speak a language at home that is different from the PISA assessment one and for their age at arrival, the immigrant-native gap in attaining baseline academic achievement in Sweden is halved, dropping to 12 percentage points. The average OECD gap drops to 6 percentage points and in the majority of countries it becomes statistically non-significant or in favour of native students. The estimated gap in Sweden is larger than in Denmark, Japan, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico and the Slovak Republic (although it is statistically larger only in Mexico).

Figure 2.5. The gap in the percentage of students attaining academic achievement between first-generation immigrant and native students

Note: Statistically significant gaps are marked in a darker tone. The unadjusted gaps are estimated only for students with non-missing information on whether they speak the language of assessment at home and a non-missing score on the PISA ESCS index. Countries and economies with a non-adjusted gap that is statistically significant from the Swedish one are marked with an asterisk before the country/economy name. Countries and economies with an adjusted gap that is statistically significant from the Swedish one are marked with an asterisk after the country/economy name. The OECD average is calculated including the Swedish estimates, so the test of statistical difference between the OECD average and Swedish estimates should be interpreted carefully, since the two are not statistically independent.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database (accessed 3 December 2018).

In Sweden, first-generation immigrant students are 37 percentage points less likely to attain baseline academic achievement compared to native students. On average across OECD countries, the difference in likelihood is of 23 percentage points, a statistically significant difference of 14 points (although this test should be interpreted carefully). The gap is larger than in Sweden only in Finland and Iceland (although the gaps are not statistically different). The gap is statistically smaller in Canada, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Latvia, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States.

After accounting for students' socio-economic status, whether they speak a language at home that is different from the PISA assessment one and for their age at arrival, the immigrant-native gap in attaining baseline academic achievement in Sweden drops to 24 percentage points whereas the OECD average gap drops to 11 percentage points. The gap controlling for background characteristics remains larger in Iceland and Finland than in Sweden (although the difference between them is not statistically significant).

2.2. A Strength through Diversity Spotlight Report

The presented gap in academic and well-being outcomes between immigrant and native-born students led to a national debate on how to better integrate these immigrant students, and how to adapt the education systems so that these students are not left behind.

The aim of the OECD's collaboration with the Swedish Ministry of Education and Research on a Spotlight Report Project is for the OECD to support Sweden in its efforts to improve the integration of immigrant children in schools by building upon recent policies and help to identify new actions that Sweden could take to ensure that immigrant and refugee students are well integrated into the education system in the short- and long-term. The Spotlight focuses on four identified priority areas for the country. These are:

1. Facilitating the access of immigrants to school choice;
2. Building teaching capacity;
3. Providing language training; and
4. Strengthening the management of diversity.

The report includes findings from existing OECD work in the area of immigrant integration in education, OECD and national data, a questionnaire on the range of policies and practices that are used to support the educational achievement and socioemotional well-being of immigrant children in Sweden, and good practice examples for the integration in the education system in peer-learner countries and regions, particularly Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and North America (Canada and the United States), as they were deemed the most relevant for Sweden.

2.2.1. Key areas

The OECD team, in discussions with the Swedish Ministry of Education and Research and other stakeholders in Sweden, identified the following priority areas that appear to be of particular relevance for Sweden:

Facilitating the access of immigrants to school choice – How can the Swedish educational system promote skill acquisition and social integration of migrant and refugee children given that the system is characterised by school choice and high levels of residential segregation?

Building teaching capacity – Due to the large number of new arrivals in need of comprehensive responses to the multiple levels of disadvantage they face, capacity building is a critical challenge for the Swedish education system. Efforts need to be directed both at building short-term teaching capacity across the country to accommodate new arrivals and at building medium and long-term capacity to ensure immigrants reach their full potential and become active participants in the economic and social life of their local community. In the short term, a key focus should be on training and re-training as many teachers as possible on how to support children with minimal language skills, poorly educated parents, and who arrive in Sweden after the age of 12 with little prior learning (due to the poor quality of the education they received in their home country or the lack of opportunities over a long period experienced during the migration process).

Providing language training – Language is a crucial element of integration. A key challenge is to provide adequate language support to youth who arrive in Sweden beyond the age of 12, with little prior literacy skills. Challenges stem from the heterogeneity of

teacher preparation and learners and the local infrastructure at the municipality level. Some municipalities struggle because there is too much demand, which poses some challenges but allows for developing structured language training offers. The more limited number of arrivals as well as the heterogeneity of arrivals can also challenge municipalities in developing targeted and continuous language training options.

Strengthening the management of diversity – How to maintain social cohesion through education? Sweden is one of the countries in the OECD with the largest number of foreign-born individuals. Additionally, the most recent wave of new arrivals in 2015 increased diversity further because of the large numbers of immigrants and their corresponding diversity in country of origin. Increasing diversity is challenging the traditional building blocks of social cohesion. Building fair, cohesive societies that promote a new growth paradigm based on social equity cannot ignore the importance that attitudes, dispositions and perceptions both of new arrivals and natives have for the creation of social inclusion and social cohesion. Education systems should not only recognise the challenges in managing diversity but develop and implement effective responses to ensure that youth as well as adults, irrespective of their background, trust each other, trust public institutions, are mindful and open to diversity, and have the knowledge and skills to actively participate in the economic and social life of their communities.

2.2.2. Peer Learners

The following peer-learner countries or regions were identified for the case of Sweden. The choice was driven by the similarities the peer learners face in terms of challenges with integrating immigrant and refugee students, but also the fact that such countries adopted diverse approaches to deal with such challenges. The peer-learner analysis was integrated with examples from different countries whenever relevant.

Austria and Germany

Similarly to Sweden, Austria and Germany have experienced a large increase in the number of immigrant students. Between 2015 and 2016 over 1 million asylum applications were registered in Germany. Although this number is significantly higher than the 200 000 asylum applications registered in Sweden, Sweden recorded the highest number of first-time asylum seekers in relation to population size. Additionally, Austria is also among the countries with the highest number of arrivals per inhabitant from 2015 to 2017.

More than 1.4 million people applied for asylum in Germany since 2014, more than 43% of total applications to the EU. About 800 000 of these applications were accepted. Germany spent around EUR 16 billion, or 0.5% of GDP, in 2015 on refugees compared to Austria which spent 0.37% of GDP (by 2017, it was increased to 0.75% of GDP). Sweden, the country with the highest per capita inflow of refugees, spent EUR 6 billion or 1.3% of GDP (OECD, 2017^[5]). In 2016, Germany received close to 40% of asylum applicants from children and youth (0-17 years old), which is slightly lower than in Sweden and Austria. Teaching shortages are a major challenge also in Germany. It is estimated that Germany will need around 25 000 additional teachers in the immediate future, in addition to psychiatrists, translators and social workers. This is not only very costly, but a greater number of qualified teachers are difficult to find. Many *Länder* hired individuals without an actual teaching diploma and retired teachers. North Rhine-Westphalia has added 5 800 positions since the 2015/16 school year, with 1 200 positions for those who teach German as a foreign language. In addition, EUR 3.5 million have been made available for further education, learning materials and temporary staff. The education ministry there estimates

that around 42 000 students have immigrated during the 2015/16 school year. Baden Wurttemberg has created 1 162 new teaching positions since the 2014/15 school year for around 40 000 refugee children, while Bavaria has added 1 079 positions since 2016. The issue of teacher shortages and hiring of teachers without a finished diploma is also prevalent in Austria.

In Austria and Germany, language training plays an important role in the integration of refugees and migrants, as language explains a large proportion of the gap in outcomes between foreign-born and native-born students. Both countries have adopted a number of policies and practices to provide language training in classrooms.

The Netherlands

The Netherlands has a long history of immigration and has continuously witnessed waves of international migrants to the country. The country is balancing school choice policies and similar increases in immigration, with a 40% increase in foreign-born individuals since 2000. The Netherlands has also seen a substantial increase in migrants from Syria, Eritrea, Iraq and Afghanistan (Seiffert and Wörmann, 2017^[13]) which has increased the amount of money spent on refugees to around 0.22% of GDP in 2017. Considering the similarities between the immigrant populations as well as the analogous challenges the two countries face in accommodating the large number of new arrivals, the Netherlands is an exemplar for Sweden in integrating refugees through school choice practices aimed at improving student outcomes and reducing segregation (Cornelisz, 2013^[13]).

The school choice educational policy in the Netherlands shares many parallels with Sweden's. In the early 20th century, the Netherlands focused on school choice to provide "freedom of education" and equal state support for both public and private schools (Shewbridge et al., 2010^[60]). Comparably to Sweden, migrant parents are facing difficulties in sending their child to the best school because of language barriers, lack of knowledge of the Dutch school system and financial constraints.

The OECD recommended that the country provide assistance to parents, especially those with a background of migration, to make well informed decisions (OECD, 2016^[61]). Additionally, the Netherlands is experiencing rising levels of segregation, especially in urban areas. One researcher found that Dutch parents will remove their children from certain schools if the population of disadvantaged/minority students exceeds 50-60% of the school population. This has resulted in increased segregation in schools, with immigrant students mainly attending low-performing schools with a majority migrant population (Nusche, 2009^[62]). The current concentration of immigrant students in Dutch schools is approximately 10% (meaning that to have an equal ratio of percentage of foreign and native born students, 10% of the entire student body would need to be reallocated to a different school) (OECD, 2018^[9]).

North America (Canada and the United States)

Both the United States and Canada have a long tradition of immigration. As of 2016, over 37% of Canadian children under the age of 15 have an immigrant background (they are either foreign-born or they have at least one foreign-born parent) and over 8% are foreign-born. The percentage of children under the age of 15 who have an immigrant background could grow up to approximately 10 percentage points by 2036, while the share of foreign-born students is expected to remain stable. Furthermore, many of these children with an immigrant background originate from countries with markedly different cultures: in

Canada only 25% are from a European country or the United States (Statistics Canada, 2017_[20]).

In the United States, as of 2016, immigrant children (first- and second-generation immigrants with age below 18) represented 29% of the total population of children (Migration Policy Institute, 2016_[7]). By 2050, this share is expected to grow to about 33% (Passel, 2011_[8]). In 2009, 17% of immigrant youth were white, non-Hispanic (the majority group in the overall population), 58% were of Hispanic origin and about 16% were Asian.

Despite the apparent challenge of diversified classrooms, students in Canada have been excelling through their diversity; about 82% of first-generation immigrant students and 81% of native students attain baseline academic proficiency. Statistically, the two groups have the same likelihood of attaining baseline academic proficiency, while on average across OECD countries, native students are 24 percentage points more likely to attain such levels compared to first-generation immigrant students. Considering this educational success, Canada's long history of integrating migrants through education is a great example for Sweden in addressing diversity in the classroom.

In the United States, 58% of immigrant students attain baseline levels of academic proficiency, a gap of 13 percentage points compared to native students (18 on average across OECD countries, 27 in Sweden). First-generation immigrant and native students are equally likely to report a sense of belonging at school (9 percentage points less likely on average across OECD countries and 15 percentage points less likely in Sweden).

In PISA 2015, 50% of immigrant students (first- and second-generation) and 60% of first-generation immigrant students in Canada were non-native speakers (they reported that the language they most often use at home is different from the one of the PISA assessment). In the United States, the shares were higher: 67% of immigrant students and 81% of first-generation immigrant students were non-native speakers. In Sweden, the shares were similar to the ones in the United States: 68% of immigrant students and 81% of first-generation immigrant students were non-native speakers (OECD, 2018_[9]).

Additionally, considering the long history of diversity in Canada and the United States, Sweden can learn from their progress in creating an inclusive primary and secondary education system. Specifically in the realm of educational policy, Canada is unique in that its ten provinces and three territories are responsible for their own respective curriculums and policies, allowing each region to respond to increasing diversity depending on their unique situation. However, despite general success, there has also been notable disharmony between the regions concerning the best approach to inclusive education; although some quality educational programmes have been developed, Canada has not been able to create a “cohesive, comprehensive, national approach to ensuring inclusion is practiced in all...schools” (Laura and Jennifer, 2015_[10]).

Similar to Canada, the United States has a decentralised educational system in which local authorities and districts have control over the educational inputs and outcomes. There are a lot of differences across districts with regards to educational policies and thus also to how they manage diversity and students with an immigrant background (OECD, 2011_[11]). Each state and district, within their specific policy and demographic context, develop their own instructional programmes and curricular approaches to meet the needs of the immigrant students (Sugarman, 2017_[12]). Even though the federal government only provides 10% of the total school funding, it still has an important role in ensuring that states and localities have the right support and take the necessary measures to identify the needs of immigrant

children, as stated by first the No Child Left Behind law from 2011 and then the Every Student Succeeds Act from 2015 (McHugh, 2018_[13]).

2.2.3. Plan for the Report

The Spotlight Report's sections each focus on one of the four priority areas: (1) Facilitating access of immigrants to school choice; (2) Building teaching capacity; (3) Providing language training; and (4) Strengthening the management of diversity. Section 3 specifically examines the link between school choice and residential segregation, and how the Swedish system could help immigrant and refugee students close the gap in academic and well-being outcomes. Section 4 considers building teaching capacity in the Swedish education system, in particular how to attract teachers to disadvantaged schools, how to provide teacher training and professional development in the area of diverse classrooms and how to recruit and train teachers with an immigrant background. Section 5 examines the provision of language training for immigrant and refugee students, and what the Swedish system could improve in terms of early language assessment, specialised language courses, mother tongue tuition, plurilingualism, outside school activities and language learning involving families. Finally, Section 6 focuses on managing diversity and how to design a curriculum, establish a whole school approach to an inclusive school climate and foster leadership that is open to diversity and promotes an inclusive education for all students.

Each section includes an analysis of the situation and description of the policies and practices in Sweden, and provides examples of practices and policies from peer-learner countries at different levels of education policy: the classroom, the school (or university in some instances), the municipality, the region and the system. This organising framework highlights the responsibility at all levels of the education system in integrating immigrant and refugee students.

On the classroom level, teachers play an important role in helping immigrant and refugee students integrate in schools. By motivating and supporting their students to learn and adapting their teaching methods to particular needs of immigrant and refugee students, they can help improve academic and well-being outcomes of their students. They need tools and guidance to help them adapt their teaching strategies to the needs of immigrant and refugee students.

On the school level, whole-school efforts to help immigrant and refugee students integrate into education are an important part of national strategies to reduce the gap between immigrant and native students. In Sweden, schools have considerable decision-making autonomy, in particular in pedagogy and curriculum implementation and resource management. They are thus key actors in reducing the gap between immigrant and native students.

On a regional level, the 290 municipalities and various independent organisers are responsible for their schools and in charge of implementing educational activities, organising and operating school services, allocating resources and ensuring that the national goals for education are met.

While the county level in Sweden does not play an important role in governing schools, some examples from peer-learner countries (with large regions/states) are still relevant for the Swedish case especially in countries where the regional level is responsible for education policy.

In a decentralised education system like Sweden's, the national government plays an important role at the system level in incentivising action in priority policy areas. It holds the overall responsibility for schooling and is in charge of developing the curriculum, national objectives and guidelines for the education system. To reduce the gap between immigrant and native students, Sweden's government will need to use tools such as funding and guidelines to promote policies to reduce it.

3. Facilitating the Access of Immigrants to School Choice

Aim: Managing school choice and residential segregation to promote more diverse distributions of students and provide equal opportunities to all students

3.1. Context

In the early 1990s, the Swedish educational system underwent major policy reforms, which reflected neoliberal ideologies stressing the beneficial effects of competition, decentralisation and individual choice (Björklund et al., 2005^[11]). One of the core components, school choice, was a radical change from the previously enforced location-based system. The reformed policy mandated the provision of vouchers for any school, public or independent, regardless of geographic location in order to create a more democratic educational system by introducing ‘freedom of choice’ and allowing local schools a higher degree of autonomy (Lund, 2015^[12]). Research shows a small improvement in outcomes for certain student populations as a result of the introduction of the school choice policy. However, although there is ongoing debate on the causal effect school choice has had on educational segregation, schools have become more segregated by migration status since the introduction of the reform in 1992 (Böhlmark, Holmlund and Lindahl, 2016^[13]).

Figure 3.1. Percentage of immigrant students (first- or second-generation) attending schools where over 50% of students are immigrant

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database (accessed 3 December 2018).

Figure 3.1 shows that in Sweden, many immigrant students attend schools where the proportion of other immigrant students is high: 28% of immigrant students attend schools where the share of immigrant students is above 50% (18% on average across OECD countries). While the share is significantly higher in Canada and the United States, it is similar in Austria and lower in the Netherlands and Germany.

3.2. Segregation

The 1992 educational reform was created and implemented to provide access to specialised schools for diverse learners and stimulate competition between schools in the hope of improving the quality of education across Sweden (Pöder, Lauri and Veski, 2017^[14]). Nevertheless, Bunar and Ambrose have concluded that “despite nationally defining principles mandating fairness, transparency and integration, school choice policy is being implemented on an uneven playing field, aggravating current patterns of segregation in education” (Bunar and Ambrose, 2016^[15]).

Calculations show that to have an equal ratio of percentage of native and immigrant students, 14% of the entire student body would need to be reallocated to a different school (OECD, 2018^[12]), which equates to over 150 000 students aged 6-15 (Statistics Sweden, 2017^[31]). If we compare that to countries in which there is no, or limited, school choice but a similar proportion of immigrant students as in Sweden (31%), such as France and Austria (31% and 26% respectively), we observe that the percentage of students in Sweden who would have to move to another school to achieve an even distribution is lower than in Austria (almost 16% reallocation needed) but higher than in France (12%) (OECD, 2018^[12]; OECD, 2017^[32]; OECD, 2014^[33]).

Opponents of school choice point to studies which confirm that school segregation in Sweden has increased in some dimensions alongside an increased prevalence of school choice (Wiborg, 2011^[17]) (Osth, Andersson and Malmberg, 2013^[18]). A recent report shows that school segregation has increased based both on socio-economic background as well as migration background in the period 1998-2016. From 2007 there has been an increase in school segregation for students that have arrived in Sweden after the age of 7, from 6% to 10% in 2016. For newly arrived students the segregation has increased from around 3% in 2007 to almost 8% in 2016 (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[37]).

A corresponding increase has occurred in residential segregation concurrently with both school segregation and choice. Controlling for neighbourhood segregation, there still appears to be another attributing factor (Holmlund et al., 2014^[20]). The evidence is in favour of a causal interpretation of the association between parental choice and school segregation between immigrants and natives, as well as between students of immigrant/Swedish background. Thus, although a main cause, residential segregation cannot *completely* explain the current levels of school segregation; schools would be less segregated if all students were assigned to schools through a location based-system (Böhlmark, Holmlund and Lindahl, 2016^[13]; Böhlmark, Holmlund and Lindahl, 2015^[21]). The OECD has come to the same general conclusion across member countries, finding that “the concentration in schools of immigrant students and social disadvantage arises [, in part,] from broader residential segregation” (OECD, 2018^[9]).

3.3. Increased Access and School Choice

School choice can be a tool to promote social justice within education. Advocates believe that when disadvantaged students do not have the opportunity to choose, they may be trapped in low-performing schools, whereas, more privileged students may have the means to escape low-performing schools by moving to a different neighbourhood or paying for private school. Furthermore, competition between schools could improve the educational outcomes for all students as, theoretically, school choice increases accessibility and the overall quality of education (OECD, 2015^[22]). For example, a Swedish study investigating the impact of the 1992 school choice reform on students’ educational outcomes in the short

and long term found that the reform improved average results in municipalities with a larger share of independent schools, when taking into consideration changes in demography, family background and municipal characteristics (Böhlmark and Lindahl, 2012_[23]). An underlying objective of most school choice policies is to “level the playing field”, allowing more disadvantaged children to access high quality schools they would otherwise not be able to attend (Musset, 2012_[24]). Because immigrant students are often a disadvantaged group, they should particularly benefit from school choice policy initiatives (Musset, 2012_[32]). However, research evidence on the effect of school choice on the outcomes of immigrant students is mixed: some researchers have found school choice to have negative effects on immigrant students (Darling-Hammond and Adamson, 2016_[33]; Bunar and Ambrose, 2016_[24]; Björklund et al., 2005_[20]), while other researchers have found positive effects (Edmark, Frölich and Wondratschek, 2014_[34]). The majority of researchers, however, find very small differences in the outcomes of immigrant students compared to those of Swedish students without an immigrant background when school choice are being introduced (Darling-Hammond and Adamson, 2016_[33]; Edmark, Frölich and Wondratschek, 2014_[34]; Bunar and Ambrose, 2016_[24]; Björklund et al., 2005_[20]).

3.3.1. Sweden is considering a proposal for a compulsory school choice programme amid several concerns

The Swedish government has considered a compulsory school choice programme, which allows parents to choose a school after they have opted-out of their location based school. In the 2015/16 school year, approximately 14% of students aged 7-15 and 26% aged 16-19 attended independent schools, reflecting the lower bounds of those who opted out (Bunar and Ambrose, 2016_[15]). Thus, it follows that many students in the Swedish system have simply accepted their “location-based” school. Under a new policy proposal, every guardian would be required to choose a school for his/her child to attend. In the National Strategy for Knowledge and Equal Opportunities Report (*Nationell strategi för kunskap och likvärdighet*), the Swedish School Commission (*Skolkommission*) recognises that the term ‘compulsory’ may be too strong, explaining that guardians should never be forced to submit an application to a school; in the case a guardian does not submit an application, a school placement would be decided upon. The report also details the necessity to combine active/compulsory school choice with improved access to quality information, which is important as these choices, while possibly compulsory, must be well-informed. It is believed that increased access to information in combination with the compulsory school choice will result in more guardians opting-out of segregated school environments with low socio-economic status (Official Reports of the Swedish Government, 2017_[99]).

3.3.2. Examples from the Netherlands for active school choice

Sweden could learn from the Netherlands on how to manage active school choice. At the local level, an established project to promote quality immigrant education is the creation of ***Knowledge-centres for Mixed Schools*** (*Kenniscentrum Gemengde Scholen*). These centres study educational interventions to reduce segregation in schools (OECD, 2015_[22]). Operating on the municipal level, the centres share the common practice of creating manuals on fostering diverse school environments. The knowledge centre in Rotterdam attempted to change preferences and misconceptions of foreigners through local tours organised by municipalities which allows parents to visit local schools. Considering many parents reported that they felt more comfortable touring schools in groups, this intervention is especially important for migrant parents who are navigating the system for the first time. After the tour has finished, parents and the facilitator discuss the pros and cons of each of

the schools and explain the school choice process (Walraven, 2013^[68]). Overall, this programme allows immigrant parents to learn about the schools in their area and make informed decisions for their children (Brunello and De Paola, 2017^[44]).

At the community level, some native Dutch families are also taking initiative to desegregate schools. For example, voluntary programmes encourage parents to enrol their children in highly segregated schools in order to create a better balance and promote diversity. Some communities are providing awareness education for non-immigrants parents to disarm stigmatisation and fears of integration measures influencing their children negatively (Bunar, 2017^[72]). For example, in groups, native Dutch families apply to high performing and high minority population schools to ensure their child is not the only native Dutch student in the classroom (Walraven, 2013^[68]). In addition, these parents and communities interact with their local schools about curriculum, differentiation for students and after-school programmes so as to make the learning environment productive for all students. Although most of these initiatives are too recent to determine the effectiveness of such actions (Walraven and Peters, 2012^[73]), involvement at the community level can often be an effective measure in reducing segregation; “grassroots participation drives the movement. No matter how strong, appealing, or sensible an idea may be, it needs people to think about it, talk about it, and act upon it if a movement is to advance its goals of changing society” (Van Til and Eschweiler, 2008^[74]). Parents in the Netherlands have created approximately 90 parent groups that use school choice as an effective means to desegregate schools and provide a quality education for all (Walraven, 2013^[68]).

3.4. School Choice and Segregation

In Sweden, school choice policies allow parents to apply for a placement for their children anywhere in the municipality, although under special circumstances, parents can also apply to a school in another municipality. The municipality can deny the child a place at a school if the family is not a resident in the municipality or region if the local authorities have agreed on a joint application and admission area. For independent schools, if the number of applicants exceeds the number of available places, selection must be made according to rules approved by the School Inspectorate (e.g. queue time, if the student has a sibling in the same school or geographical proximity) (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education), 2010^[27]). In lower secondary (public) schools, the proximity principle applies, giving priority to schools close to children’s home, which can result in local schools filling up quickly with closest living children in more affluent neighbourhoods, making it impossible for children living in other areas to attend their preferred school.

At the upper secondary level, students can apply to any school if they have the required grades. Some programmes have national admission criteria, which allows all qualified students in Sweden to attend (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education), 2010^[27]). Studies show that non-Nordic students who have arrived in Sweden after 12 years of age are less likely to gain access in upper secondary school (Statistics Sweden, 2016^[28]).

This increased mobility mainly on a municipality and in some cases, regional level can lead to increased segregation between immigrant and native students. For example, there is evidence that many native Swedish students change schools when the proportion of immigrant students in their school reaches a certain level (Yang Hansen and Gustafsson, 2016^[29]). Furthermore, researchers found the existence of so-called ‘tipping points,’ where native Swedes will leave a neighbourhood or school after the minority or migrant population exceeds a certain percentage. Tipping points estimated for European immigrants in the period 2000-07 were significantly higher (22.5%) than for non-European immigrants

(19.5%). In one municipality the presence of just 0.3% of immigrant students of non-European origins led to native Swedish students moving schools (Neuman, 2015^[30]).

3.4.1. The current school choice system disadvantages immigrant students

The Swedish voucher system allows movement between schools, resulting in parents moving their child into another school when a ‘tipping point’ is reached, which ultimately increases segregation. However, school choice is just one of the factors that can lead to increased segregation in schools. For example, the first-come-first-serve principle discriminates newly arrived students because native parents, unlike newly immigrated parents, can place their children in a school’s queue many years in advance to guarantee placement in the best schools. Segregation can also occur at the school-level through schools circumventing mandated school choice practices by mainly advertising to certain groups of high-achieving students, as well as building schools in areas that are typically homogenous and high-achieving (Böhlmark, Holmlund and Lindahl, 2015^[21]). Furthermore, many researchers conclude that “school choosers [students or parents/guardians] select schools on the basis of race, ethnicity, and class in addition to rational, objective measures of school quality” (Voyer, 2018^[31]), with immigrant parents tending to choose schools for different reasons than native parents. Evidence on the criteria indicates that parents from a lower-income background prefer schools that are close to where they live (Allen, 2007^[32]; Reay and Allen, 1997^[33]). Parents also prefer schools with populations ethnically and socio-economically similar to their own family (Crozier and al., 2008^[34]; Raveaud and Van Zanten, 2007^[35]).

Box 3.1. Access to tertiary education in Sweden

Choosing a good school is important in Sweden because it holds important implications for learning and gaining access to tertiary education. In Sweden, access to tertiary education depends on the school-leaving certificate from upper secondary school or a municipal adult education programme. Grades thus play an important role. Students can also qualify for admission to a higher education institution by taking the Swedish Scholastic Aptitude Test (*Högskoleprovet*), which measures different knowledge and skills. The completion of upper secondary education is obligatory for applicants to higher education, but they can apply on the basis of their test results instead of their final school grades.

Eligibility

To be eligible for tertiary education, students must meet the general and specific entry requirements. To comply with the basic entry requirements, a student must hold a secondary education diploma, completing either a university preparatory programme in upper secondary school or a vocational programme in upper secondary school. In both cases, students need to have obtained at least a passing grade in Swedish or Swedish as a Second Language 1, 2 and 3, English 5 and 6, Mathematics 1 and final year project.

For many university programmes, however, students must also comply with special requirements, which can include having studied and obtained at least a passing grade in courses that provide them with the relevant prerequisites for the particular area of study (e.g. higher levels of mathematics, chemistry or physics, social sciences).

If a student has not qualified for a secondary education diploma and thus does not meet the basic requirement, he or she still has a chance of meeting the entry requirements through

prior learning (*reell kompetens*), which for example can be work experience. The universities decide in each case if they think that the student has enough competences to succeed in his/her university studies.

Admission

When there are more applicants for an undergraduate programme than there are places, applicants are divided into different selection groups based on grades, scores on the Swedish Scholastic Aptitude Test (*Högskoleprovet*) and an alternative selection (e.g. special admission tests or personal interviews). At least one-third of placements are selected based on grades, at least one-third is based on the Swedish Scholastic Aptitude Test, and a maximum of one-third is based on alternative selection.

Students who take the Swedish Scholastic Aptitude Test (a voluntary test involving quantitative and verbal aspects in Swedish offered twice a year) and who also have a secondary education diploma are placed in both selection groups in the admission process. Therefore, taking the test increases students' chances of being admitted to their university programme of choice.

Source: (Universitets- och högskolerådet (Swedish Council for Higher Education), 2018^[60])

Moreover, many immigrant students attend schools with a high concentration of immigrant students because of confusion and lack of clarity over school choice policies (Björklund et al., 2005^[11]). The mechanisms behind this are two-fold: native Swedish families, especially those of higher socio-economic class, “are usually the first to fill the better schools because they are well-informed and more mobile... [while] by contrast, migrant parents may lack the requisite knowledge of the host country’s educational system, the language competence or the resources to select the most appropriate school for their children” (Janta and Harte, 2016^[36]). In extreme cases, some native-born Swedish parents register their children for school soon after they are born, resulting in long waiting lists that stretch years into the future (Böhlmark, Holmlund and Lindahl, 2015^[21]).

In contrast, immigrant parents are sometimes ill- equipped to make informed decisions on their child’s education because they lack the necessary information on how to navigate the Swedish educational landscape. From lack of language skills to reduced social and professional networks of new arrivals, migrant parents face difficult challenges in utilising school-choice to their child’s benefit (Böhlmark, Holmlund and Lindahl, 2015^[21]). However, immigrant parents may make well-informed choices of choosing a school in a segregated area because of its location or the presence of a large immigrant community which can help their children to feel a sense of belonging but can further segregation (Lund, 2015^[37]). Segregation can also be intensified through the actions of both school actors and results in self-sorting of students who would like to be in schools with peers similar to themselves (Erixon Arreman, 2014^[38]; Holm, 2013^[39]).

Segregation can facilitate service delivery because when students are concentrated, services can better target students, experienced teachers can better support students in need and students can feel part of a community. Parents of immigrant students sometimes choose more segregated schools for their children precisely for those reasons and thus, providing quality service delivery for areas of high concentration of (immigrant) students is important.

Besides improving service delivery, many different countries have been providing public information on school results through different platforms. Information materials need to be prepared and disseminated to students and parents in different languages, as well as made accessible to parents with limited literacy (OECD, 2015^[22]). One study shows that more information does not necessarily lead to better outcomes for all students, but that (native and high-skilled parents) are more likely to choose top-performing schools which can lead to the displacement of students with a foreign background (Kessel and Olme, 2018^[40]). Therefore, providing more information is not sufficient, this information must be made accessible to disadvantaged families to help them choose the right school for their children.

Some countries use lightly controlled choice programmes which provide choices for students and parents, while balancing the overall composition of students, often in terms of socio-economic status, within individual schools. These programmes commonly allow parents to report several school preferences to a central enrolment point, which public authorities then try to respect as much as possible while maintaining a balanced distribution of students. This can be based on schools adopting quotas pertaining to characteristics such as socio-economic background, parental income and educational background, geographic area and other household characteristics (OECD, 2018^[49]).

Lightly controlled schemes can use quotas or reserves to give a slight priority to disadvantaged students while still allowing parents and children to choose their schools. The allocation mechanisms vary across countries and their effectiveness depends on the capacity to match parents' preference for quality schools with a consistent application of priority criteria benefiting disadvantaged students (OECD, 2015^[22]). The student allocation mechanism also requires a certain degree of centralisation in order to prevent inefficiencies related to handling multiple registrations, as well as delays on assignment and higher administrative costs.

When designing controlled choice programmes, schools usually set floors or ceilings in order to prioritise certain types of students. Previous research shows that when schools utilise a dynamic priority structure ("soft bounds"), it allows them to admit fewer or more students than their ceiling. As long as students with the highest priority are given their optimal choice, this is more beneficial for the overall welfare for all types of students than hard bounds, which strictly limit the number of accepted students for each type. As opposed to hard bounds, soft bounds do not commit schools to achieve a balance among the different types of students. However, they grant schools the opportunity to do so (Kojima, 2012^[82]; Hafalir, Yenmez and Yildirim, 2013^[83]). Soft bounds can restore fairness, non-wastefulness and truthfulness to the school choice (Ehlers et al., 2014^[84]). For example, through soft-bound schemes, 80% of students are placed in their first choice, and 96% of students obtain their first or second choice (Kurata et al., 2017^[85]). With the hard-bound quotas, assignment to schools can be forced even if it violates student preferences and schools might end up not allowing some students to enrol, despite having available places, which can hurt minority students.

Currently, some independent schools in Sweden are implementing a "special quota" which gives priority to students who have lived in Sweden for less than two years. Participation in the special quota system is completely voluntary, and the principal is required to notify the State School Inspectorate (*Skolinspektionen*) and the municipality where the school is situated (Regeringskansliets rättsdatabaser, 2016^[86]). Despite its voluntary nature, there has been a slight increase of newcomer student placements in independent (primary) schools (in 2015, 2.5% of newly arrived students were placed in independent schools; in 2017, there were 3.3% newcomer students) though it is not clear whether this is due to the quotas

(Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2017^[72]; Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[73]) The government inquiry that designed the special quota system concluded that it could increase the rights of students to equality in access to good quality education (Flemström and Eriksson, 2016^[89]).

3.4.2. Examples from the Netherlands and Flanders (Belgium) for lightly controlled school choice

Sweden could learn from other countries who have successfully applied lightly controlled school choice. At the local level in the Netherlands, there is a lottery system for schools in the event of oversubscription, with first priority given to children who have siblings already enrolled and/or live nearby and the remaining spots filled through a lottery. Some municipalities have also introduced postcode 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 (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2008^[90]).

The municipality of Rotterdam has gone a step further by incorporating an enrichment preference where they give priority to students who would add to their ethnic and socio-economic composition (OECD, 2012^[69]). In two other Dutch cities, Nijmegen and Deventer, the local government enforced integration as a criterion in the school choice process, with the aim of having 70% native students along with 30% immigrant students (Ladd, Fiske and Ruijs, 2009^[70]). More specifically, all primary schools in Nijmegen have agreed on a central subscription system based on the distribution of students in different categories in order to reach a share of 30% of disadvantaged students in each school. In the event of oversubscription, priority is given to siblings and children who live nearby. Subsequent priority is given to either advantaged or disadvantaged students by lottery system to reach the required balance. These programmes have been successful in reducing segregation in schools as well as satisfying parental choices with 95% of students admitted to their first choice of school, and the remaining 5% of students going to their neighbourhood school or submitting an application to their second choice school (Walraven, 2013^[68]; Brink and Van Bergen, 2012^[71]).

In Belgium, free and largely uncontrolled parental choice at the primary and secondary levels had contributed to a high level of social and ethnic school segregation which they have sought to address over the course of the past decade (OECD, 2015^[94]). The Flemish Community first applied (and then adjusted) a reform in 2012/-13 to admissions in all pre-primary, primary and secondary schools. The reform required oversubscribed schools to assign places to disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students in proportion to the socio-economic composition of each school’s neighbourhood, defining the criteria that should be used to make these choices. Pre-primary and primary schools were allowed to consider the distance between the parents’ home or workplace and the school, the position of the school in the student’s rank order list, or the results of a lottery. Secondary schools were required to operate on a first-come-first-serve basis or to make decisions based on the position of the school in the student’s rank order list. Many elements of the reforms’ implementation were decentralised and assigned to local negotiating platforms (*locale overlegplatformen*, LOPs). LOPs decided on matters such as the definition of neighbourhoods and the quotas for disadvantaged students, which helped to reduce local resistance to the new rules (Nusche et al., 2015^[80]; OECD, 2015^[79]).

3.5. School Choice and Educational Gap

In Sweden, immigrant students are 27 percentage points less likely to attain baseline academic proficiency than their native peers. This gap in academic outcomes is still apparent even after controlling for socio-economic factors: while socio-economic status accounts for a remarkably large share of the differences in academic achievement between the two groups of students, the largest portion of disparities remains unexplained in most countries and economies. In Sweden, socio-economic status, as measured by the PISA index of economic, cultural and social status (which includes parents' education, parents' occupational status and household possessions), accounts for approximately 25% of the educational attainment gap. This leaves approximately 75% unexplained, with possible explanations including language and educational segregation, which is influenced in part by school choice policies (OECD, 2018_[9]).

Some research confirms that educational segregation by immigration status can widen the academic achievement gap between native and immigrant students (Entrof, 2015_[41]). Additionally, numerous studies have linked the increase in residential and school segregation, stemming from parental choice, as an important factor “behind the increasing between-school differences in student achievement” (Volante, Klinger and Bilgili, 2018, p. 76_[42]). While there is no agreement on which factor is the most important to explain segregation, several studies conclude that as educational segregation increases, the gap between native and immigrant students tends to widen (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2016_[83]; Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018_[37]). At the Stockholm University Linnaeus Centre for Integration Studies, researchers found that ethnic densities up to 40% have little impact on grades, but attending a school with a higher concentration of immigrant pupils is connected to roughly a fifth of a standard deviation's reduction in grades (Szulkin and Jonsson, 2007_[44]). Nonetheless, it is possible that results are not causal but affected by selection effects such as population sorting.

Nonetheless, some research points out that segregation does not have a negative effect on school achievement, except for minimal weak effects on students at the lower end of the achievement scale (Brandén, Birkelund and Szulkin, 2016_[80]).

Other research reports mixed findings on the effect of school segregation on student outcomes. Academic outcomes of students can vary based on specific peer influences between different immigrant groups and by gender (Nordin, 2013_[81]). Bygren and Szulkin find that immigrant children who grow up in neighbourhoods with many young ethnic peers who have limited educational resources, obtain relatively low average grades from primary school, and on average, do not attain the same levels of education as do immigrant children who grow up elsewhere. For a minority of immigrant children who lived in neighbourhoods with educationally successful young co-ethnics, there is a positive effect of growing up in an ethnic enclave (Bygren and Szulkin, 2010_[82]). The concentration of students in certain location can be negative for student outcomes without high quality of service delivery. Therefore, it is important to improve service delivery through different means, such as technology, or across different stakeholders.

For example, some regions in New Zealand have established Communities of Learning to develop a Learning Support Service Delivery model where multiple stakeholders (such as specialists, teachers, resource providers) contribute to the services that children receive (OECD, 2018_[61]).

3.5.1. Defining disadvantage beyond ethnicity remains a challenge

Schools with high concentrations of students with an immigrant background are prevalent. In the 2017/18 school year, 10% of all schools in Sweden (485 school units) catered to 42% of all newly arrived students and students with an unknown background. While background information is not known for each of the 485 school units, the available registries show that on average 47% of students (or both of the student's parents) are born outside of Sweden. In other words, the threshold or tipping point of 40% 'ethnic density' is already surpassed for up to 10% of compulsory schools in Sweden (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[12]; Education), 2017^[88]).

As newly arrived students and students with an unknown background accounted for approximately 8% of all students in compulsory school across Sweden in the 2017-2018 school year, 'ethnic densities above 40% should be avoidable. According to the study by Branden et al., which has used more recent data (1998-2012) than Szulkin and Jonsson (2007), ethnic composition does not have a substantial effect on students' grade point scores in Swedish schools, in fact the association is very weak (Brandén, Birkelund and Szulkin, 2018^[63]). Only for those students that risk not being eligible for upper secondary school, the weakest students, do they find a somewhat negative correlation between a large proportion of immigrant students and grade point scores.

A report from the National Agency for Education claims that both school segregation and between-school variation, as measured by the total variation in students' grade point scores that can be explained by variation in the schools' average grade point scores, have increased in the period 1998-2016. Between 2000 and 2015, more than 70% of the increase in between-school variation can be explained by the fact that school segregation based on migration background and socio-economic background has increased (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[90]).

3.5.2. Examples from the Netherlands for defining disadvantage

It is important to address the issue of defining and categorising disadvantage as this has been a point of high contention in the Netherlands (Fleers, 2016^[92]). Until 2006, the ethnic background of students was a dominant factor for receiving financial support (Berlet et al., 2008^[88]). However, country of origin is no longer a criteria and the focus has shifted to all children, regardless of ethnic background. To determine the level of grants and funding, schools use a combination of socio-economic status and parental educational attainment (see also Section 3.8.3).

The definition of disadvantage has an important impact on the level of weighted funding and the selection of criteria in controlled school choice systems. Engaging school communities in the definition of these criteria and allowing for local variation can ensure that they are sensitive to local context and can significantly ease their implementation (OECD, 2018^[49]).

3.6. Weighted Funding Programmes

Schools are sometimes reluctant to serve disadvantaged students due to the belief that the costs of educating them would be relatively high (Gauri and Vawda, 2004^[65]). The Netherlands has successfully implemented a weighting scheme in which schools are supplied with additional money for each disadvantaged student enrolled. Using parental education as the sole indicator of socio-economic status, students with very low-educated parents have a weight of 1.2, while students with low-educated parents have a weight of

0.3, and lastly students who have intermediate or highly educated parents have a weight of 0.0 (Driessen, 2017^[91]). Notably, there is ongoing debate over including migration status in the categorisation of disadvantage (Fleers, 2016^[92]). However, despite this debate, the programme has been successful in increasing resources. Compared to schools with fewer ‘weighted’ students, schools with a high proportion of weighted students had more support staff per teacher and nearly 60% more teachers per students (Ladd and Fiske, 2011^[67]). Results on student achievement are not as promising. Most researchers document an uncertain link between funding and academic outcomes (Rose and Weston, 2013^[93]), although some find a strong link between increases in certain school resources, like instruction and instruction support, and student achievement (Archibald, 2006^[94]; Aztekin and Yilmaz, 2014^[95]; Della Sala, Knoepfel and Marion, 2016^[96]).

A recent OECD report shows that it is important to align the funding formula with government policy and establish evaluation criteria accordingly, funding formulas should adequately reflect different per student costs of providing education and that funding formulas should be periodically reviewed to assess the need for adjustments (OECD, 2017^[103]). This is especially important in the case of newcomer students and students with an immigrant background which may necessitate targeted funding and formula that reflects their particular disadvantage.

3.6.1. Weighted funding programmes are not used consistently across municipalities to address the needs of disadvantaged students

In Sweden, the Education Act states that municipalities should allocate resources to where they are needed. Most municipalities in Sweden already use some weighted funding to reflect the varying needs of students from different backgrounds and the needs of schools. However, every municipality has its own way of allocating resources between schools, which explains the large variations between municipalities regarding the allocation of resources to the school, and how they are distributed between different activities (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2016^[101]).

Since 2018, both municipalities and independent providers of preschool and primary schools can apply for a state grant to expand ongoing efforts or implement new initiatives that enhance equivalence and knowledge development in preschool and primary school. The municipalities and independent providers are responsible for identifying the specific needs and to prioritise which actions the grant could be used for.

In Sweden, there are no clear guidelines for schools and funding strategies do not necessarily prioritise disadvantaged students across all municipalities, possibly implying that independent schools become more selective towards more advantaged students, given the same student costs (OECD, 2015^[22]).

3.6.2. Examples from the Netherlands for weighted funding programmes

Sweden could learn from the Netherlands in weighing disadvantages for funding programmes. At the national level, with the rise in immigration, the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (*Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen*) reorganised the educational support system to better accommodate the corresponding rise in immigrant students, implementing “targeted funding for secondary schools with newly arrived immigrants, agreements to reduce segregation between native Dutch and immigrant students in primary schools... and the creation of specific platforms for ethnic minority parents” (European Commission, 2017^[63]).

The targeted funding is a weighting scheme in which the government has attempted to offset the costs of educating an immigrant student; “since the mid-1980s, additional subsidies were assigned for disadvantaged students, reflecting the higher cost of teaching them. Since 2006, these voucher weights have been based on parents’ educational attainment, replacing previous criteria based on students’ immigrant background” (Schleicher, 2018_[64]). Schools are supplied with additional money for each disadvantaged student enrolled. Using parental education as the sole indicator of socio-economic status, students are weighted between 0.0 and 1.2 (Driessen, 2017_[91]).

In 2013/14 approximately 6% of primary school students were weighed 0.30 and 5% of the primary school students were weighed 1.20. The total school weight is based on the sum of weighted students. Per unit of school weight, the school receives a fixed amount of EUR 3 000 per year. There are also different funds available for the secondary level which take into consideration postal code areas and neighbourhoods with low income households, social welfare and non-western backgrounds. Nonetheless, resources attributed to primary education are five times larger than those for secondary education (Bilgili, Forthcoming_[98]; Centraal Planbureau, 2017_[99]).

Examples of potential monetary costs include extra language classes, translators for the student, as well as similar accommodations to communicate with parents of immigrant students. As some schools discriminate against disadvantaged students because they feel that they are a financial burden (Gauri and Vawda, 2004_[65]), this funding eliminates the motivation for such inequitable practices. Through this policy, disadvantaged students have become more attractive to schools (OECD, 2017_[66]). Research shows that schools with a high proportion of weighted students have had an increase in resources such as the number of teachers per student, assistant teachers, and administrators (Ladd and Fiske, 2011_[67]).

In the Netherlands, schools with immigrant children can also receive funds from different parties and via different regulations. Funding can be in the form of a one-off fund when students register in a school, quarterly funds and additional funding depending on how long immigrant children have been in the Netherlands (Bilgili, Forthcoming_[99]; Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2016_[100]). For example, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science has a funding system for secondary schools. When immigrant children register for the first time in schools, the school receives EUR 16 000 to prepare for integrating these immigrant children. If immigrant students have been in the country for less than one year, the school receives around EUR 2 790 per student per quarter, but if they have been in the country between one and two years, the school receives EUR 1 025 per student per quarter in addition to a yearly regular fund for students (EUR 6 900) (Bilgili, Forthcoming_[99]). The school is able to receive this fund if the student is:

- Registered as going to school
- Officially considered as an immigrant, according to the immigrant law 2000 (Article 1)
- Not following international orientated secondary education or European secondary education

To determine the level of funding, other countries such as France use school and neighbourhood demographic data (including local unemployment rate) while Germany considers student migration background, citizenship (school data), neighbourhood demographic data (including immigrant share of population) and, in some cases, expert judgements by local school administrators (OECD, 2017_[73]).

3.7. Conclusion and Policy Pointers

School composition, with regards to family and migration backgrounds, may have effects on students, especially students with an immigrant background. To improve learning outcomes for all students, both immigrant and native, it is necessary to include integration measures into school choice policies. In March 2018, the Swedish government proposed the inclusion of a balanced composition factor in the Education Act. Specifically, the proposal called for the school provider or head teacher to facilitate the development of a balanced social composition (Proposal 2017/18:182 “Samling för skolan”). While the proposal was voted down in May 2018, the topic of balanced school composition will likely be discussed again in the future. Additionally, a new Government Committee was set up in July 2018 to analyse and propose measures that could reduce school segregation and improve resource allocation in preschool and primary school to increase equality. Results are expected by March 2020 (Government of Sweden, 2018^[78]).

To address the recent rapid and large increase in immigrant students, the Swedish educational system has begun to implement policies that aim to improve learning outcomes for all children. To achieve this, Sweden’s current school choice policies could be augmented in ways that could better facilitate school integration, a factor that has been linked to improvements in the outcomes of immigrant students without negative effects on the outcomes of native students. Certain add-on policies such as information and support sessions for the parents of immigrant students, weighted funding that supports students in their chosen school and a diversity quota could aid in the process of integrating Swedish schools and providing high quality education for the diverse study body.

Sweden can consider the following actions:

3.7.1. Provide quality information and support for an active school choice so that all parents and guardians can choose schools that best respond to the needs of their children

While no action has been taken yet on the Swedish proposal for the compulsory school choice programme, expanding school choice should be a cautionary endeavour accompanied by information and education campaigns. Research shows that the allocation of students based on parental school choice tends to discriminate against less resourceful parents and children (e.g. in terms of their ability to overview and manage school choices) (Volante, Klinger and Bilgili, 2018^[42]). Further access to information needs to be complemented with support to parents on how to interpret the information and how to select the most appropriate school for their children. Information could be made available in selected foreign languages and be accessible to parents with limited literacy (OECD, 2010^[114]).

3.7.2. Promote lightly controlled freedom of choice to balance providing an equitable education and freedom of choice

Sweden places a high focus on the value of free choice in the provision of publicly financed services (such as education, health care and elder care). This involves the ability to make an informed choice about what an individual does not want as well as about what one likes and needs. The value of choice is highly connected with certain groups in society, such as middle-class parents (Allen, 2007^[32]; Reay and Allen, 1997^[33]). Thus, freedom of choice is a closely guarded right and widely supported by the general public (Almega, 2012^[79]; Ahlin, 2017^[80]; Government of Sweden, 2013^[81]). However, Swedish school choice

arrangements do not currently have a consolidated approach to ensure equity while supporting quality (OECD, 2015^[26]).

Lightly-controlled freedom of choice schemes can strike a balance between providing an equitable education for all and allowing parents complete freedom of choice. There is a need to manage student intake according to socio-economic status and nonselective intake criteria (OECD, 2015^[22]). Nonetheless, the implementation of lightly controlled choice systems requires sufficient juridical and administrative capacity for the responsible authority to collect and manage the data needed to allocate students to schools (Karsten, 2010^[107]).

Sweden could introduce lightly controlled choice schemes that supplement parental choice to ensure a more diverse distribution of students at schools. This requires ensuring that equity criteria are adopted for schools to prioritise disadvantaged students or that funding arrangements make disadvantaged students more attractive to high-performing schools (OECD, 2015^[22]). Following the examples of the Netherlands, Sweden could introduce specific criteria to the school choice allocation, such as an enrichment preference for students who would add to the ethnic or socio-economic composition of schools or the aim to reach a share of 30% of disadvantaged or immigrant students in schools. In the event of an oversubscription, a lottery system could be used. Following the example of Flanders, Sweden could also introduce a local negotiating platform which could decide about the definition of neighbourhoods and the quotas for disadvantaged students.

Some independent schools in Sweden are already using ‘special quotas’, which give priority to students who have lived in Sweden for less than two years. Participation in the special quota system is voluntary, and the principal is required to notify the State School Inspectorate (*Skolinspektionen*) and the municipality where the school is situated. Sweden could define national guidelines to ensure that municipalities integrate independent schools in their planning, improvement and support strategies (OECD, 2015^[26]). The government could also provide financial incentives to encourage independent schools to use these special quotas for newcomers, in particular immigrant and refugee students.

Furthermore, it would be helpful to design standards for admission and tuition practices to ensure public and independent schools are comparable, to reduce the risk of segregation and incentivise schools to compete on the basis of quality rather than selectivity (OECD, 2018^[49]).

3.7.3. Establish concrete, robust and comprehensive definitions of disadvantage that go beyond migration status

In the event of a future proposal to ensure a balanced composition, a concrete, robust and comprehensive definition needs to be established on what constitutes a balanced school composition. To avoid possibly discriminatory definitions that only focus on ethnic or immigration status, focusing on socio-economic status and parental educational attainment can facilitate the integration of schools favouring a balanced composition without stigmatising particular communities. Although some immigrant students experience other sources of disadvantage related to displacement, for many, socio-economic condition is the factor that explains their underachievement. For example, after accounting for the socio-economic profile of schools in the Netherlands, no association can be identified between the percentage of immigrant students attending a school and the likelihood that students attending that school will attain baseline levels of academic proficiency (OECD, 2018, p. 201^[9]).

3.7.4. Introduce clear goals and criteria in a weighted funding programme to ensure equity and consistency in school funding that supports disadvantaged students

In Sweden, there are no clear guidelines for schools, and funding strategies do not necessarily prioritise disadvantaged students across all municipalities, possibly implying that independent schools become more selective towards more advantaged students, given the same student costs (OECD, 2015^[22]).

While most municipalities in Sweden already use some weighted funding to reflect the varying needs of students from different backgrounds and the needs of schools, each has its own way of allocating resources between schools. Hence there are large variations between municipalities regarding the allocation of resources to schools, and how they are distributed between different activities (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2016^[101]).

Drawing on the example of the Netherlands, Sweden should establish national criteria or guidelines to ensure equity and especially consistency in school funding. These can support municipalities in their objectives while ensuring that the national education mandate is fulfilled. It will also be necessary to review the national grant and additional grants delivered for equity or other national priorities, as well as student support strategies as they relate to funding (Skolverket, 2018^[98]). Specifying guidelines could help policies to be better understood by those who are tasked with implementation.

In Sweden, student formulae appear to be a well suited approach for the current environment of decentralised governance and administration (OECD, 2017^[103]; OECD, 2015^[26]). The use of formula funding provides a high degree of transparency to the allocation system and when linked to the number of students, provides good forecasting of public expenditure, but effective implementation is crucial (European Commission/Eurydice, 2000^[104]).

It would be important that municipalities are mandated to propose clear goals and criteria of funding formulae (such as low student-teacher ratio, more teachers specialised in language teaching, and special funding for parental engagement and communication) and demonstrate how funding formulae respond to the need. They would refer to national guidelines and share the goals and outcomes of funding formulae with the national government. Making the process more transparent and linking goals and outcomes could help to ensure that funding reaches those students and schools with the most need.

4. Building Teaching Capacity

Aim: Building capacity to respond to shortages in both the quantity and quality of teachers through specific diversity training and professional development

4.1. Context

Building teaching capacity involves both the quantity and the quality of teachers. In the 2017/18 school year, there were 1 049 490 students in Sweden's compulsory education (*grundskola*) system, which includes newly arrived students not yet registered. Out of these, 887 837 students were registered in public schools, 156 488 in independent schools, 4 993 in international schools and 158 in Sami schools (Skolverket, 2018^[100]). This is a considerable increase from 886 000 students in the 2010/11 school year. With the number of students significantly increasing, it is necessary to both hire more teachers and retain the current ones; a deficit of 80 000 teachers and pre-school teachers is expected by 2031 (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2017^[117]).

According to the PISA 2015 index of shortage of education staff, principals perceive this shortage to hinder the instruction capacity to a greater extent in Sweden (0.35) than the OECD average (-0.01). Compared to its peer countries, Sweden is placed below Germany (0.41), but above Austria and the Netherlands (0.18 and 0.01 respectively). Considering the division of the index by socio-economic profiles, Swedish principals working in the bottom quarter of schools report that the shortage of teaching staff to a greater extent hinders the schools' instruction capacity than the OECD average (0.76 compared to 0.15). This is true for the second, third and top quarter too. The difference in shortage of education staff between the top and bottom quarter is statistically significant (-0.75), indicating that advantaged schools are better staffed than disadvantaged ones. This follows the same trend as the OECD average, however, the difference in teaching shortage between the top and the bottom quarter is larger in Sweden than the OECD average (-0.35) (OECD, 2016^[126]).

Several factors can play a role for attracting and retaining teachers, such as salaries, student-teacher ratios and working hours. Swedish teachers have relatively high starting salaries for both primary and upper-secondary levels (around 13% and 8%, respectively, higher than the OECD average), but they fall behind over time (around 9% and 13%, respectively, lower at the top of the scale than the OECD average) (OECD, 2018^[125]). Additionally, in pre-primary, primary and secondary education, teachers in Sweden earn 24%, 14% and 10% less, respectively, than tertiary educated adults working in other fields (OECD, 2018^[125]).

In terms of student-teacher ratios, Sweden has lower or similar ratios for primary (13), lower-secondary (12) and upper-secondary (14) levels than the OECD average (between 15 and 13, respectively) and lower than in the peer-learner countries (OECD, 2018^[125]). However, the total working time for teachers in Sweden over the school year is 1 767 hours in primary to upper-secondary school, which is well above the OECD average that ranges from 1 620 hours in primary school to around 1 640 hours in upper-secondary school (OECD, 2018^[125]).

Besides the increase in student numbers and expected teacher shortages, classrooms in Sweden are also expected to become even more diverse, which creates additional challenges for teachers on how to best support their students. PISA 2015 aimed to measure

the amount of academic feedback that students received from their teachers. Figure 4.1 shows that across OECD countries, immigrant students were more likely than native students to report receiving frequent feedback from their science teacher. Result accounting for academic performance show that they were not receiving more feedback simply because they were performing worse than native students. In Sweden, immigrant students were nine percentage points more likely than native students to report receiving frequent academic feedback from their science teacher, after accounting for their academic performance. In Germany and the United States they were about five percentage points more likely to report so. By contrast, in the Netherlands and Canada, they were equally likely to report so. Research shows that receiving frequent feedback from the science teacher was associated with emotional resilience among immigrant students (OECD, 2018^[9]).

Figure 4.1. Immigrant-native differences in receiving teachers' feedback

Differences in the percentage of immigrant and native students who reported that they receive frequent feedback from their science teacher

Notes: Statistically significant differences are marked in a darker tone. Students who reported receiving frequent feedback from their science teacher are those who answered “many lessons” or “every lesson or almost every lesson” to at least one of the statements: “The teacher tells me how I am performing in this course”; “The teacher gives me feedback on my strength in this subject”; “The teacher tells me in which areas I can improve”; “The teacher tells me how I can improve my performance”; and “The teacher advises me on how to reach my learning goals”.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database (accessed 3 December 2018).

PISA also explored another aspect of teacher-student relationships: the unfair treatment of students (Figure 4.2). On average across OECD countries, immigrant students were six percentage points more likely than native students to report being frequently treated unfairly by their teachers. In Sweden, they were as much as 11 percentage points more likely to report so. The difference was similar in Austria, Germany and the Netherlands, while in the United States there was no statistically significant difference.

Figure 4.2. Students reporting unfair treatment by teachers, by immigrant background

Notes: Statistically significant differences between immigrant and native students are shown next to country/economy names. Students who reported frequent unfair treatment by their teachers are those who answered “a few times a month” or “once a week or more” to at least one of the questions of how often, during the previous 12 months: “Teachers called me less often than they called on other students”; “Teachers graded me harder than they graded other students”; “Teachers gave me the impression that they think I am less smart than I really am”; “Teachers disciplined me more harshly than other students”; “Teachers ridiculed me in front of others”; and “teachers said something insulting me in front of others”.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database (accessed 3 December 2018).

In Sweden many immigrant students who reported that their teachers provide them with additional feedback might also feel victimised by their teachers could reflect teachers’ willingness to support immigrant students, but also that many lack the necessary skills to do so effectively. Teachers might be aware of the importance of supporting immigrant students, but they might require additional systemic support to teach students from diverse backgrounds. Figure 4.3 shows that in Sweden, around one in ten teachers who participated in the 2013 Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) reported the need for additional professional development when teaching in multicultural settings. In Australia, Alberta (Canada), the Netherlands and the United States, 5% or fewer teachers reported so.

Figure 4.3. Teachers' need for professional development in a multicultural setting

Source: OECD, Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS): 2013 Complete Database (accessed 3 December 2018).

Vital areas of capacity building are detailed in this report such as attracting talent to the teaching profession to respond to an increase in student numbers (newcomer students included), training and developing new and current teachers to teach students with diverse backgrounds and learning needs, and adding extra support measures for teachers across Sweden. As the surge in immigrants is not unique to Sweden, other countries offer examples on building teaching capacity, particularly Austria, Germany, the Netherlands and the United States.

4.2. Attracting and Retaining Quality Teachers

By 2027, there will be approximately 350 000 more pre-primary, primary and secondary school age students in the Swedish school system. This corresponds to an increase in over 600 additional school buildings that will be needed to accommodate the increase in student numbers (Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, 2018^[122])

To respond to the increase in student numbers, recruiting teachers quickly into the teaching profession is of great importance. In 2016, the total staffing needs amounted to 249 000 full time-positions, with 182 000 teachers and 67 000 educational staff; by 2031, the National Agency for Education forecasts 44 000 additional staff will be needed to accommodate Swedish pre-, primary and secondary school students as well as students in municipal adult education. Notably, approximately half of this forecasted increase will occur before 2021 – with 22 500 new full-time positions needed (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2017^[121]).

Attracting individuals with professional experiences (career changers) into the teaching profession is essential to obtain these teacher quotas since the numbers are too great to be simply filled by first time workers. Markedly, the number of applicants to teacher training programmes across Sweden has increased more than 70% since 2011 (Löfven and Knutsson, 2018^[107]). Retention can be a challenge, especially in the first two years in the profession (Statistics Sweden, 2016^[109]). The share of teachers who leave the profession has been relatively stable over the period 1985-2016 and has only been increasing slightly

over the last decade. However, a new study shows that there has not been an increase over time in leaving the profession. The share of teachers leaving the profession has been stable over the last 20 years (Adermon and Laun, 2018^[123]). Nevertheless, a survey of trained teachers who had left the profession indicated that more than 70% of respondents cited the work environment (such as stress and heavy workload) among the main reasons for leaving the teaching profession, followed by working conditions and salary (Statistics Sweden, 2017^[128]). Around 60% of those who left the teaching profession would consider returning for a more reasonable workload in relation to working hours, a greater opportunity to control the work situation and a higher salary (Statistics Sweden, 2017^[111]).

The starting salaries of teachers in Sweden are higher than the OECD average, but decrease over time. Teachers in Sweden also work longer hours than their colleagues in many OECD countries. National policy-makers can impact teachers' salaries, but also working conditions, such as how teachers spend their professional days (e.g. total instructional time, preparation time, meetings with other teachers, etc.). For example, Denmark introduced a new framework for the utilisation of teachers' working hours (Act no. 409), which has created greater flexibility for schools to use the time and competencies of their teachers (Nusche et al., 2016^[112]). In Sweden, schools are free to allocate teaching hours. This report discusses how teacher shortages particularly relate to immigrant and newcomer students. For a more general discussion on teachers and resources, see (OECD, 2018^[105]).

While it is a challenge to attract and retain teachers, it can be even more difficult in schools with higher concentrations of disadvantaged students (OECD, 2018^[5]). These schools are often attended by students with an immigrant background. Although teaching in schools with disadvantaged students can give teachers unique opportunities, there are also challenges to overcome: schools with concentrated poverty have greater teacher and administrator shortages, fewer applications for vacancies, higher absenteeism among teachers and staff, and higher rates of teacher and administrator turnover (Prince, 2002, p. 3^[136]; OECD, 2017^[137]). Sweden has the additional challenge of attracting teachers to schools in urban areas with high levels of residential segregation as well as schools in remote and rural areas (Andersson, Östh and Malmberg, 2010^[138]).

4.2.1. Programmes to boost teacher salaries exist, but they do not sufficiently address working conditions particularly in disadvantaged schools

To address the shortage in qualified teachers, Sweden has implemented programmes to recruit, develop and retain educators over the coming years. The 2013 ***Teacher Career Reform*** (*Förstelärarreformen*) created advancement stages and provided salary increases for professionally skilled teachers in compulsory and upper secondary school. Two new career categories for teachers (senior master and lead teacher) were also created. Through this reform, teachers can receive a salary increase of about EUR 566 to EUR 1 132. Approximately one in six teachers qualifies for a position (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2013^[131]; OECD, 2015^[132]).

Box 4.1. Teacher Salary Boost

School authorities in deprived urban areas have a possibility to apply for an extra grant to reward more career position teachers. In 2014, the government introduced a special grant for schools in the most deprived urban areas to introduce career positions for the most qualified teacher with a salary increase of SEK 5 000 per month (EUR 500). While only between 150 and 180 positions per year have been covered by this grant, they have been difficult to fill. Municipalities and independent school providers mention that the eligibility criteria are difficult to interpret. Additionally, it might be challenging to cover all the positions for the regular grant, as this is the prerequisite for the extra grant. Furthermore, the selection criteria are based on geographical delimitations and thus may leave out disadvantaged schools. Schools might have similar characteristics but are situated outside of geographical zones considered deprived (Statskontoret (The Swedish Agency for Public Management), 2017^[129]). In the 2016/17 school year, the Swedish government implemented a programme, the **Teacher Salary Boost** (*Lärarlönelyftet*), to increase salaries for teachers, which is considered a necessary step in attracting skilled and committed teachers to enter or continue in the profession. Specifically, the **Teacher Salary Boost** aims to increase wages for up to 60 000 selected teachers per year. These “salary boosts” are decided by the municipality or independent school provider and are on average SEK 2 500 to 3 500 (approximately EUR 240 to 335) per month (Löfven and Knutsson, 2018^[107]).

The municipality or the independent school provider decides how many and which teachers are qualified to receive a salary increase through the **Teacher Salary Boost**. Appointed teachers must comply with a set of requirements according to the Teacher Salary Boost Ordinance. However, each municipality or school provider can set additional conditions and requirements, apart from those specified in the regulation.

A teacher must fulfil the following requirements in order to be eligible to receive the grant:

- Teachers and pre-school teachers must hold a teaching certificate. Certain types of mother tongue teachers or teachers of a vocational subject in upper secondary school that do not hold a teaching certificate, but that have a permanent contract are eligible.
- Teachers’ duties should mainly (75% of the working time) consists of teaching, teaching tasks or other tasks of educational nature (e.g. planning, follow-up, assessment, grading and student-parent meetings).
- The teacher must have shown interest in teaching as well as good ability to develop teaching on their own and together with colleagues, and thereby improved the students’ results in school or preschool. Specifically this implies that:
 - The teacher has taken special responsibility for developing his or her teaching through methods that are based on a scientific basis and proven experience.
 - The teacher has participated in advanced formal education (in addition to a teacher’s degree) and thus improved the content, and methods and teaching practices.
 - The teacher has shown special responsibility in supporting student teachers or other teachers that are new to the profession.

- The teacher has been specifically responsible for developing interdisciplinary areas in teaching or taken responsibility for particularly complex teaching situations. This can refer to a situation in which many students have a different mother tongue than Swedish and thus requires the teacher to have a certain knowledge in order to incorporate their mother tongues into their learning processes. It can also refer to schools with weak skills outcomes in which the students need extra support to be able to complete their studies.

Source: (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2016_[134]).

The Swedish National Audit Office (*Riksrevisionen*) and the Swedish Agency for Public Management (*Statskontoret*) found that the **Teacher Salary Boost** initiative has successfully increased teachers wages and has thus, improved the overall attractiveness of the profession. Teachers' average wages have risen at a higher rate than in previous years which has led to stable conditions, including long term wage progression (Löfven and Knutsson, 2018_[122]; Statskontoret (The Swedish Agency for Public Management), 2017_[135]).

However, the Swedish National Audit Office also found that the initiative has created deterioration in the overall working environment as there are not enough funds for universal wage increases. Additionally, *Statskontoret* found that the **Teacher Salary Boost** is linked to an imbalance in motivation; some principals reported that motivation increased among the teachers who received pay increases while it decreased among those who did not obtain pay raises (Fredriksson, 2017_[136]; Tjäder Berggren, 2017_[137]; Statskontoret (The Swedish Agency for Public Management), 2017_[135]; Riksrevisionen (The Swedish National Audit Office), 2017_[138]). Some researchers conclude that the financial contributions are creating a perceived injustice, while many teachers in Sweden see teaching as a profession where everyone basically does the same thing and is thus difficult to rank teachers in terms of teaching quality (Fredriksson, 2017_[119]; Riksrevisionen (The Swedish National Audit Office), 2017_[121]).

Björn Åstrand investigated how to alter the 2013 **Teacher Career Reform** and the **Teacher Salary Boost** and suggested the need for clear objectives (to stimulate development of teaching competencies), linking different career development programmes, clear descriptions of teacher skills at all levels (which requires robust and reliable processes for identifying and recognising different levels of competence), as well as including teachers of adult education in the **Teacher Salary Boost** programme. More specifically, the state contribution to municipalities and school providers that implement career development for teachers should be linked to the proposal *Teachers Continuing Professional Development (Professionsprogram)*. A programme with clear national skill levels could overcome the criticism of the Career Reform regarding the lack of transparency and legitimacy when appointing senior master and lead teachers (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2018_[139]). Regarding the **Teacher Salary Boost**, the investigation did not propose any changes in terms of the state grant for increased salaries or new professional categories. However, it suggested that teachers in adult education should also be included in the **Teacher Salary Boost** in the long term (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2018_[139]).

The evaluation of the first year of the Teacher Salary Boost, conducted by the Swedish Agency for Public Management, found that 90% of all school authorities chose to participate in the teachers' salaries boost scheme, where the most skilled teachers have been rewarded had participated in the programme. The Teachers Salary Boost has increased the

average salary for teachers and about 40% of the school authorities have introduced the salary boost as a permanent salary increase. This suggests that the programme could have a positive effect on the long-term salary growth for teachers. Nevertheless, while one of the objectives was to incentivise experienced teachers to work in disadvantaged schools, no significant part of the grant has been attributed to these schools. The programme has also had limited effect on the organisation of teaching and teaching methods (Statskontoret (The Swedish Agency for Public Management), 2017^[11]).

4.2.2. Examples from the United States and France for incentivising teachers to work in disadvantaged schools

Some examples of programmes from the United States and France that seek to incentivise teachers to work in disadvantaged schools by boosting their salaries and improving working conditions might be helpful for the Swedish case, even if not all immigrant students are enrolled in disadvantaged schools. In the United States there are various programmes that aim to attract and/or reward teachers working in disadvantaged schools. Based on the objectives of the *No Child Left Behind Act*, the **Teacher Incentive Fund** seeks to enable teachers and principals to be more effective at improving student achievement and reward them for it, increase the number of teachers in high-poverty classrooms teaching disadvantaged and minority students in hard-to-staff subjects, and to create performance-based compensation systems.

Since 2006, the programme has funded 131 projects to improve pay structures, reward effective teachers and principals and provide greater professional opportunities to educators in high poverty schools. The projects have served over 2 000 schools in more than 300 urban, suburban, and rural school districts in 36 states and Washington, D.C.

Some of the projects funded by the Teacher Incentive Fund have included: teacher career pathway programmes that diversified roles in the teaching force; teacher career pathways that recognise, develop, and reward excellent teachers as they advance through various career stages; incentives for effective teachers who assume instructional leadership roles within their schools; incentives that attract, support, reward, and retain the most effective teachers and administrators at high-need schools; rigorous, ongoing leadership development training for teacher leaders and principals, leadership roles for teachers aimed at school turnaround; and the creation of new salary structures based on effectiveness (Department of Education, 2018^[209]).

A more specific example of how to attract and retain teachers in disadvantaged schools can be found in the state of Washington. Since the 1999-2000 school years, Washington has awarded salary incentives for National Board Certified Teachers (NBCTs) in high-need schools. Initially set at 15% of salary, the state fixed the bonus at USD 3 500 (about EUR 3 080) per year in 2000 and raised it to USD 5 000 (around EUR 4 400) in 2007 (Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2018^[210]).

In 2007, Washington also introduced an additional bonus for teachers in high poverty schools. The programme **Challenging Schools Bonus (CSB)** awards an additional USD 5 000 (EUR 4 400) to NBCTs. Following these changes, the number of NBCTs in Washington rose substantially. During the first year of the new bonus programme, the number of new teachers earning certification increased by 88%. By 2013, the gap in board certification between low- and high poverty schools had not only decreased but reversed (Cowan and Goldhaber, 2018^[210]).

At the national level, France has since 1982 had **Priority Education Zones** (ZEPs) with special resources aimed at disadvantaged schools. The main objective of the ZEPs is to decrease the differences in academic achievement between students with disadvantaged backgrounds and other students. To attract teachers to these schools, the government has introduced various incentives. New teachers starting at ZEP schools are able to draw on a network of education advisors and mentors to support them. Smaller class sizes (no more than 25 students per class) with more time for teamwork, resources for cultural and sports projects with students, and paid consultation time are also meant to attract teachers to these schools. Moreover, teachers earn bonus points for each year that they work at a ZEP school. These are taken into account if teachers apply to move to another school later on. There are also bonus schemes with an annual premium of EUR 1 734 gross for teachers in schools in which 55% of the students belong to the least favoured socio-economic categories, and EUR 2 312 gross for those teachers in schools in which 70% of the students belong to the least favoured socio-economic categories (European Commission, 2017^[143]; Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enseignement supérieur et de Recherche (Ministry of Education, Higher Education and Research), (n.d.)^[144]).

4.3. Recruitment and Teaching Programmes for Teachers with an Immigrant Background

To reverse a growing disparity between an increasingly diverse student population and a largely homogenous teacher workforce, countries have adopted initiatives to hire more teachers from immigrant or minority backgrounds (European Commission, 2016^[123]). Such initiatives are based on the belief that teachers of minority or immigrant background may serve as role models for students, enhancing the self-confidence and motivation of minority or immigrant students, eventually leading to improved education outcomes (Clewell and Villegas, 1998^[124]; Carrington and Skelton, 2003^[125]; Howard, 2010^[126]; OECD, 2015^[127]). Increasing the share of minority and immigrant teachers may also have a positive influence on immigrant students' learning experiences and sense of belonging, for instance, through improvements in academic achievement, teachers' perceptions and lower discrimination against ethnic minority students (Howard, 2010^[126]; European Commission, 2016^[123]; OECD, 2010^[128]; Lindahl, 2007^[129]; Pitts, 2007^[130]; Kane and Orsini, 2003^[131]). Teachers with an immigrant background can also serve as positive role models for all students (Carrington and Skelton, 2003^[147]).

In Sweden, the proportion of initial teacher education (ITE) students with a first generation migrant background is estimated to vary between 5 and 9% between semesters. Around 12.3% of ITE students are first or second generation immigrants. However, the dropout rate of foreign-born students and second-generation immigrants is considerably higher than for ethnic Swedish candidates (Nielsen, 2015^[132]).

Furthermore, around 9.2% of secondary teachers and 9.5% of primary schools teachers are from a country other than Sweden (Sandlund, 2010^[133]). About one third of 15-year old students in Sweden had an immigrant background, a higher share than the OECD average, where almost one in four students had an immigrant background (OECD, 2018^[134]). To overcome this gap in diversity between students and teachers, Sweden has implemented several initiatives in order to facilitate teachers with an immigrant background to teach in schools and to enter the Swedish labour market.

4.3.1. Programmes for teachers with an immigrant background do not sufficiently address challenges of combining work with study and overcoming Swedish language barriers

One programme is ***Fast Track for Migrant Teachers*** (*Snabbspår*). It started in February 2016, in a collaboration between the Swedish Teachers' Union (*Lärarförbundet*), the National Union of Teachers in Sweden (*Lärarnas Riksförbund*), the Employers' Organisation for the Swedish Service Sector (*Almega*), the Swedish Public Employment Service (*Arbetsförmedlingen*) and various higher education institutions (including Stockholm University and Malmö University). In small cohorts across the country, this 26-week course incorporates Swedish language learning with a condensed teacher education programme. As most of the participants are from Syria and Iraq, both Swedish and Arabic are used in order to facilitate a rapid learning process. Although all participants are required to have a background in teaching, the extent varies considerably. Specifically, the programme is split into three steps:

1. Participants' skills are mapped in their native language. Additionally, Swedish language classes start and other documents and administrative tasks are completed.
2. The principal step consists of preparatory reading and Swedish classes (26 weeks) as well as interning at a school. Students either participate in SFI or "Yrkessvenska", which is a course in vocational Swedish (*Arbetsförmedlingen*, (n.d.)^[152]). A customised pathway to certification is also offered based on the opinion of the Swedish Council for Higher Education (*Universitets- och högskolerådet*) and the National Agency for Education (*Skolverket*). Due to this variation in past teaching experience, some participants can have their home country certifications validated through the fast track programme while others will have to enrol in a bridging programme (ULV – see below for more details) (Hajer and Economou, 2017^[152]).
3. If necessary, the participant will enrol in ULV and can also combine this with a student teaching placement (*Verksamhetsförlagd utbildning*) (*Arbetsförmedlingen* (Swedish Public Employment Service), 2016^[153]).

The ***Fast Track for Migrant Teachers*** specifically teaches pedagogical views that are characteristic to Swedish classrooms such as student-centred teaching and high levels of student engagement. As classroom routines and traditions, including individual versus group work and teacher-student interactions, can differ between countries, it is important to educate future Swedish teachers about student-centred learning (Hajer and Economou, 2017^[135]). Between February 2016 and 2018, 1 304 people (62% female, 38% male) have participated or are participating in the programme. 59 of all participants have wanted to continue to higher education studies, e.g. the ULV programme, but only 25 have been accepted so far mainly because of insufficient levels of Swedish language (*Arbetsförmedlingen*, 2018^[137]).

Bridging programmes for people with foreign degrees in teaching (*Utländska lärares vidareutbildning – ULV*), offers a 2-year university study to those with foreign degrees in teaching. Promoted as a supplementary education for people with teaching certifications outside of Sweden, the aim is to retain as many migrant teachers in the teaching profession and allow them to start teaching as soon as possible. ULV is currently offered at Göteborg University, Linköping University, Malmö University, Stockholm University, Umeå University and Örebro University. From 2007 to 2014, over 3 000 migrants from 90 countries who speak over 40 languages have graduated from ULV. In order to be accepted

to the programme, students need to have a teaching degree from a foreign university and also show proof of knowledge in the Swedish language (Swedish level 3 [level C1 in the Common European Framework of References for Languages], Swedish as a second language 2, or TISUS – Test in Swedish for University Studies) (Stockholms Universitet, 2016^[139]). Evaluations have shown that the programme successfully increases migrant teachers' chances of securing employment and increases their career-long salary (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2017^[121]).

Participants who were interviewed about their participation in the programme reflected positively on their experiences with ULV, noting that they gained in-depth insight into the role of the teacher in the Swedish school system. However, participants also found the pathway to obtaining Swedish credentials long, especially after they undertook four years of training in their home countries (Hagrenius and Brunnander, 2015^[138]). Additionally, the requirements to enrol in ULV are sometimes not accessible to newly arrived immigrants, taking on average four to five years (from the day of arrival) for migrant teachers to enrol successfully in the programme. This can be attributed to insufficient language skills, and to a lack of information about the existence of ULV (Bunar, 2017^[72]). In 2017, the number of applicants to ULV decreased in relation to the previous two years. Many participants of ULV either drop out or temporarily suspend their studies. Difficulty in combining studies with work is self-reported to be a main reason behind this.

While student teachers in the ULV programme are entitled to receive some funding from the Swedish Board of Student Finance (CSN) (Stockholm University, 2018^[7]), financial reasons are an important factor for leaving the programme (Granath and Åström, 2018^[8]). Around 55% of those who left the programme reported that it was too difficult to combine studies with work.

Another reason is the high Swedish language level demanded from applicants. The general requirement for admission to the ULV programme is a passing grade in Swedish as a Second Language level 3. From 2019, the University of Gothenburg will introduce a compulsory language placement test in order to better evaluate the students' Swedish language skills. Students who fail to pass the test are obliged to begin their studies with a full-time introductory course in Swedish (Göteborg University, 2018^[157]).

Another programme *Complimentary Pedagogical Education* (KPU) is a fast track to becoming a teacher for those who already have academic qualifications in one or more subjects, but who lack academic qualifications in the core subjects of pedagogy and didactics. The programme covers 90 ECTS in total (60 ECTS of core subjects in pedagogy and didactics and 30 ECTS corresponds to student teaching placement) and leads to a teacher's degree in one or more subjects. The studies can be conducted on a full or part-time basis. To be accepted to the KPU a person needs to have passed 90 or 120 ECTS in a subject taught in the Swedish primary or secondary school (e.g. mathematics, physics, English, Swedish as a second language, etc.).

A recent report from the Swedish Higher Education Authority (UKÄ) shows that in the academic year of 2016/17, 4 480 people started a subject teacher education programme, of which 1 020 belonged to a KPU programme. Out of 1 590 new subject teachers for the same academic year, one-third (540 persons) graduated from a KPU programme. Majority of KPU students became teachers in mathematics, biology, chemistry or technology, in line with the political objective of attracting these types of academics to the teaching profession as there is a high demand for these subjects in the Swedish schools (Göteborg University, (n.d.)^[157]; Lälarnas, 2018^[158]).

Sweden also offers the **Korta vägen** (short cut), which is a training programme not specific to teaching for persons born abroad who have completed at least three years of academic studies in their country of origin. The programme is sponsored by the Swedish Public Employment Service to help non-natives find employment quickly in Sweden. It is free of charge and comprises 26 weeks of full-time studies. The programme provides academic and work experience evaluation, training and career guidance, in addition to support from the Public Employment Service with internship placement and during the internship. The requirements to be accepted into the programme include having completed a minimum of three years of higher education outside of the Nordic region, to be enrolled in the Public Employment Service and to speak basic Swedish (A2 on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) (Stockholm University, 2018^[142]). However, it is unclear how many teachers with an immigrant background participate in this training programme.

4.3.2. *Examples from Austria and Germany for the training of teachers with an immigrant background*

Some examples from peer-learner countries could help Sweden deal with the challenge of facilitating training for teachers with an immigrant background, especially for combining work with study and raising their level of Swedish.

Recruiting teachers with an immigrant background is not sufficient, effective training programmes must also be provided to them. An example of a university-level practice is from the University of Vienna, which piloted an innovative refugee teacher education programme in September 2017 called **Education Science Foundations for Refugee Teachers** (*Bildungswissenschaftliche Grundlagen für Lehrkräfte mit Fluchthintergrund*). The programme allows refugees to re-enter their profession through an alternative certification. In addition to educational theory classes, the participants have a practical training at schools across Vienna, under close supervision of a mentor (Biewer and Frey, 2017^[200]). Graduates are considered qualified under the Austrian educational system by means of a special contract to teach one subject in the secondary or upper secondary level on the condition that they hold a bachelor's degree, B2 level of German and past teaching experience. For a regular contract, more subjects need to be added by taking additional content classes. Participants must also demonstrate a C1 level of German by the end of the programme to graduate. The course was designed to help create a heterogeneous teaching workforce that better reflects the diversity in the Austrian student body (Biewer and Frey, 2017^[200]).

Participants are fully funded through the programme. In the first year, the fees for the courses were covered by the Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs (BMEIA). The University of Vienna and Vienna City School Board provided human resources, internship placements, and teaching facilities, and finally, the Public Employment Service (AMS) of Vienna and Niederösterreich covered living expenses and provided a stipend to participants (Biewer and Frey, 2017^[200]). The first cohort of 23 students successfully completed the programme. In the second year (2018/19), the programme was funded by private donations. The programme has already attracted international attention, winning the SozialMarie prize for social innovation in 2018 (Unruhe Privatstiftung, 2018^[201]).

At the regional level, in North-Rhine Westphalia (Germany), the programme **Lehrkräfte Plus** provides 12 months of training to refugee teachers from 2017 to 2020. It is a joint training programme at Bielefeld University in cooperation with the Ministry of Education

and Training and State Coordination Office for Local Integration Centres both in North-Rhine Westphalia as well as Bertelsmann Foundation. The programme seeks to help participants orient themselves in the school system while also gaining further qualifications. After successfully completing the programme, participants may work as substitute teachers in the Land, be recruited to teach a native language such as Arabic in a school or take further training courses in another subject. The programme first helps participants raise their existing knowledge of German to the C1 level (B1 is a prerequisite to be admitted into the programme). After the intensive language course (28 hours per week for one semester), participants will extend their subject knowledge and teaching skills in various pedagogic-intercultural courses. Additionally, they will be able to practice teaching in schools (University Bielefeld, 2017^[221]; University Bielefeld, (n.d.)^[222]).

Another project in North-Rhine Westphalia (Germany) is ***Teachers with Immigration History*** (*Lehrkräfte mit Zuwanderungsgeschichte*), which has been recruiting and supporting immigrant teachers for over 10 years. The programme is supported by the Ministry of Education and Training, the Ministry of Children, Families, Refugees and Integration and the Municipal Integration Centre (all in North-Rhine Westphalia). The programme strives to break down stereotypes of immigrant teachers and remove information barriers they may face. Specific activities include career information events, supporting local networks of teachers as well as networks of aspiring teachers at universities, and offering certification courses for migrant teachers to become ‘Intercultural coordinators’ who then promote diversity and inclusion in their respective schools (Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, 2016^[161]). Even though a formal, independent evaluation of the initiative in terms of its effectiveness and impact has not been undertaken, anecdotal evidence from the ministerial level, network members and the rapid growth in network membership suggest the network is successful and effectively implemented (European Commission, 2016^[140]). The Ministry of Science and Research has also approved long-term funding for the further development of student networks.

The Swedish government could also provide funding to organisations to start recruitment programmes and to build partnerships with wider stakeholders. For example, nine Länder in Germany are also experimenting with recruiting campaigns to address teacher shortages. In 2008, to recruit teachers with a migrant background, a charitable organisation (Zeit-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius) created a programme to start recruiting prospective teachers as early as secondary school (Bräu et al., 2013^[160]). Targeted at students who were older than 15 years of age with an immigrant background, ***the Campus for pupils - more migrants are becoming teachers*** (*Schülercampus – mehr Migranten werden Lehrer*) programme included four-day intensive retreats which exposed participants to the teaching profession. Topics such as salary, qualifications, and dispositions that are necessary in teaching jobs were covered. The programme finished in 2015 with over 80% of students starting initial teacher education programmes (Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, 2016^[161]).

4.4. Teacher Training for Diverse Classrooms

All efforts to integrate children with an immigrant background and help all students succeed depend on well-skilled and well-supported teachers who take into account the diversity of their student populations in their instructional approaches. Teachers are often ill-prepared in pedagogical approaches for second-language learning or in recognising and helping children overcome the effects of trauma that many immigrant children endure (OECD, 2015^[127]). Similarly to Belgium, Denmark and the Slovak Republic, teachers in

Sweden seem to be aware of the importance of supporting immigrant students, since immigrant students in these countries reported receiving more feedback than native students. But teachers appear to need additional training in how to provide assistance to these students without stigmatising them (OECD, 2018_[6]).

In most initial teacher training programmes, preparation for diversity consists of a single module or an elective course, apart from the rest of the curricula, which is unlikely to have a lasting impact throughout teachers' careers. These courses make reference to various themes such as including second and/or mother language learning, intercultural and multicultural education, religious and cultural diversity, migration and so on. However, the courses vary in the extent to which they focus on diversity, as well as the resources available for their implementation (European Commission, 2017_[152]).

Based on a Council of Europe (2010) study, teacher competences required for engaging with diversity are three-fold (Arnesen, Allan and Simonsen, 2010_[153]).

1. *Knowledge and understanding*: Preparing student teachers for diversity implies promoting their knowledge and a better understanding of the world and its cultures (Keengwe, 2010_[153]).
2. *Communication and relationships*: Developing communication competences for diversity emerges from the capacity of teachers to be empathic and reflexive about their own beliefs, cultural and socioeconomic differences (Rychly and Graves, 2012_[154]).
3. *Management and teaching*: Teachers should also have relevant management and pedagogical skills to respond adequately to diversity through teaching (Elbers, 2010_[154]).

Most future teachers are required to take part in compulsory practical training of varying length. Research indicates that field experiences are important to effectively prepare students teachers for classroom diversity (Almarza, 2005_[156]; Lenski et al., 2005_[157]). However, this depends on the type of school where students gain their first professional experience (European Commission, 2017_[152]).

There is limited empirical evidence (mostly from the United States, Canada and Australia) on initiatives that effectively prepare teachers for diversity, as well as on the diversity of the teacher educator profession. Available evidence suggests that intercultural competences can be learned in initial teacher training. This can happen by systematically exposing student teachers to diversity-related content and engaging them in self-reflection linked to the new knowledge and experience gained in multicultural settings (Egby, 2012_[159]; Gambhir, 2015_[160]; Sharma, 2013_[161]; Whitehead, 2007_[162]). Additionally, training is more effective when it includes experiential elements with diverse student bodies: "if pre-service teachers are going to develop positive attitudes towards inclusive education, they need opportunities for direct interaction with [diverse students], instruction on policy and legislation relating to inclusive education, and opportunities to gain confidence in practical teaching situations with [diverse students]" (Sharma, Forlin and Loreman, 2008_[156]).

4.4.1. Teacher training for diversity is covered only in elective courses with limited practical experience

Malmö University offers an elective course (15 ECTS) for teachers in the teaching programme, "Learning and Teaching in Multicultural Schools" (Malmö University, 2018_[178]). The course objective is to prepare teachers for diverse classrooms and provide

them with teaching methods. Teachers are first exposed to a diverse classroom by being placed in a school or pre-school where they are given time to reflect on their experiences and cultural assumptions. Theoretical studies and more practical work in school follows. The course englobes the following themes:

- Personal and professional self-awareness
- Comparative studies of educational systems
- Strategies and methods for teaching/learning in multi-ethnic and multilingual settings
- Language and concept development
- Migration and national and minority group identity
- World philosophies, religions, ideologies and value systems as seen in the Swedish classroom.

The University of Gothenburg offers a similar course of 15 ECTS involving only theoretical work (Göteborg University, 2017_[179]). Linnaeus University also offers teachers courses in multicultural topics. One course tackles school success in a multicultural society and tries to answer how we can create a school with equal opportunities in an environment in which students' identities and sense of belonging are constantly changing. It focuses on success factors in students' school achievements, as well as how inclusive school cultures that benefit all students can be created (Linnaeus University, 2017_[180]).

Only a few specific programmes focus on intercultural education and the role of Swedish in a multicultural society. Södertörn University stands out by offering teacher programmes with an intercultural profile. The focus lies on diversity in the past and in the present and allows teachers to reflect and critically examine different fields of tension in the intercultural dimension of the teaching profession. There is a strong emphasis on democracy, values and norm creation, and how these topics could be taught in increasingly heterogeneous classrooms (Södertörn University, (n.d.)_[185]; 2018_[186]).

In the past, Malmö University offered a programme for those interested in becoming subject teachers in Swedish but with a special focus on multicultural and diverse learners (Malmö University, 2018_[195]).

It is important for aspiring teachers to learn about how to integrate language teaching into the teaching of core subjects. Research has found that multilingualism in teacher education is lacking (Carlson, 2009_[199]) despite the fact that many national reports have pointed to the importance of teachers' language knowledge as an integral part of core content teaching (Skolinspektionen, 2010_[200]; Skolverket, 2012_[201]). In Swedish teacher education, student teachers study subject content and corresponding theory (Ämnes- och ämnesdidaktiska studier) in addition to educational core requirements. Although there are programmes to specifically become a mother tongue teacher, or a SAS teacher (also only through subject teacher programme), they are not integrated in other teacher programmes (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2018_[193]).

Recently, there has been some efforts to examine how language knowledge can have an integral part in the teacher education programmes. In 2016, a special committee was set up by the government to investigate this matter. The Committee's report included several proposals for how SAS, mother tongue and language knowledge could have a larger presence in teacher programmes. It suggested more flexibility in primary teacher programme so that these teacher students could study mother tongue and SAS, for instance

offering mother tongue as an elective course. The report also proposed more flexibility in the requirements for becoming a mother tongue teacher. Trained subject teachers with another mother tongue than Swedish should be offered a complementary course in language didactics with focus on mother tongue education (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education), 2018^[191]).

4.4.2. Examples from the United States, Australia and Finland for initial teacher training

Some countries offer in-depth teacher training in diversity that combine theory and practice which Sweden could draw on. At the university level in the United States, the School of Education at Indiana University has several cultural immersion programmes for preservice teachers. The goal of the cultural immersion is for preservice teachers to develop skills in teaching diverse students. Placements include the American Indian Reservation in the Navajo Nation, the Hispanic Community in the lower Rio Grande Valley, urban settings in Indianapolis and Chicago, and multiple international locations in South America, Europe, Asia and Africa.

Since the inception in 1970, the programme has had positive results: many studies have highlighted the positive impact of the programme on preservice teachers' professional and personal development, a shift in consciousness and perspective, and empathetic understanding of the world and its people, an appreciation for other cultures and an awareness of both global and domestic diversity (Kirkwood-Tucker, 2009^[158]).

Another example from the United States stems from the University of Washington-Seattle, where pre-service teachers explore their own cultural backgrounds in order to see the importance of culture while also learning a pedagogy they can replicate in their future classrooms. This can allow teachers to see how similar activities could be used with students in P-12 classrooms and produce feelings of personal agency, efficacy, and empowerment. Once the students begin to understand themselves as cultural beings, they become more receptive to accepting the culture, race, and ethnicity of their students (Gay, 2010^[159]).

In Australia, the RMIT School of Education in Melbourne, piloted *eTutor*, a programme to teach intercultural skills through technology, in order to promote greater understanding of other cultures to preservice teachers. The *eTutor* programme aimed to create an environment where preservice teachers would be able to interrogate their own and others' cultures in ways that were safe, supportive, inclusive, challenging, and engaging (Carr, 2016^[160]). The experience of interacting with children from multiple cultures in an online environment resulted in a positive attitudinal shift for the majority of participants; the preservice teachers, many of whom had started with an ethnocentric view, finished with an ethno-relative view, demonstrating empathy and caring for children of different cultures. (Carr, 2016^[160]).

In Finland, to respond to the increasing need for teachers skilled in teaching diverse classes, the University of Oulu created a combined Bachelor and Master's Degree in ***Intercultural Teacher Education*** (ITE). The course of study lasts five years – three for the Bachelor's Degree and the remaining two for the Master's Degree. Students graduate with all initial requirements to teach in public Finnish schools, including a professional teaching qualification and Master's degree. The programme covers specific content and experiences including:

- consideration of teaching in a heterogeneous classroom

- studies of global matters and international relations
- guest lecturers from other countries
- a period of study abroad (a minimum of 1 semester)
- teaching practices abroad and in international schools
- internships in government and non-government organisations
- global education studies (peace and conflict research, equity and human rights, environment)
- study of international development policy

The ITE degree integrates cultural learning and intercultural perspectives into all aspects of the five-year programme in order to provide skills needed as teachers or educational professionals in an increasingly multicultural world. Overall, the ITE programme emphasises the life-long process of intercultural learning, encouraging students to consistently find ways to challenge their notions of diversity (University of Oulu, 2017_[161]).

Applications to the ITE programme are judged on the basis of an applicant's interest in global, political and societal issues, and open and critical attitude towards world issues, as well as academic and pedagogical potential (Alasuutari and Jokikokko, 2010_[162]). Current, successful teachers in the ITE programme recommend even more support and in-service training for former students (now teachers) because many graduates find it too difficult to influence unequal structures and practices relating to diversity and intercultural norms in their schools. Other ways to improve include creating a more diverse student body within the ITE programme (as most students are native Finnish), and advocating for ITE content in mainstream teacher education at Oulu University (Alasuutari and Jokikokko, 2010_[162]). For more information, visit their website: www.oulu.fi/edu/intercultural_teacher_education.

4.5. Continuous Professional Development

Even though initial teacher education is crucial for developing values of inclusiveness and non-discriminatory attitudes among a new generation of teachers, effective in-service training opportunities should be offered periodically. Otherwise past cohorts may hold on to different approaches and, crucially, new and current teachers could fail to adapt to a continuously changing environment (Van Driel, Darmody and Kerzil, 2016, p. 71_[167]). Continuous professional development programmes include support for student teachers in the transition to the teaching workforce as well as providing opportunities to practice and learn about new strategies to manage diversity once they are in the profession.

Professional development is important to build an understanding of the changing diversity within schools and effective strategies for teaching in these contexts. The OECD Teaching and Learning International Study (TALIS) 2013 indicates that larger proportions of teachers on average report having undertaken professional development that focused on their knowledge and understanding of their subject field (73%) and on their pedagogical competencies in teaching their subject field (68%). In contrast, fewer teachers report participating in professional development that focused on approaches to teaching in a multicultural setting (16% on average) (OECD, 2014_[168]).

On average, around 16% of lower secondary teachers across the OECD reported having participated in training for teaching in multicultural and multilingual settings. In Sweden,

only 12.7% of teachers reported having done so. This is similar to the Netherlands (13% of teachers), but lower than in the Canadian province Alberta (19.1% of teachers), New Zealand (30%) and Spain (25% of teachers) (OECD, 2014^[168]).

Among those who participated in professional development in a multicultural/multilingual setting, around 13% indicated that the professional development had a large or moderate impact on their teaching. This self-reported measure of effectiveness is important because teachers' perception of the effectiveness of certain professional development activities may affect their future participation in such activities.

The professional development that teachers report receiving in TALIS does not always meet their needs. Teachers were asked to rate their development needs for various aspects of their work and results showed that while 22% of teachers reported they needed more professional development for teaching special needs, 13% of teachers needed professional development for teaching in a multicultural or multilingual setting (OECD, 2014).

Teaching in a multicultural or multilingual setting is a significant concern for Latin American countries and Italy, where more teachers consider this an important need for professional development (46% of Brazilian teachers, 24% of Chilean teachers, 27% of Italian teachers and 33% of Mexican teachers). In Sweden, 11.3% of lower secondary education teachers reported a high level of need in teaching in a multicultural or multilingual setting (TALIS average is 18.7%). This is still higher than in the Canadian province of Alberta (3.8% of teachers) and the Netherlands (3.1%) (OECD, 2014^[168]).

In rural and remote schools with limited experience with diversity, teachers can experience considerable challenges dealing with a more diverse student population. A recent OECD report finds that countries have employed a range of strategies to address teachers' professional isolation in rural and remote schools and provide high-quality professional development opportunities at a reasonable cost (OECD, 2018^[49]; Halsey, 2017^[204]). These include cascade teaching (training a group of teachers to coach their colleagues in a particular skill), mobile facilitators, induction and mentoring, and the use of local resource and support centres. The creation of school and teacher networks has also been used to provide educators with forums to discuss and solve problems they encounter in their daily practice, to provide them with ongoing feedback and support, and to encourage teachers to remain in rural schools (Centre for Education Statistics and Evaluation, 2013^[205]). The effectiveness of such collaborative efforts hinges on their ability to guide participants in their continuous improvement, the leadership necessary to distribute roles and responsibilities, and the availability of spaces and common rules that can foster a shared identity (Jensen, 2012^[206]).

There is little research on the relation between the content of professional development and outcomes for teachers of diverse populations (Knight and Wiseman, 2005^[169]). Intensive study of the conditions and approaches for the development of effective teachers is considerably less developed in this area than studies of student outcomes in relation to interventions. Therefore, there is limited evidence so far on what professional development programmes really work for more effective teaching in diverse classrooms.

4.5.1. Professional development courses exist, but more is needed to create a network of training and exchange

In Sweden, the National Agency provides school development programmes so that schools authorities, preschools and schools can develop their teaching. The different programmes aim to create better conditions for children's development and learning as well as improved

learning outcomes for students. The National Agency offers various programmes within eight different themes, one of which is newly arrived and multilingual children and students' learning. For instance, some of the courses within this theme are on the study and vocational guidance for newly arrived students as well as language and knowledge development within subject instruction for new arrivals. Another example of continuous professional development offered for teachers is *A Boost for Teachers* (*Lärarlyftet*). The National Agency is responsible for offering courses, through collaboration with the different universities in Sweden, which allows teachers to become certified to teach more subjects while receiving 80% of their salaries. Offered courses include Swedish as a Second Language and "The Global Classroom", aimed at supporting the professional development of all teachers. These courses serve as an introduction to the subject of Swedish as a Second Language with the objective of strengthening teaching methods in multilingual classrooms and interactions with newly arrived students (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018_[214]). Creating a network of new and established educators could help jumpstart a forum for training, exchange and support.

4.5.2. Example from Germany for professional development

Several student teachers and teacher educators started the group *Life is Diversity* (*Leben ist Vielfalt*) at the University of Paderborn in North-Rhine Westphalia in 2011 to address this challenge by creating a student network for those interested in learning how to teach in diverse classrooms. Originally targeted at student teachers with an immigrant background, the network quickly expanded to all student teachers and current educators. As of 2016, it is a registered university group that meets regularly to share intercultural experiences and organise workshops (Public Policy and Management Institute (PPMI), 2017_[170]; Universität Paderborn, 2016_[171]). Specific workshops, seminars, and activities can be found on the group's Facebook page (www.facebook.com/LebenistVielfalt/); these include practical intercultural classroom management days and workshops on multilingualism, unconscious bias training, and religion in the classroom. The network also hosts diversity days or evenings that are dedicated to learning about different cultures and serve as a cultural exchange to learn about differences and similarities (Public Policy and Management Institute (PPMI), 2017_[170]).

The network has been well received by members and has proven effective: "feedback from different informal sources indicates that students consider some of the network activities as more effective for their preparation as a teacher than some of the seminars they attend" during their teacher training (Public Policy and Management Institute (PPMI), 2017, p. 17_[170]); and stakeholders believe that the network has endowed members with intercultural sensitivity and increased self-confidence to teach in diverse classrooms. Furthermore, the network positively influenced teacher education at the University of Paderborn to include more content on diversity training. The network is currently working to create partnerships with other universities as well as add more members from diverse subject fields as most of the members are either German or social studies teachers (Universität Paderborn, 2016_[171]).

4.6. Extra Support Measures for Teachers

It is important that teachers receive support from teachers and other school professionals to help immigrant and refugee students effectively. First, new teachers can benefit from support offered by mentorship programmes. The first years of classroom teaching can bring challenges for new teachers and even more so when teaching in challenging classrooms as

many are placed in disadvantaged schools that can be difficult to staff. Comprehensive mentoring is a proven method to support these teachers; “without effective mentoring support, many beginning teachers struggle and fail to learn the nuances of effective teaching” (Spooner-Lane, 2017^[175]). Furthermore, mentoring is essential for teachers in disadvantaged schools as it can help them learn the necessary skills more quickly (OECD, 2012, p. 132^[69]).

Teachers with migrant backgrounds face unique challenges when beginning to teach in a new setting. In addition to problems related to employment and certification, teachers with migrant backgrounds have difficulties adapting to new teaching philosophies as well as professionally integrating into the school culture and teacher network (Niyubahwe, Mukamurera and Jutras, 2013^[176]).

Second, teachers can benefit from the extra support of other professionals. There are different sets of vulnerabilities that accompany direct and indirect displacement, which might affect students’ sense of self. Social workers and psychologists, who also have experience working with immigrant students, can provide extra support to teachers who teach in diverse classrooms.

4.6.1. Mentoring programmes and student health services in schools do not sufficiently support new and established teachers in responding to the needs of immigrant students

Sweden has had a mentoring programme for new teachers since 2001, which teachers found useful for their development because they could discuss how to tackle different situations (such as relations with parents, problematic students) with their mentors (Lindgren, 2005^[199]). However, there is no longer a requirement of having to participate in an induction programme with a personal mentor in order to obtain a teacher certification. Therefore, there are fewer mentorship courses offered for experienced teachers (Gerrevall, 2014^[200]). The National Agency for Education has prepared a number of guidelines for mentorship, but there are no established rules and regulations (Skolverket, 2015^[201]). Additionally, there is no particular focus on mentoring new teachers on how to teach in diverse classrooms.

Regarding extra support to teachers, Swedish schools have a student health service on site, but the professionals are not specifically trained to deal with newly arrived students and trauma. Although the National Agency has directed many efforts to helping the student health staff, expert teams of psychologists, counsellors and trauma therapists are not available on site to support the additional needs of immigrant and refugee children.

Nonetheless, together with Save the Children International, the National Agency organises a course for school teams in trauma wise care (TMO) (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[232]). TMO is an approach that draws on a framework centred around three basic trauma needs: safety, connections and coping. It aims to provide those “who live or work with young people who have been exposed to chronic adversity” with knowledge and insight on how to care for these children and adolescents in non-clinical settings (Bath, 2016^[233]). TMO is based on the school’s mission to create a safe environment for learning and development through good relationships with students and focuses on how to practically create an environment that promotes healing and recovery (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[232]).

The training package that Save the Children has developed is especially adapted for Swedish schools. In 2018, approximately 35 schools across the country have participated in the training course and further courses are planned for 2019. For example, Borgholm

municipality participated in the TMO course organised by the National Agency and Save the Children in 2017. The municipality had received many refugees from Syria in the period 2014-15 and the school staff felt that they did not have the right tools to best care for this group of students. The training course provided them both with tools and useful insights on how the whole school can work together to provide the students with a safe environment (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[232]). This training module could be expanded to more schools in Sweden with newly arrived students.

4.6.2. Examples from New Zealand and Austria for extra support measures for teachers

At the national level, a cornerstone of New Zealand's teacher education system is the comprehensive induction and mentoring programme for provisionally certified teachers. The 'Guidelines for Induction and Mentoring and Mentor Teachers' sets out clear regulations on the role of the mentor, mentee, and the school for a new teacher's first two years. In addition to the general guidelines, there is also detailed information for the *Induction and Mentoring in Māori-medium Settings* (*Te Hāpai Ō – Ko te Whakangungu me te Arataki i ngā wāhi Mātauranga Māori*). As a historically disadvantaged group in New Zealand (Marie, Fergusson and Boden, 2008^[177]), these special guidelines help new teachers in supporting Māori students.

Research shows that the induction and mentoring programme in New Zealand provides new teachers with knowledge and skills that enable them to support the learning of all students, especially those from low socio-economic status communities (Grudnoff et al., 2016^[178]). Importantly, the programme is built into the schedule of all new teachers. In addition to reducing total teaching time for all teachers in 2015/16, the 'Teachers Collective Agreement' affords first and second year beginning teachers an extra 5 and 2.5 hours of time, respectively, to be used for induction and mentoring, allowing teachers to learn more from their mentor (OECD, 2012^[69]; Ministry of Education, 2015^[179]; Ministry of Education, 2016^[180]). However, how teachers use this extra time should be regulated as researchers have found that many teachers complete daily teaching tasks such as lesson planning rather than professional development activities (Anthony et al., 2007^[181]).

At the national level in Austria, since April 2016, *Mobile Intercultural Teams* (mobile *interkulturelle* Teams, MIT), a programme of the Ministry of Education, have been deployed to schools with high percentages of immigrant students. The teams offer support to teachers and administration who work with migrant children. In addition, there is often a psychologist qualified to help children who have experienced trauma or difficulty in their lives (Scholten et al., 2017^[182]). This support varies and can include advice for teachers, individual case work with immigrant students, and workshops to improve class climate. Importantly, the MITs interact with parents of immigrant students to integrate them into the school community (Felder-Puig, Maier and Deutsch, 2016^[183]) and often serve as a language bridge between students, parents, and the school (teachers, administrators, etc.) (Eurydice, 2018^[184]).

MIT employees are hired on the basis of the following: experience working with heterogeneous groups, relevant language skills, knowledge of the Austrian school system, networking in the psychosocial care system, conflict resolution and mediation skills, intercultural competences, experience in refugee work or in work with migrants, and team orientation. They go through two full days of training on the following topics: asylum and migration movements, school law and administration, trauma and trauma coping with children and adolescents, and psychosocial support systems at and for school. In 2016,

there were 46 full-time and 36 part-time employees on MITs across the country. Individual casework and teacher consolation occupy the majority of MITs time (Felder-Puig, Maier and Teutsch, 2016^[183]).

Many schools (over 30%) have cited MIT as the reason behind improvements in the following categories: communication difficulties due to language barriers, informing migrant families about school operations, recognition of socio-emotional problems (traumatisation, depression, school phobia) of individual students, co-operation with parents, communication and relationship problems due to cultural differences, relationships among students, stress and tension of individual teachers, and isolation of individual students. Approximately 80% of the Austrian schools who have utilised MITs would like to continue (Felder-Puig, Maier and Teutsch, 2016^[183]).

Overall, the programme has been a success in both supporting teachers and improving student outcomes. Sonja Hammerschmid, former Austrian Federal Minister for Education, stated:

I visited one school where I saw how the [mobile intercultural] teams' interventions can open up a new world to children, who are often traumatised and unable to speak, often simply by using musical instruments or miming. It was impressive to see how pupils can be integrated successfully (Kowar, 2016^[185]).

However, improvements can still be made such as securing permanent funding and establishing a standardised protocol. Many MIT employees are unhappy with the current fixed-term employment contracts. Also, logistical concerns need to be addressed involving issues with funding for transport, the length of time spent on public transport, lack of payment during transport time, and no insurance coverage. Additionally, MIT employees have expressed a desire for feedback as there is no current external supervision outside of the team (Felder-Puig, Maier and Teutsch, 2016^[183]).

4.7. Conclusion and Policy Pointers

The increased number of newcomers in recent years has created considerable challenges for Swedish schools and municipalities in the short-term to provide access to education and to develop their language and cognitive skills. In the long-term, challenges remain for how to deal with teacher shortages due to population increase, how to incentivise teachers to work in more disadvantaged schools, and how to prepare and train teachers to teach in diverse classrooms so that newcomers are fully integrated into education. Additionally, teachers with an immigrant background face difficulties in obtaining a teaching degree to be able to teach in Swedish schools, but there are some shorter certificate programmes available.

Sweden can consider the following actions:

4.7.1. Increase teacher salary alongside other incentives to attract and retain teachers in disadvantaged schools

One challenge in Sweden is to attract teachers to more disadvantaged, segregated schools (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2016^[101]). Some studies show that the higher a teacher's salary, the less likely teachers are to leave the teaching profession. In addition, increasing the overall rate of salary progression across a teacher's career will result in raising the perceived status of teachers and retaining teachers in the long run (Symeonidis, 2015^[186]; Omenn Strunk and Robinson, 2006^[187]). Thus,

programmes like the **Teacher Salary Boost** can possibly ameliorate the current teacher shortage in Sweden, but they also raise some concerns about equity among teachers.

Although the government has implemented grants that aim to strengthen schools located in deprived urban areas, few school authorities utilise this possibility. One reason is that the eligibility criteria are difficult to interpret. Moreover, the selection criteria are based on geographical delimitations and thus may leave out some disadvantaged schools.

However, monetary concerns are not the only, or even, primary factor in teachers' employment decisions. Increased salaries alone are not certain to increase the number of new teachers (Han, Borgonovi and Guerriero, 2017^[11]). To both recruit and retain teachers, increased salary initiatives to attract teachers to the profession will be more successful if they provide financial boosts as well as improve working conditions. Teachers have been found to also value factors such as quality leadership, positive staff relationships, and working in schools with supportive parents (Hanover Research, 2016^[188]).

National policy-makers can impact teachers' working conditions through different measures, such as how teachers spend their professional days. This involves questions around total instructional time, preparation time, meetings with other teachers etc. Some teachers even value working conditions more highly than salary, highlighting the importance of expanding the initiative beyond wages (Hanushek et al., 2005^[189]). Including improvements in workplace environments to programmes like the **Teacher Salary Boost** can benefit all teachers (no matter if they received a wage increase or not) and contributes to lower rates of teacher turnover (Ingersoll and Smith, 2003^[190]). Drawing on the examples of the United States and France, Sweden could provide a salary boost to teachers in disadvantaged schools, coupled with specific certification, and improve working conditions to enable teachers to spend more time collaborating with other teachers and working with students in need.

4.7.2. Revise recruitment and teaching programmes for teachers with an immigrant background to offer financial support and language training

While Sweden has several programmes available for teachers with an immigrant background or for educated immigrants and refugees, they could become more effective. For example, one of the challenges for immigrant students in teacher education programmes (such as Bridging programmes for people with foreign degrees in teaching – sometimes called ULV in Swedish) is that it is difficult to complete the course while holding a job or that short programmes are not adapted for teachers.

Offer financial support for student teachers in teacher training programmes

Offering financial support for student teachers could reduce the significant financial burdens that many student-teachers bear (Turley and Nakai, 2000^[191]). Training to become a teacher can be time-consuming. Thus, many (second-career) student teachers have financial concerns as it is difficult to concurrently hold a job (Haggard, Slostad and Winterton, 2006^[192]). Additionally, many of the student teachers are migrants who are already facing financial burdens associated with relocation (Haggard, Slostad and Winterton, 2006^[192]). For example, in addition to **Educational Basics for Displaced Teachers**, Finland also pays pre-service teachers a stipend to minimise financial burdens during training (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2013^[193]). Then, teachers in training can dedicate more time to their studies and potentially avoid dropping out or interrupting them. Sweden could introduce a similar stipend for student teachers.

Offer language training for applicants and participants to teacher training programmes

Another challenge is the high Swedish language level demanded from applicants in different programmes for immigrant and refugee teachers and the lack of intensive language training for participants. While participants in *Fast Track for Migrant Teachers* (*Snabbspår*) take part in Swedish for Immigrants or ‘Yrkessvenska’, the *KPU* programme does not offer any specific language training. For the *ULV* programme, the University of Gothenburg will offer from 2019 a full-time introductory course in Swedish language for those students who do not pass the new compulsory language placement test. Following the examples of North-Rhine Westphalia (Germany) and Austria, it would be useful to provide intensive language training for all applicants and participants in the teacher training and certification programmes who might need it.

4.7.3. Prepare teachers for diverse classrooms through comprehensive training programmes in diversity including a language component

Teachers need to be trained to teach in diverse classrooms; if teachers are not trained and do not have the necessary dispositions, competences and skills to cope with diversity, all good intentions, policies, and laws risk being ineffective (Siiner, Hult and Kupisch, 2018^[196]). Research indicates that all those who graduate from a teacher certification programme or who are licensed to teach should be well-versed in how the dynamic of cultural conditioning operates in teaching and learning (Gay, 1993^[197]). In the Swedish context specifically, all teachers would benefit from learning about specialised subjects such as knowledge around culture and diversity in classrooms, SFI, mother tongue language education, and SAS which enables teachers of the Swedish language to understand how learning takes place from a second language acquisition perspective. In the academic year 2017/18, 27% of all students in primary and lower secondary school were entitled to mother tongue education and SAS, which means they spoke another language than Swedish as their mother tongue (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[232]).

If, for example, it is not possible to include the entire training for SAS in general teacher education, certain elements can be merged into the overall curriculum so that pre-service teachers are consistently contemplating diverse classrooms. Furthermore, it would be useful to have mandatory training/ professional development in these areas for practicing teachers. Following the example of universities in the United States, Finland and Australia, Sweden could also implement cultural immersion programmes, cultural exchanges through technology and specific explorations of teachers’ own cultural background. It is important to offer comprehensive teacher training for diversity, instead of only elective courses.

Offer a mandatory/ broader language component in all teacher training programmes

Besides training teachers for diverse classrooms, language training should be a component of all educational staff education. There are very few comprehensive teacher preparation programmes that deal with managing and developing linguistic diversity (Herzog-Punzenberger, Pichon-Vorstman and Siarova, 2017^[198]). Teachers who teach students of different linguistic backgrounds are expected to rely on their own resources. However, teachers require knowledge about language and language learning, and how to support students in developing academic language skills within the content of their subjects. They also need to know about how to diagnose individual linguistic preconditions and development processes. Therefore, they must account for differences in students’ linguistic

achievements, background knowledge, interests and abilities. Teachers require material for learning different linguistic registers, from vocabulary to specific content-related tasks (Herzog-Punzenberger, Pichon-Vorstman and Siarova, 2017^[198]). Offering a language component in all teaching programmes would help teachers in Sweden to develop such skills and be better prepared to help immigrant and refugee students.

4.7.4. Provide continuing professional development for diversity training and facilitate networks for training and exchange

Providing training to pre-service teachers in diversity management is not sufficient and continuing professional development is necessary for practicing teachers. Even if professional development is not mandatory in Sweden, it is important that it is offered to teachers and school leaders on how to engage with immigrant and refugee students, and receive tools to manage diverse classrooms. Following the example of Germany, Sweden could provide funding to establish networks which target student teachers and teacher educators to offer specific workshops, seminars and activities around diversity. The National Agency for Education could also prepare guidelines on offering and implementing comprehensive professional development programmes for diversity across schools and providing support to schools if needed.

4.7.5. Offer extra support to teachers through comprehensive mentorships and expert teams to respond to additional needs of immigrant and refugee students

In Sweden, as in many countries, teachers often do not receive sufficient support to deal with immigrant students and can feel isolated. Teachers are not the only professionals who take care of immigrant students and thus, the responsibility of responding to the needs of immigrant and refugee students should be shared by other professionals who are also equipped to help.

Offer comprehensive mentorship for new teachers in diverse classrooms/schools

The first few years of classroom teaching often bring many professional challenges for new teachers. The fact that starting teachers are over-represented in disadvantaged schools can create even more difficulties for these teachers. Comprehensive mentoring can help teachers integrate in the new school and learn the necessary skills more quickly. Mentoring can also help teachers with an immigrant background adapt to new teaching philosophies, professionally integrate into the school culture and teacher network (Niyubahwe, Mukamurera and Jutras, 2013^[176]).

Learning from the mentorship programmes in New Zealand, detailed guidelines, as well as a framework, are vital in supporting new teachers, especially those with migrant backgrounds. Following New Zealand's lead, scheduling mandated mentoring time will afford new teachers the opportunity to develop their professional competencies.

Provide expert teams for the additional needs of immigrant children

Immigrant and refugee students in particular have experienced and continue to experience difficult conditions and trauma which can prevent them from fully benefiting from most learning opportunities. These students require specialised mental health support in order to avoid long-term suffering. However, as teachers are not mental health professionals they often do not have the expertise to provide mental health support, nor should they be expected to. Nevertheless, students are more likely to talk to specialists within their

school/educational environment. Thus, it is important that schools have expert teams with psychologists, counsellors and trauma therapists to support the additional needs of immigrant and refugee children (Tyrer and Fazel, 2014^[199]). While Swedish schools have a student health service on site, the professionals are not trained specifically to deal with newly arrived students and their particular challenges. Nonetheless, the National Agency has directed many efforts to helping the student health staff. For instance, together with Save the Children International, the National Agency organises a course for school teams in trauma wise care (TMO) (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[232]). TMO is an approach that draws on a framework centred around three basic trauma needs: safety, connections and coping. It aims to provide those “who live or work with young people who have been exposed to chronic adversity” with knowledge and insight on how to care for these children and adolescents in non-clinical settings (Bath, 2016^[233]). TMO is based on the school’s mission to create a safe environment for learning and development through good relationships with students and focuses on how to practically create an environment that promotes healing and recovery (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[232]).

The training package that Save the Children has developed is especially adapted for Swedish schools. In 2018, approximately 35 schools across the country have participated in the training course. Borgholm municipality participated in the TMO course organised by the National Agency and Save the Children in 2017. The municipality had received many refugees from Syria in the period 2014-15 and the school staff felt that they did not have the right tools to best care for this group of students. The course provided them both with tools and useful insights on how the whole school can work together to provide the students with a safe environment (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[232]).

This training package could be expanded more systematically across schools in Sweden. Additionally, following the example of Austria, training experts on call (such as psychologists, social workers and trauma therapists) would also be beneficial in supporting immigrant and refugee students’ well-being.

5. Providing Language Training

Aim: Improving language support to immigrant and refugee students with limited Swedish skills

5.1. Context

When arriving in a new country, immigrant students face many challenges in the educational sphere, which often include learning a second and sometimes a third language (which in Sweden is often English), adjusting to different pedagogical and interactional styles, understanding a range of educational attitudes and protocols about which they know little, and attempting to cope with personal and systemic forms of racism (Ryan, 2006^[211]; Crul et al., 2016^[212]). Learning Swedish continues to be highly valued even after finishing traditional schooling; researchers and academics have concluded that a good command of the Swedish language is a prerequisite for individuals to be able to play an active role in Swedish society (Hyltenstam, 1999^[214]). For school-aged immigrants, this active role can begin in the classroom through the language learning process.

In Sweden, learning a language is an important component of the immigrant student experience as the overwhelming majority of new arrivals are non-native Swedish speakers (68% of immigrant students reported that the language they most frequently spoke at home is different than Swedish) (OECD, 2018^[9]). Among immigrant students, non-native-speakers score 15 points lower than their native-speaking peers in the PISA reading assessment, after accounting for their math performance and socio-economic status (Figure 5.1). The gap is similar in Canada and Germany, while it is 5 points smaller in Australia and the United States. In the Netherlands, native-speaking immigrant students have similar scores in reading compared to non-native-speaking immigrant students.

Figure 5.1. Difference in reading scores, between native-speaking and non-native speaking immigrant students

After accounting for performance in mathematics and socio-economic status

Note: Statistically significant differences are marked in a darker tone.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database (accessed 3 December 2018).

Nonetheless, newly arrived students are not just language learners, they are first and foremost learners, just like all other children in schools (Vogel et al., 2018^[213]). Therefore, it is important to provide access to education and broader learning opportunities, and not solely focus on language learning.

5.2. Early Language Assessment and Support Material

Assessing the language and other skills of students with an immigrant background, not only those of foreign-born children who had arrived after the start of schooling, but also of native-born children of foreign-born parents can help identify the needs of each individual child and to target training. Language support requires an accurate assessment of children's language skills (in both the mother tongue and the language of instruction) and other competencies at the time of entry into the education system, as well as during their education, since some children with an immigrant background may not exhibit difficulties at the beginning, but might progressively fall behind due to a lack of language practice and support at home. Poor measures of assessment on entering the school system can have a detrimental impact on immigrant children because these children are more likely to be allocated to special education and lower-ability tracks (OECD, 2018^[134]).

Providing support material for language training is important, both inside and outside the classroom. The availability and level of support can improve students' educational attainment, while additional learning activities and support in school for students without the language of instruction can improve their progress. Support is needed to develop students' language skills and provide access to the curriculum with the support of teaching assistants, specialist teachers and resources. Support outside the classroom can also improve immigrant students' interest in education, their language skills and motivation. Possible measures include homework clubs, extracurricular activities, mentoring, coaching

and advice. Targeted support can greatly benefit immigrant students (European Commission, 2015_[224]).

5.2.1. Initial language and skills assessment requires an individualised learning plan and continuous follow-up for all newly arrived students

In Sweden, early initial assessment is essential in providing language support to immigrant students as it is an important starting point in the language learning process (Siarova and Essomba, 2014_[215]). Sweden is exemplar in facilitating rapid initial assessment. Within two months of starting school, all new arrivals are assessed on their academic knowledge and language skills. Additionally, the assessments are offered in the students' mother tongues in order to best assess previous knowledge without language barriers (Berglund, 2017_[216]). Using the results, the principal and/or head teacher determine the best educational trajectory, basing the decision on the student's age, language skills, and results of the mapping of previous knowledge (Bunar, 2017_[72]). For example, if a student demonstrates good knowledge in a subject, they can then participate in regular teaching of that subject with study supervision in mother tongue (i.e. tutors in native language) before, during or after class. Study guidance is when a member of staff (a tutor) who knows the languages at issue and preferable has some understanding of the subject at matter, explains the specific vocabulary and general concept of the subjects studied in the student's native language, usually given before or after class (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2011_[242]). Through this process, the student is able to work with other students, including native Swedish speakers, to develop his or her subject-specific language in an already familiar content area (Skolverket, 2016_[218]).

In early 2017, the National Agency for Education in Sweden published ***Build Swedish*** (*Bygga svenska*) as a support measure for teachers to assess the language abilities of new arrivals. It is available in three categories: grade 1-3, 4-6, and 7-9 upper secondary introduction programme. Created by the Department of Language Didactics at Stockholm University together with the National Agency for Education, ***Build Swedish*** is based on the model of language development involving increased: 1) participation in linguistic activities; 2) degree of independence; and 3) degree of variety and security in language use (Söderlund, 2018_[241]). The assessment aid is formed from a socio-cultural view of language and language development, which emphasises social interaction and supporting roles in the learning process. The material consists of an assessment model with age-related descriptions of the student language development in five steps and reconciliation points for those students who have not yet reached step 1 for the skills of reading, speaking, listening, and writing. Teachers receive templates to document student language development (Ingves, 2017_[242]). These support materials are freely available on the National Agency for Education's website (<https://bp.skolverket.se/web/nyanlandaelever/start>).

While it is not mandatory for teachers to use, the National Agency for Education offers many opportunities to learn about the material (Ingves, 2017_[242]). For example, it offers online support on how to use the material (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018_[236]). From January until the end of April 2018, there were 23 dialogue seminars in locations across Sweden that afforded insight to principals and teachers into the ***Build Swedish*** programme, including the imbedded support mechanisms for newly arrived pupils' language and knowledge development. There were also additional webinars for educators who could not attend the event (Haraldsson, 2018_[243]). In Stockholm, it is possible to attend workshops for teachers and administrators to learn how to use the assessment tool (Ansaldò, 2018_[244]). Furthermore, support material for how to get started

with ***Build Swedish*** for different school years and classroom situations is also available on the National Agency's website (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[9]).

According to Bunar (2017) treating newly arrived students as a homogenous group is a common problem among schools in Sweden. The challenge lies in ensuring that each student, upon early assessment, receives an individualised study plan, which takes into account his or her background and specific needs. This would facilitate the learning process for the student (Bunar, 2017^[238]). Since August 2018, it is mandatory for schools to set up an individual study plan for all newly arrived students who come to Sweden from grade 7 within two months of arrival. Schools are also required to conduct an initial mapping of students' prior knowledge and experience. The study plan should include long-term goals for meeting the requirements of access to upper secondary school (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[249]). This is an important step forward, but it would be useful to extend this requirement to other grades as well.

A recent initiative that targets newly arrived students in upper secondary schools and aims to provide faster language and subject learning model is the programme ***Intensive Swedish*** (*Intensivsvenska*). The model is goal-oriented and systematically structured with explicit targets at a weekly level for all the subjects that the student needs to be eligible for upper secondary school. Before the first implementation phase of the project, an extensive mapping of the education for new arrivals was conducted, identifying the challenges and opportunities in school, and exploring methods and models for language teaching. In the academic year of 2017/2018 the first implementation round was held at two schools; one in the municipality of Stockholm and one in Nacka. Through close cooperation between project staff, school principals and teachers in the daily schoolwork, the model was revised and adjusted to different student groups. During the 2018/19 academic year, the project was being implemented at two more schools in the Stockholm area where the proposed model is being test run to evaluate its feasibility, flexibility and functionality (Intensivsvenska [Intensive Swedish], 2018^[250]).

5.2.2. Example from Finland for individualised learning plan

The Finnish model of integrating newly arrived students into mainstream education provides that within the first year, an individual curriculum is designed for each student tailored to his/her needs and based on their previous school history, age and other factors affecting their school work (e.g. being an Unaccompanied Minor (UM), coming from a war situation). The individual curriculum is set in cooperation between the teacher, the student and the family (Dervin, Simpson and Matikainen, 2017^[154]). The Finnish model could serve as an example on how Sweden could implement an assessment and individual learning plan for all newly arrived students.

5.3. Specialised Language Courses

Language skills are not only important for academic achievement, but are essential if students with an immigrant background are to develop a sense of belonging at school (OECD, 2018^[9]). That is why it might be beneficial for newly arrived immigrant children who are not proficient in the host country language to be moved quickly to targeted language support provided in mainstream classrooms (immersion) rather than in separate classes (European Commission, 2015^[224]). It is important to offer specialised language courses to immigrant and refugee students in order to reduce the gap that these students face vis-à-vis native students.

5.3.1. Special language courses such as Swedish as a Second Language are not integrated in the curriculum and do not focus specifically on newly arrived students

In Sweden, limited host-country language proficiency is one of the main barriers to integration and educational success, second only to socio-economic status (Janta and Harte, 2016^[36]; OECD, 2018^[9]). In 1995, to address this barrier, *SAS* (*Svenska som andraspråk*) was created as a stand-alone course. Since then, it has been offered from elementary to upper-secondary school, up to the age of 18. Although the head teacher or principal decides which students need the special provision of SAS, the students, as well as the parents, are also involved in the decision-making process, though the extent of involvement varies (Rydin et al., 2012^[225]). This decision directly impacts students' school experiences as Swedish/SAS encompass a significant portion of the compulsory schooling curriculum; just over 20% of the total hours of schooling are dedicated to these subjects (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2016^[252]).

Although SAS and Swedish are intended to be equivalent in terms of learning outcomes, there are some important differences (Economou, 2013^[227]). When comparing the two subjects, SAS can be still seen as more of a support subject with fewer cognitive challenges and with a focus on shaping of the language. SAS is subordinate to the subject Swedish, where the content to a greater extent focuses on 'personal development' and aspects of democracy (Economou, 2013^[252]).

The National Centre for Swedish as Second Language notes that there are not many differences between Swedish and SAS in primary and lower secondary school, but this changes at the upper secondary level. There SAS emphasises a more communicative approach to Swedish in which students are given more opportunities to communicate in Swedish and learn how to use linguistic strategies to improve their knowledge. Swedish on the other hand takes a more analytical and reflective approach. Another challenge is that the syllabus for SAS is not designed for newly arrived students that begin to learn Swedish as a new language. Hence it is up to teachers to adapt the course material to this group of students (Nationellt centrum för svenska som andraspråk [National centre for Swedish as a second language], 2018^[253]; Nationellt centrum för svenska som andraspråk [National centre for Swedish as a second language], 2018^[254]; Nationellt centrum för svenska som andraspråk [National centre for Swedish as a second language], 2018^[255]).

Additionally, the National Agency for Education, the former Agency for School Improvement (*Myndigheten för Skolutveckling*), and the Swedish Research Council (*Vetenskapsrådet*) have all noted shortcomings in SAS; the first two of these Agencies found that SAS is sometimes regarded as a support intervention in Swedish rather than a separate equivalent subject (Myndigheten för skolutveckling, 2004^[228]). Additionally, each group concluded that SAS classrooms tend to be composed of the weakest students (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2016^[252]). On a similar note, the Swedish Research Council, in researching multilingualism in educational settings, found that SAS sometimes has a low status. Despite recommending that SAS be continued (rather than eliminating it as some critics suggest), the Swedish Research Council highlights the importance of developing the subject further and focusing on the benefits of learning a language in a specialised setting such as SAS (Hyltenstam, Axelsson and Lindberg, 2012^[229]).

Nevertheless, important challenges regarding Swedish language remain. Studies show that age at arrival and country of origin play an important role in influencing whether students gain access to upper secondary school. More specifically, students who are born in a

country outside of Europe, have immigrated to Sweden as refugees or are relatives of immigrants already in Sweden, have arrived in Sweden after 12 years of age and have parents who have a low or no education, are less likely to gain access to upper secondary school (Statistics Sweden, 2016^[28]).

5.3.2. *Examples from Canada and Australia for specialised language courses*

Examples from Canada and Australia could help to respond to the challenge in Sweden to integrate special language courses in the curriculum and to focus specifically on newly arrived students.

Canada has a comprehensive explicit language instruction for immigrant students (Cho, 2012^[304]). To take the example of British Columbia, the province has seen an increase in the diversity of its student body and has adopted specific policies and guidelines for their English Language Learning (ELL) services. These services can be delivered in the shape of separate ELL instruction by specialists, co-teaching or team teaching in a mainstream classroom, consultative or collaborative support to the classroom teacher, adapted curriculum materials and so on. The ELL services need to be adjusted regularly so that they are in line with student progress and needs (Province of British Columbia, 2018^[260]).

In particular the guidelines and recommendations for ELL have been implemented in the following way. Language support is provided from the pre-primary grades. In kindergarten, non-native English speaking immigrant children receive 5-8 hours of language support every week. In primary school, students with limited English knowledge can receive in-class language assistance or pull-out instruction while they participate in the standard curriculum. In secondary school, immigrant students are provided with a preparatory programme (Cho, 2012^[304]). This includes three stages:

- *Reception stage.* A stronger focus on ELL courses while at the same time providing grade level content courses.
- *Transition stage.* A shift toward more standard courses and fewer hours of language support classes.
- *Integration stage.* Students receive only some ELL assistance.

Another example on language instruction stems from Australia. There the national curriculum identifies students who do not have English as primary language and provides special resources to support these students. Many guidelines and best practices are offered for teachers and schools which are implemented across various states (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA), 2013^[306]).

In the State of Victoria, mainstream schools have various programmes in place, using mainly a whole-school approach, to support the students who come from an immigrant background or who for any other reasons do not have English as first language. Some examples of support are specific English as Additional Language (EAL) classes in the timetable that are taught by specialised EAL teachers, in-class support provided by EAL teachers in mainstream classes, pull-out instruction either in a small group or one-on-one support from a teacher in curriculum content or English language learning, team teaching by a subject specialist teacher and an EAL specialist teacher, and parallel teaching which involves both the subject teacher and the EAL teacher presenting the same content to the students, with the EAL teacher focusing more on the language demands of the particular topic (Victoria State Government, 2017^[306]).

5.4. Mother Tongue Education and Tutoring

Developing immigrant students' mother tongue competences is beneficial because it can help these students to learn the language of instruction and stimulate their development in all areas. Numerous researchers have shown that mother tongue education results in increased cognitive development and second language literacy, important learning aids for immigrant students (Benson and Kosonen, 2013^[256]; Dolson and Mayer, 1992^[257]; Bühmann and Trudell, 2008^[258]; IDRC, 1997^[259]). Furthermore, the host community's view of their mother tongue can help secure self-esteem and identity of immigrant students and their families (European Commission, 2015^[236]; Eurydice, 2009^[260]). However, teachers are not always aware of the benefits of mother tongue learning and often lack preparation to cope with multilingualism and resources. Such learning can improve cultural awareness and integration because students appreciate sharing knowledge about their cultures, and it can make them and their parents more involved in school life and community (European Commission, 2015^[236]). Furthermore, students' languages can be used as a resource to gain subject knowledge.

5.4.1. The provision of mother tongue tuition and study guidance does not currently reach all students

The Swedish Education Act regulates the right to mother tongue instruction for all students with a legal guardian with a mother tongue other than Swedish if (1) the language in question is used for daily communication in the student's home, and (2) the student has basic knowledge of the language in question (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2016^[252]; Ganuza and Hedman, 2015^[268]). Furthermore, mother tongue instruction can only take place if there is at least a group of five students and a teacher is available (Warren, 2017^[256]) although that rule is not applied for languages that have the status of being an minority language.

The benefits of mother tongue instruction are explicitly stated in the Swedish curriculum with the acknowledgement that mother tongue education aids in language development and in learning across disciplines. Moreover, it gives students the opportunity to develop their language, identity, and understanding of the outside world (Skolverket, 2016^[237]; Nilsson and Bunar, 2016^[201]).

In the 2015/16 academic year, 151 languages were available for study through mother tongue instruction, giving a fair representation of languages other than Swedish spoken in Sweden (Skolverket, 2017^[257]). Over the past five years, participation in mother tongue education has hovered between 50 to 60% of the eligible students. Reasons for potential non-participation are varied: participation is voluntary; instruction is outside regular school hours; and it simply may not be possible to organise in some schools because of too few students with the same mother tongue (minimum 5 students) or if no qualified teacher is available (Norberg Brorsson and Laino, 2015^[273]; Skolinspektionen (The Swedish Schools Inspectorate), 2014^[274]). To improve the possibility for principals to organise mother tongue education and tutoring an adjustment was made in the Education Act two years later stating that such education and tutoring could be procured and be given in the form of synchronised distance education.

Mother tongue instruction is rarely allocated more than 60 minutes per week, despite expressed frustrations from teachers, which limits students' opportunities for attaining the stated benefits (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2016^[252]). Furthermore, since the teaching usually takes place after school's regular hours, students

often do not want to participate either because they are tired or they feel it is not as serious a subject because of this regulation. Lastly, this time allocation may create the perception among students, parents and school staff that mother tongue education is unimportant (Sadig, 2015^[240]).

Besides mother tongue instruction, students who are not able to fully follow the teaching are, according to the Education Act (Skolförordningen SFS 2011:185), entitled to “study guidance in mother tongue” (Utbildningsdepartementet (Ministry of Education and Research), 2011^[242]). In Sweden, during the 2016/17 academic year, 2.9% of the total population of the compulsory school received study guidance (up from 1.8% in 2014/15) (Skolverket, 2017^[258]).

Since August 2018, newly arrived students from grade 7 must receive study guidance in their mother tongue or in the language in which they are strongest, unless it is deemed absolutely unnecessary. This is meant to increase the probability for new arrivals to meet the requirements to access upper secondary school (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[276]).

According to the National Agency, schools should offer study supervision in mother tongue before, after or in conjunction with the regular classes but the guidelines are not very specific for how the actual teaching should be implemented. Although the writing in the Education Act has become clearer, research indicates that the most appropriate way to implement study supervision is to look at the student’s individual needs, circumstances, strengths and challenges. Nonetheless, the biggest challenge for study supervision in mother tongue is that it is difficult to find teachers that can teach in all the languages needed. Some municipalities are working with digital platforms in order to be able to offer study supervision to their students, and Bunar further recommends that schools and municipalities seek cooperation with local universities and the civil society to offer help with homework in case there are not sufficient teachers in particular mother tongues (Bunar, 2017^[249]).

5.4.2. Example from Australia for mother tongue tuition

Sweden could consider the example of Australia for expanding access to mother tongue tuition to all students. Many children in Australia that live in rural and isolated areas, which prevent them from attending school on a regular basis, or who are otherwise unable to attend their local school, are provided with distance education. This type of schooling uses technology to offer real-time remote teaching sessions (e.g. video conference lessons, phone lessons, satellite lessons and virtual excursions) and/or non-real-time teaching practices (e.g. email and online learning management systems, such as Moodle) (New South Wales Government, 2017^[304]).

This type of teaching has also been implemented in immigrant education. In Victoria, those students who are newly arrived and who come from other language backgrounds than English, and who cannot access an English language school or English language centre can enter into the Virtual English as Additional Language New Arrivals Programme. Schools that have little experience receiving immigrant students and who cannot provide them with language support can also offer their students this programme.

Systems such as Skype and Moodle are used to develop the newly arrived students’ English language proficiency so that they can access the mainstream curriculum. Specialist English as Additional Language (EAL) teachers deliver curriculum-related content and individualised content to the students.

Students enrolled in the virtual programme receive one virtual conferencing session per week, with lessons lasting 30 to 60 minutes depending on the school year. Depending on the need and the progress of the student, he or she can participate in the programme for up to four consecutive school years. Sweden could also draw more on technology to provide access to mother tongue to all students.

5.5. Plurilingualism

In plurilingualism, individuals or society can speak several languages and can switch between languages according to the circumstances. Pluricultural competence refers to “the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw” (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 168_[254]). Plurilinguals tend to be open to new ideas, language and cultures. Additionally, individuals with high levels of language experience tend to be autonomous learners and motivated to learn more languages, even if not at high proficiency levels. It seems that partial linguistic competence – in a new language or variety of the same language – is not a deficiency but a natural process for plurilinguals (Galante, 2016, p. 324_[255]).

One classroom practice is translanguaging which is aimed at bilinguals who interact while switching between the languages depending on the contextual context (Garcia, 2009, p. 140_[256]). It allows for the flexible use of code switching and can soften the transfer of knowledge from one language to another. “The strategic involvement of translanguaging practices in the classroom facilitates metalinguistic awareness and promotes the development of the school language as well as the content learning of the subject” (Herzog-Punzenberger, Pichon-Vorstman and Siarova, 2017, p. 61_[198]).

5.5.1. Plurilingual policies exist, but they are not well integrated in schools

The National Agency for Education offers some guidelines and advice based on research on plurilingualism and how to implement translanguaging in the classrooms, but there are no reports on how it is being used and if it is a common practice in many schools. In addition, the National Agency has published extensive material on plurilingualism that offers resources and insight into how language resources of plurilingual students can be used to gain subject knowledge. The material is intended for teachers of all subjects, as well as head teachers and those working with school development, especially those working with newly arrived and plurilingual students’ learning. The material includes research articles, didactic texts, audio recordings, movies and animations, as well as reflection questions to be used in collegial learning (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018_[279]). According to research by the National Agency, Sweden has mainly tackled plurilingualism by offering mother tongue instruction, teaching Swedish as a second language and language support in mother tongue in needed subjects. Nevertheless, not enough priority has been given to these subjects in terms of financing and teacher education.

Another challenge is that there has traditionally been a division between Swedish language teaching and teaching Swedish as a second language or mother tongue tuition. Swedish and mother tongue have been taught in parallel tracks with little interaction between the two subjects and between the teachers of these subjects. A more holistic approach is needed (Otterup, 2018_[275]).

However, some research has found that when translanguaging is used in combination with mother tongue instruction, more students meet the goals of the Swedish curricula. This can involve practices such as allowing students find translations in their native language of concepts and expressions, or using vocabulary lists that include both Swedish and the student's native language (Warren, 2017_[275]).

5.5.2. Example from France for plurilingualism

At the national level, in classes for newly arrived students in France, language learning is based on a comparison between the existing language system and the language that students want to learn. This method seeks to help newly arrived students discover the French language by comparing other languages (including their own) through working side by side with other students. It stimulates thinking about languages and offers the learner a real education in the languages/cultures of others, while promoting his/her own. In the class, each student is both teacher and learner. The programme was awarded the European Language Label in 2006 (European Commission, 2018_[248]).

5.6. Language Activities outside of School

Language learning does not only happen in schools. One measure of learning language outside of school is through language summer camps, where immigrant and refugee students can learn or improve their language skills in an informal setting. Some research finds that immigrant children who received implicit and explicit language support in summer camps (even only for three weeks) reached higher scores in reading and grammar tests than children without any support (Stanat et al., 2012_[287]).

Language learning can also take place in after-school programmes. Research from the United States indicates that after-school programmes (similar to the Swedish leisure-time centres) are important for the integration of immigrant students because they learn the language and about the cultural differences in the new country through interacting with the other students. This type of learning often happens in informal contexts, a more natural process of learning, which can be beneficial for the students (Greenberg, 2013_[281]).

5.6.1. Summer schools and leisure centres do not reach all students who might benefit irrespective of the family's situation

Since 2014, municipalities and independent schools have been able to apply for grants from the Swedish National Agency for Education to organise summer school. While there has been a small increase in the number of students enrolled in summer school between 2016 and 2017 (from 43 000 to 48 000), schools have had difficulty filling the year's allotted places. In 2016, each student attended an average of 2.3 weeks in school during the summer holidays and 2.6 days during other school holidays. By 2017 it was 2.2 weeks and 2.5 days, respectively (Skolverket, 2018_[279]). Only one third (SEK 82 million or EUR 7.9 million) of the state subsidy allocated to summer school has been paid. Challenges include attracting students and finding qualified teachers.

Many municipalities and cities in Sweden offer summer camps and other summer activities for children living in the respective municipality or city. In a 2017 survey, 84% of all municipalities offered some type of camp or activity during the summer holidays. These camps can be of a more general character or focus on a specific activity, e.g. sports. Although 64% of the municipalities offer free camps or summer activities for all children, the summer camps are often costly. Some municipalities offer a price based on family

income, but it may still be difficult for low-income households to send their children to these activities (Majblomman (Mayflower), 2017^[286]). In Stockholm City, for example, the price is based on household income. It decreases for families that send several children to the same camp or activity (Stockholms stad (City of Stockholm), 2018^[287]). Making summer camps accessible to all students of all ages is important, irrespective of their families' financial situation.

Since 2017, the Education Act in Sweden states that municipalities are obliged to offer summer school (at least 50 hours) for those students after Year 8 and 9 who are failing to meet the requirements of entering upper secondary school. Municipalities and school organisers must offer teaching in Swedish or Swedish as a second language, English and mathematics (Proposal 2016/17:156, Education Act). However, the summer camp only focuses on students on Year 8 and 9 failing one or more subjects. Only 7% of those from Year 9 who participated in summer school during the summer 2016 became eligible for a national upper secondary school programme (15% in 2017). Many of the students are from the language introduction programme with the main objective of developing the Swedish language (Skolverket, 2018^[279]).

Younger children with the need for additional support do not receive an opportunity to participate in a summer camp during the holidays. Nonetheless, the Sigtuna municipality in Stockholm County prioritised newly arrived students at different ages. In 2016, this municipality offered nine weeks of summer school to students in grades 6 to 9 who had resided in Sweden for a year or less. Besides teaching core subjects such as Swedish and mathematics, the programme also offered swimming classes, sports and visits to the zoo with other young people. A total of 200 students participated (Sigtuna kommun, 2016^[279]). Newcomers in other municipalities might not receive such an opportunity to participate in a summer school.

Another programme outside of school are leisure centres which are offered to all children of 6 to 12 years of age if their parents are working or studying. Teachers and pedagogues arrange activities in the leisure centres to help students practise and expand their knowledge in Swedish. However, if their parents are unemployed or on parental leave, the children are not entitled to leisure time centres. This might particularly disadvantage immigrant parents. There have been some proposals (e.g. Proposal 2009/10:Ub518) about changing the law to remove the restrictions of the parents having to work or study, but it has not yet been passed in parliament.

5.6.2. *Example from Austria for summer camps*

At the local level, the cities of Vienna and Linz have offered camps for any student who is falling behind in school irrespective of the situation of the parents. Promoted as a way to learn German through sports, games, and fun, the camps (*Sowieso Mehr!-Sommerdeutschkurse für Kinder*) are offered free of charge to any student who is falling behind or failing irrespective of the situation of their parents, as well as immigrants who started school mid-way or towards the end of the school year. The programme targets students with little knowledge of German who have recently immigrated as well as students with little success in German in schools (Das Institut Interkulturelle Pädagogik (The Institute of Intercultural Education), 2012^[258]). The camp is open to children ages 6 to 14 years in Linz, and 7 to 14 years in Vienna. The summer camp in Linz advertises an inspiring learning environment where the German language is refreshed and existing language skills are deepened by providing games, social interactions, and incorporating German language

lessons in camp activities (Lindner, 2017^[259]). Sweden could expand access to summer schools (and also leisure centres) to all students irrespective of their family's situation.

5.7. Incorporating Family in Language Learning

Parents and families play an important role in language training and inclusion and since parents often also lack language skills, learning together as a family can improve their language development and increase their motivation. Studies indicate that it is difficult for schools to include parents in the language learning of the children and in general there is a lack of knowledge about how to interact and communicate with the immigrant parents. Often immigrant parents will have no or very little education themselves, affecting the integration of the child into the Swedish school system and their future performance and results (Duek, 2017^[278]).

Parental involvement in the school community and in their children's educational pathway can have positive effects on the school learning environment and the academic and social resilience of immigrant students (OECD, 2018^[9]). However, because of their poor language skills, parents of immigrant students might not be able to actively support their children during their education.

5.7.1. Swedish languages courses for immigrant adults are available, but are not well integrated with language support for their children

In Sweden, adult immigrants can participate in SFI courses, and about two-thirds of participants begin these courses in their first year in Sweden. Women make up a larger proportion of participants than men. SFI can help parents of immigrant children receive language training in Swedish, allowing them to help with the language learning and educational development of their children. Nonetheless, there is not always a clear bridge between SFI and parent engagement in school and language learning of their children (Kennerberg and Åslund, 2010^[260]) and the quality of language training and completion rate of participants vary considerably across municipalities (OECD, 2016^[283]).

5.7.2. Examples from Germany and Austria for incorporating families in language learning

There is growing acceptance that home-language maintenance not only supports second language learning, but also that children who are educated initially in their home language learn a second language more proficiently and achieve more academic success than those who have not had such a solid foundation (Eisenclas, Schalley and Guillemin, 2013, p. 3^[261]). Sweden could draw on examples from Germany and Austria in integrating language support to immigrant parents and parent engagement in schools.

At the local level, in cities across Germany, the programme *Mommy learns German – Daddy too* (*Mama lernt Deutsch – Papa auch*) provides linguistic support to the parents of immigrant students. Through language courses, parents meet other parents in similar situations, allowing them to share their migration experience using the German language. In Frankfurt, programme evaluations revealed that children demonstrated a significant improvement in their language and vocabulary skills as a result of the increased use of German at home and with their parents. Additionally, the improved language skills allowed the children to participate more easily in all aspects of their schooling, which in turn aided social integration (OECD, 2009^[262]). The programme is still in effect today, in many of the major German cities, including Frankfurt, Hannover, and Reutlingen (www.frankfurt.de).

www.vhs-hannover.de, www.reutlingen.de), and it is also provided individually through some select schools (willemerschulefrankfurt.wordpress.com, sprangerschule.net, stadtschuleadw.de).

The **Backpack Parents Project** in Germany is another initiative to develop language skills in children from four to six years of age. Originally started in Israel under the name **Home Instruction for Parents of Pre-school Youngsters** (HIPPY), the programme was adopted in the Netherlands and then in Germany. Immigrant parents, particularly mothers, are specifically encouraged to take part in the Backpack programme to develop their child's native language and German competency (Roth and Terhart, 2015^[222]). Recent positive evaluations show the programme successfully improves the relationship between mothers and educators, develops the language skills of both parents and their children, and improves the interactions of mothers and their children. In 2015, the University of Hamburg began a three-year study to measure the effect of the **Backpack Parents Project** on German language skills for children schooled in their mother tongues (in addition to German) through this programme by the end of elementary school compared to non-participants. It follows a quasi-experimental design with pre and post testing, as well as a control and intervention group. The early results of the research are positive (Roehl, 2017^[223]).

Similarly to Germany, Austria also has a Backpack Parents Project, through which parental groups learn about the Austrian school system and the specifics of the curriculum. They are also provided with materials in their mother tongue and encouraged to utilise them when informally educating their children (Lissewski, 2008^[264]). There are two different models for the **Backpack Parents Project**; in the first model, mothers who speak both their native language and German are trained as a companion to lead a group of parents; in the second model, migrant teachers go through the same training and then lead a group of parents. In evaluative interviews with parents, results indicated positive experiences from the various parties involved (OECD, 2010^[265]; Lissewski, 2008^[264]). Further evaluations show that the programme succeeds in improving student outcomes and parental engagement of this programme show that student outcomes and parental engagement are improved (Rucksack-Projekt soll für leichtere Integration sorgen, 2017^[266]).

Another programme in Vienna is **Mommy Learns German** (*Mama lernt Deutsch*), which is designed to connect immigrant mothers to their children's language learning, throughout kindergarten and secondary school. These mothers join their children in the classroom for two mornings a week. These integrated classes focus on practical words and expressions that are needed for mothers to be successful in Austria as well as in helping their children with their schoolwork. Mothers are eligible for up to 170 hours of free German-language instruction, in addition to childcare (if the participant has children that are not school-aged) (OECD, 2017^[263]).

5.8. Conclusion and Policy Pointers

Acquiring the language of the host country is beneficial for the integration, inclusion and adaptation of newcomers. Developing language skills is an important task, which necessitates the engagement of many actors, including school leaders, teachers, parents, families, the wider community and the students themselves. In Sweden, the overwhelming majority of newcomers do not speak the Swedish language, which poses considerable challenges for the integration into the Swedish education system. While Sweden offers mother tongue tuition in schools, participation is voluntary, hours are limited and tuition is not integrated fully into the curriculum. Teachers of some mother tongues are also missing. A greater focus on informal language learning through avenues other than formal education

such as outside school activities and summer programmes could benefit these students. Additionally, parents are not always included in the language learning and educational development of their children, which can slow down the learning process of their children.

Sweden may consider the following actions:

5.8.1. Promote an individualised learning plan in the early assessment model to better support all newly arrived students and follow up on their language progress and needs

Early assessment of language skills is key in order to provide the appropriate level of support to immigrant and refugee students. While Sweden already has such an assessment in place, providing an individualised learning plan for all students (not only at the policy level and for students at higher educational levels) and continuous follow-up assessments could be beneficial for second language learners. When designing such a plan, Sweden could learn from Finland.

5.8.2. Integrate specialised language courses, particularly Swedish as a Second Language, in the curriculum and focus on newly arrived students

To promote Swedish as a Second Language, which can help develop the Swedish language skills of immigrant and refugee students, it would be important to integrate subject in the curriculum and focus on newly arrived students. This could help decrease the negative perceptions of the subject and support newly arrived students better in learning the Swedish language.

5.8.3. Increase mother tongue tuition and study guidance so that all immigrant students can access them

Mother tongue tuition is an important component of language learning in Swedish schools. Numerous studies have shown that mother tongue education results in increased cognitive development and second language literacy. Sweden might therefore consider increasing the hours of mother tongue tuition and expand its practice to settings outside of formal education. Providing guidelines for mother tongue language teaching and offering more teacher training in mother tongue language would also promote the development of language learning of immigrant students. With shortages in mother tongue teachers and need for mother tongue tuition and tutoring in more remote areas, it might also be beneficial to draw more strongly on technology and distance learning to reach all students.

5.8.4. Promote plurilingualism in schools and develop guidelines to enable a systematic implementation across all schools

A main step in promoting plurilingualism is to value cultures and different languages, which allows students with an immigrant background to learn Swedish and integrate into Swedish society more quickly. It is important to promote plurilingualism in schools, for example by ensuring that first languages of diverse students are not replaced by the host country language, offering continued support through language maintenance courses, supporting students through study guidance in their mother tongue (and tutors in native language), and adapting curriculum and teaching style to reflect the learning and existence of multiple languages in schools.

Sweden is a plurilingual country with many Swedes speaking two or more languages. It would be useful to have this diversity reflected in language policy that embraces

plurilingualism. While the National Agency for Education is already providing guidelines for schools on how to respond to language learning and plurilingualism, implementing the guidelines systematically across all schools could produce positive effects. Furthermore, Sweden could draw from examples of good practices in other countries to promote plurilingualism in schools.

5.8.5. Offer language camps and access to leisure centres to all students irrespective of their family's situation

Language learning does not only take place in the classroom. Therefore, it would be beneficial to promote programmes that offer language-learning experiences outside of schools and through the community. One programme is language camps where immigrant students can improve their language skills in an informal setting by interacting with other foreign-born and native students as well as the staff. Sweden offers summer school activities in all municipalities, though they are not financially accessible to all students and families. Additionally, Sweden already offers summer camps to students failing one or more subjects in grades 8 and 9, there are no similar camps offered to younger children who might need additional support, except in some municipalities. Following the example from Austria, language camps could be offered to children aged 6 and above. Another programme is leisure centres, which allows children between 6 and 12 years of age to practice Swedish in an informal setting. However, parents who are unemployed do not have access to these centres and in turn, their children do not have access either. As children and their immigrant and refugee parents would benefit considerably from leisure centres, access to all parents would be important for language learning in Sweden.

5.8.6. Engage immigrant families in language learning so that they are able to support the language skills and integration of their children

Engaging parents and families in language learning can help immigrant students to improve their language and vocabulary skills, enabling them to participate more easily in all aspects of their schooling and integrate socially. Since newly arrived immigrants must learn Swedish, language training (Swedish for Immigrants) for parents with pre-school and school-aged children could benefit from being integrated in the education system of their children. Therefore, examples from Austria and Germany such as the Backpacker Parents Project, could help incorporate family through national, local and school initiatives to connect learning in the classroom with learning outside the classroom.

Box 5.1. Late Arrivals

“Immigration at later childhood stages may further augment disparities through less exposure to improved educational opportunities and better learning environments in host country schools” (Hermansen, 2017, p. 204_[206]).

Immigrant students who arrive late in their adolescence are more likely to face major challenges in the educational realm, evidenced by the gap in educational achievement between students who migrate after starting school compared to those who were born in the country or who migrated at a younger age prior to starting school (Nilsson and Bunar, 2016_[201]). As the age of arrival directly impacts educational performance and overall integration, late arrivals are a particularly vulnerable group of immigrant students. Children aged 4 to 8 years perform as well as their counterparts who come to Sweden before preschool age rather quickly, while, for those students who arrive after 9 years of age, academic performance is negatively impacted (Böhlmark, 2008_[269]). Furthermore, OECD reported that students who arrive at or after 12 years of age are 35 percentage points less likely than native Swedish students to achieve baseline levels of academic proficiency (OECD, 2018_[9]). OECD also highlights a lessened ‘sense of belonging’ as a major disadvantage that late arriving students face; in Sweden, early arrivals were approximately 26 percentage points more likely to report feeling like they belong at school than those who arrived in Sweden at the age of 12 or later, a significantly higher gap than the OECD average of 12 percentage points (OECD, 2018_[9]).

In 2017, 8 507 children applied for asylum in Sweden with 2 080 aged 13 to 17 years (Swedish Migration Agency, 2017_[202]). More recent statistics show that in the first half of 2018, 3 075 children applied for asylum with 799 aged 12 years and older (Swedish Migration Agency, 2018_[203]). This marks a drastic drop from a peak in 2015 at 70 384, with 39 116 aged 12 years and older (Swedish Migration Agency, 2015_[270]).

Introductory Programmes

In Sweden, the government recently made changes in the Education Act and the Upper Secondary School ordinance that aim to develop the language introduction programme to support different education paths for immigrants. The changes include (1) requiring upper secondary schools to assess the knowledge and skills of newly arrived students as well as (2) adjustments meant to ensure students in language introduction programmes gain better opportunities to study other subjects besides Swedish as soon as possible.

To facilitate the integration process, newly arrived students aged 16 years and older begin the **Language Introduction Programme** (LIP) in upper secondary school. The programme is specifically geared towards immigrant students without any previous knowledge of Swedish, focusing on easing the transition into their next integration step, whether that is vocational school, university, or other preparatory programmes (Bunar, 2017_[72]). As there are no established requirements for how students will move through the programme, principals can implement components differently, which provides many opportunities to adapt the LIP to the needs of specific students. For example, in some schools the curriculum follows elementary school subjects and Swedish or SAS. However, in other schools the LIP curriculum may include elementary school subjects that the students have not mastered and the remaining secondary school courses (Skolverket, 2016_[237]). Students generally stay in the LIP less than two years; on average,

after one year in the programme, more than half of the students remained, and a quarter remained after two years (Skolverket, 2016_[237]).

A recent evaluation of LIP showed that the recent increase in migrants exacerbated existing problems: the quality of the LIP varies considerably across localities and most teach on a deficit model, highlighting students' lack of knowledge, rather than the skills they bring to the classroom. In general, it was found that the LIP teachers have low expectations of their students and believe their language skills can only be improved if they worked harder (Volante, Klinger and Bilgili, 2018_[42]). Lastly, an essential component of language learning, interacting with native speakers (Valdés, 2016_[245]), is extremely limited in the LIP; many principles indicate that there is virtually no contact between the students in the LIP and traditional Swedish students, especially if the LIP and general school are not on the same premises (Skolverket, 2016_[237]).

The Swedish Schools Inspectorate (2017_[304]) further highlights that many schools are lacking routines for the LIP and that there is a lot of variation across schools. School authorities must have a plan for the LIP that includes the objectives and the length of the programme, as well as the main content. Furthermore, each student participating in a LIP must be provided an individualised study plan. Both the general and the individual plan should be based on the students' needs, qualifications and progression of learning. However, the report shows that in many cases school authorities and school principals are unaware of this requirement.

School-Level

In Australia, schools in Sydney, Wagga Wagga, and Southern New South Wales have benefitted from ***Refugee Action Support (RAS)***, a programme that combines tutoring for new arrivals with student-teachers' professional development. As an official part of the secondary teacher education degree at the University of Western Sydney, RAS allows "pre-service teachers [to] work in a one-to-one or small group tutoring situation. Here they enhance their pedagogical and inter-personal skills while providing valuable support to secondary students from humanitarian refugee backgrounds" (Ferfolja and Naidoo, 2010_[271]). With a focus on late literacy and numeracy learning, RAS helps students with a refugee background with homework as well as generally supports their studies in secondary school.

RAS has been successful on many fronts; over 80% of students were found to have improved significantly, quite substantially or to an outstanding degree (Naidoo et al., 2018_[272]; Naidoo et al., 2018_[273]). The success of the RAS programme also extends beyond academic outcomes; in addition to social and emotional support measures, students were able to participate more actively in classroom activities after participating in RAS (Naidoo et al., 2018_[273]). Overall, both the participants and student-teachers benefit; "young refugee students are supported in their development of academic skills and socio-cultural understandings while simultaneously, preservice teachers gain an appreciation of the complex dynamics related to teaching, students and diversity" (Ferfolja, 2009, p. 395_[274]).

Policy Pointers

The LIP would benefit from broadening the scope of support offered to late arrivals. As the RAS programme shows, late arrivals need much more than just language training;

these students require additional support such as guidance and counselling (Peterson et al., 2017^[210]) as well as stronger incentives to pursue further education (OECD, 2016^[283]). Prolonging the age at which schooling is compulsory by one year could be important for young migrants who arrive late to the Swedish education system and who fail to qualify for upper secondary education (OECD, 2016^[65]).

Additionally, as RAS demonstrates, the innovative idea to involve student-teachers benefits both future teachers and current late arrivals. These future teachers will be better prepared to work with diverse student bodies.

Lastly, the LIP would benefit from increased exposure to native Swedish speakers. This can be done, for example, through student-teachers like RAS or integrating classrooms so that all students are together for at least some of instructional time.

6. Strengthening the Management of Diversity

Aim: Promoting a comprehensive approach to managing diversity across educational communities in times of more diverse immigrant flows

6.1. Context

Considering that almost one in every four students in Sweden has a foreign background, ethnic diversity is tangible in almost every classroom (Straarup, 2017^[275]). As Sweden has been traditionally one of the inclusive countries in Europe (Koopmans, 2010^[276]), it attracts many refugees, asylum seekers and migrants more generally. Thus, it is necessary to prepare immigrant and native students alike to meet the challenges of living in a complex and diverse society (Nieto, 2001^[277]; El Ashmawi, Sanchez and Carmona, 2018^[278]).

The definitions of diversity are numerous. While the importance of defining diversity is not to be diminished, defining the management of diversity is integral in effectively responding to the educational needs of diverse classrooms and students. Educational systems need to be responsible for all students regardless of their individual characteristics, with no segregatory measures created for different categories of students; and that all students should feel socially and academically involved in school as part of a learning community (Nilholm and Göransson, 2017^[279]). Managing diversity correctly involves both including everyone in education as well as using diversity as an educational tool to promote learning and improve performance (Bunar, 2016^[280]). Furthermore, inclusive education generally promotes academic success of all students while endowing a cooperative and social justice ordained worldview (Williamson and Gilham, 2017^[281]). Inclusive education is about responding to diversity; it is about listening to unfamiliar voices, being open, empowering all members and about celebrating 'difference' in dignified ways, without leaving anyone out. Inclusive experience is about learning to live with one another (Barton, 1997, p. 223^[149]).

Despite the fact that migration can sometimes be framed as a challenge to overcome, ethnic and culturally diversity in the classroom can have far-reaching benefits to all in the education system. Although research on this topic is not yet conclusive, there is a general consensus that non-diverse and non-inclusive primary and secondary school classrooms are associated with lower academic outcomes (Bankston III and Caldas, 1996^[282]), comparatively higher dropout rates for minority students in urban settings (Balfanz and Legters, 2001^[283]), increased levels of prejudice between minority and majority groups (Braddock, J.H. and Gonzalez, 2010^[284]), and overall decreased levels of social cohesion (Mikulyuk and Braddock, 2018^[285]; Letki, 2008^[286]).

In contrast, diverse and inclusive classrooms develop students that have a higher degree of comfort living and working with individuals from different backgrounds feel more prepared to be successful as adults in diverse communities, and have increased levels of understanding of point of views other than their own, which is increasingly important considering the recent rise of extremism (Shaw, 2005^[57]; Ghosh et al., 2017^[287]). Inclusive classrooms which value diversity lead to increased self-esteem, learning and achievements for those respective students (Bunar, 2016^[280]).

Integrated classrooms, defined as classrooms that reflect the community's composition, have been found to be positively associated with school success for immigrant students

(Biedinger, Becker and Rohling, 2008^[48]; Benito, Alegre and González-Balletbò, 2014^[49]; Frankenberg and Orfield, 2007^[50]; Haelermans and Heers, 2017^[51]). And although not positive, most researchers have found a null effect on native or majority students in terms of test scores (Contini, 2013^[52]; Haelermans and Heers, 2017^[51]). This means that integrated classrooms are associated with smaller gaps between immigrant students and other students' test scores thanks to overall improvements among immigrant students at no disadvantage to native students. While the research on long- and short-term effects of integrated classrooms is not yet robust (Brunello and De Paola, 2017^[53]), the more intangible benefits of diverse classrooms are generally undisputed; classrooms with diverse student bodies are considered to create a richer learning environment because students learn most from those who have very different life experiences from their own (Chang, 1999^[54]). Other benefits include improved cognitive skills such as critical thinking and problem-solving and more open-minded students prepared to engage in critical dialogue (Chang, 1999^[54]). In the United States, where classroom diversity has been debated for decades, after reviewing expert research, the courts ruled that "student body diversity promotes learning outcomes, and better prepares students for an increasingly diverse workforce and society, and better prepares them as professionals" (Banks, 2012, p. 746^[55]). Additionally, inclusive classrooms that value diversity lead to enhanced cognitive development, critical thinking skills, and innovation for all students (Herzog, 2007^[56]; Shaw, 2005^[57]).

The International Civic Citizenship Study (ICCS) 2016 European optional questionnaire included some questions to measure students' attitudes towards equal rights for migrants (Losito and al., 2016^[290]). In Sweden, students were among the most in favour of equal rights for migrants. 82% of students agreed or strongly agreed that "immigrants should have the opportunity to continue speaking their own language", while only 68% of participants did on average across European countries. Similarly, 94% of students agreed or strongly agreed that "immigrants should have the same rights that everyone else in the country has", while only 88% did on average across European ICCS 2016 countries.

The main international questionnaire in ICCS 2016 also included some items to measure students' endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic and racial groups. Students were asked the extent to which they agreed with statements like "all ethnic/racial groups should have an equal chance to get a good education" or "schools should teach students to respect members of all ethnic/racial groups" and responses were used to build an index of endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic and racial groups. Sweden had a score of 57 points on the index, which was 5 points above its ICCS 2009 index score and 54 points over the ICCS 2016 average. In comparison, Norway scored above the 2016 average, Denmark and the Netherlands scored below the average (Schulz and al., 2016^[289]).

The share of immigrant students in the classroom also shows some interesting associations with students' attitudes. On the one hand, students in classrooms with a higher share of migrants are more likely to report positive attitudes towards immigrants. This is the case in Nordic countries. However, a reduced level of institutional trust is found in classes with many immigrant students in Belgium, Latvia, Malta and the Netherlands, and less intention to participate in elections in Latvia. The mixed findings reflect the diverse nature of the immigrant population across (but also within) countries, as well as the differences in the ways educational systems attempt to integrate immigrant students into European classrooms. These diversities, and how the various educational systems can handle them, require further investigation (Blasko, Dinis Mota Da Costa and Vera Toscano, 2018^[329]).

6.2. Curriculum

A major way in which some students are marginalised in schools is through the partial or complete invisibility of their backgrounds, histories, and cultures in school curricula (Nieto, 2016^[295]). While history curricula have been found to be ethnocentric, focused on national content with little if any discussion of cultural diversity, other subjects have become more inclusive (UNESCO, 2018^[341]). A curriculum that is meaningful to students' cultural backgrounds promotes academic achievement and feelings of belonging at school, whereas a curriculum that is not respectful of increasing diversity in classrooms can easily disengage students that feel they are not represented. The idea behind an inclusive curriculum is that mainstream education should adapt to the various needs of the learners and strive to implement the universal human right to education for all (Budginaitė et al., 2016^[296]). Ethnic minority students who are taught using inclusive curriculums show greater interest in course content and are better able to psychologically adjust to their new environments. Additionally, diversity-conscious curriculums result in lower levels of racial bias among all students (Schachner et al., 2016^[297]).

The facets of diversity are manifold, with the concentration of this report, migration, being only one. For example, students come from diverse ethnic backgrounds, socio-economic statuses and religions (Janta and Harte, 2016^[36]) and these other spheres can be learning tools in how to foster inclusion.

6.2.1. Diversity-conscious curriculum is limited and not implemented consistently across schools

In Sweden, according to the Education Act of 2010 (SFS 2010:800), education must be designed in accordance with fundamental democratic values and human rights, such as the inviolability of human life, the freedom and integrity of the individual, equal value of all people, equality and solidarity between people. Furthermore, the national curriculum for pre- and primary school stated that schools should promote understanding for other people and that no one shall be subjected to discrimination on the grounds of gender, ethnicity, religion or other beliefs, gender identity or expression, sexual orientation, age or disability or other offensive treatment. Xenophobic tendencies and intolerance must be addressed with knowledge, open discussion and active efforts (Skolverket, (n.d.)^[324]). However, methods such as separate subjects on tolerance and including multiculturalism as a content topic for language classes, history and civic education can help students to develop critical thinking and understand societal processes better. While some schools in Sweden are already engaging in such practices, it is important that designing a diversity-aware curriculum is implemented consistently across schools (Suárez-Orozco, 2007^[312]). Additionally, teachers should be prepared to do so through teacher training and continuous professional development (see also Sections 4.4 and 4.5).

On behalf of the government, the Swedish National Agency for Education has made knowledge-enhancing efforts in order to prevent xenophobia and intolerance. These have taken shape of regional conferences, web-based support material and podcasts. The largest initiative so far has been made in collaboration with the Living History Forum (*Forum för Levande Historia*) and eleven educational institutions. In the period 2016-2017, 1 325 people participated in three education rounds that aimed to tackle xenophobia and racism in preschool and primary school. There has been considerable interest in the efforts. However, there is room for more initiatives and actions, and a challenge is to offer support on a more local level that adopts whole school approach and can be adjusted to the specific

needs of each educational establishment (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018^[344]).

The website of the National Agency for Education's offers a self-assessment tool for teachers and other school staff where they are asked to discuss 15 statements encompassing three themes: theory and regulations, the situation in their respective schools, and teaching (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), (n.d.)^[331]).

6.2.2. Examples from the United States for curriculum development

At the school level in the United States, African Americans often have to face many challenges to receive a quality education including being required to study using a white-centric curriculum, the default curriculum routinely taught in public school classrooms. As a result, many young African Americans feel disengaged, alienated, and displaced from the urban school system (Prier, 2012^[298]).

A culturally relevant educational strategy to combat this is **Hip-Hop Pedagogy**. Through hip-hop the students are able to relate to the curriculum and thus, learn more; “hip-hop is one of the most potent and relevant urban youth subcultures by which we can analyse the cultural dimensions and interactions between race, class, and gender as it relates to the African American male experience in education and the larger society...” (Prier, 2012^[298]). Researchers have demonstrated the positive effects on students, such as gaining the skill to engage in critical dialogue while making connections to large social and political issues and increased motivations to complete assignments (Aronson and Laughter, 2016^[299]).

As a relatively new pedagogical approach to teaching diverse students, the literature about culturally relevant education is surprisingly robust. Specific classroom strategies and lesson plans are detailed by many other prominent researchers, academics and primary and secondary school teachers. By observing culturally relevant educational practices, one researcher found that:

Students were motivated to complete the assigned tasks, not only because it was assigned, but because they enjoyed working together, the task was meaningful to them that they could relate to or identify with it and appeared that they enjoyed pleasing their teacher based on the genuine respect each showed towards one another. As the students became more engaged in the subject matter and learning process that was relevant to their lives, they became more confident in their ability to learn. The students were able to use their own cultural backgrounds and personal experiences as referents to many of the lessons (Hill, 2012, p. 150^[300]).

Although successful culturally relevant pedagogical examples are plentiful, critics often argue that such pedagogies align more easily with the social sciences than the physical sciences. However, innovative practitioners have begun to detail their experiments across subjects (Milner, 2011^[301]; Emdin, 2010^[302]). For example, Emdin, a former public school teacher and current Associate Professor at Columbia University, combined hip-hop, popular culture, and urban science in creating **Hip-Hop Pedagogy** which embraces both students' culture and the traditional science curriculum (Emdin, 2010^[302]; Emdin, 2016^[303]). As a new teacher in the Bronx, Emdin would start every class with pictures that represent hip-hop culture and deconstruct them scientifically; “if a picture happened to be of a rapper with an array of ‘chains’ hanging from his neck, then students would think about the physics of this chain and the chemical components of the metal” (Goldenberg, 2013^[304]). Such Hip-Hop pedagogy could also be applied in Sweden as it involves discussions of culture, ethnicity and religion through music.

Another example also stems from the United States. In 1996, the Oakland School District in California established a highly controversial programme to include African American English (also called Ebonics or Black English, henceforth AAE) as a language of instruction for African American students who needed additional literacy instruction. The programme called for federal funding to offer bilingual education (AAE and Standard American English, henceforth SAE) to African American students, declaring AAE to be a language rather than just a dialect of SAE. The programme was intended to improve learning outcomes for disadvantaged students who the previously implemented programme was failing to reach.

The programme created a nation-wide furore over AAE. A New York Time's Op-ed posited that "by labelling them linguistic foreigners in their own country, the new policy will actually stigmatise African American children – while validating habits of speech that bar them from the cultural mainstream and decent jobs" (The New York Times, 1996^[305]). The Oakland School Board quickly backed-away from their, at the time, radical programme. However, since the start of the controversy, researchers have found that validating AAE as a language, rather than as an incorrect form of SAE, empowered students and improved learning outcomes (Kumaravadivelu, 2001^[306]).

Although, in the short term, the Oakland programme resulted in more controversy than success, since 1996, many teachers have been recognizing students' home languages as legitimate forms of expression or language. The long term results of not viewing home languages as incorrect forms of SAE have been positive; a randomised control study showed that students who participated in Dialect (AAE) Awareness were significantly more likely to use "school English" in contexts where it was expected, such as narrative writing and reading comprehension (Johnson et al., 2017^[307]). A randomised control trial studying for example the effects of recognising the so-called 'Rinkebyswedish' could be set up in suburbs outside of Stockholm with a large share of immigrant population.

6.3. Inclusive Education for All Students

Inclusive education does not only benefit immigrant students, but all students. For immigrant students, inclusive schools can increase their opportunities to learn because they are able to interact with other children, in turn promoting family and community participation. All students can benefit through learning to respect and to value each other's abilities and experiences, as well as patience, tolerance and understanding. Adopting inclusive education means to manage differences among students by recognising their strengths and weaknesses, planning lessons effectively, using teaching strategies and adapting the curriculum to fit each student's ability and background. It also means knowing how to mobilise other teachers, parents, community members and other professionals to provide quality education to all students (UNESCO, 2015^[308]).

6.3.1. Inclusive education practices are not consistently interpreted and implemented, and usually focus only on special needs

The National Agency offers online learning modules for teachers and school staff. (<http://skolverket.larportalen.se>), some of which tackle inclusive education. In general, the training modules provide teachers with articles and research on the specific topic, discussion and reflection questions, lesson plans and follow-up exercises.

One of the modules on inclusive education is called "Inclusion and participation – the student and the learning environment in focus" (*Inkludering och delaktighet – eleven och*

lärmiljön i fokus). It aims to provide in-depth knowledge on how an inclusive learning environment and student participation affects learning (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), (n.d.)^[345]). A second module “Inclusion and school practice” (*Inkludering och skolans praktik*) seeks to stimulate cooperation and development of a teaching practice that makes all students included in the learning community. It gives insight on how to provide an education that builds good relationships, creates a trusting environment and has high expectations for all students’ learning (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), (n.d.)^[346]). Some research finds that considerable variation in inclusive education policy exists because municipalities and schools interpret national policy differently, and Swedish policy is not as inclusive in practice as on paper (Göransson, Nilholm and Karlsson, 2011^[341]).

In 2012, a 3-year research project on inclusive learning environments began in 31 elementary schools in twelve Swedish municipalities to study how the municipalities and schools worked together to develop inclusive learning environments for all students (Ifous, 2015^[339]). Considering multi-level inclusion (municipal, institutional and educational environments), the study found that changing norms and structures in the schools’ inclusion work was possible with cooperation and flexibility from all levels of the school administration (municipal managers, school leaders, teachers and educators). The study showed that when all levels of the school share the same vision, responsibility and leadership, inclusion in schools can improve. Schools focused on leadership and concrete educational and didactic efforts as well as changed the school environment and organisation to focus on all possible needs rather than targeting only specific needs, which ensured all students had the same opportunities for learning. The project also showed that allowing students to become active participants in their education was crucial to successful inclusive education, which is a process in constant development (Ifous, 2015^[335]).

6.3.2. Examples from Canada for inclusive education

At the regional level, the province of Alberta in Canada offers a good practice in including all students in inclusive education: “Alberta Education now defines inclusion as a concept and value involving the belonging of all students...supporting resources now also frequently mention students in sexual and gender minorities, First Nations, Metis, and Inuit (FNMI) students, English Language Learners, and refugees along with students with disabilities”. Alberta has also reformed their funding structures for special education so that rather than attaching funding directly to individual students, “an equal amount of inclusive education funding is attached to every K-12 student attending a public school in Alberta, regardless of whether or not they are labelled as disabled” (Williamson and Gilham, 2017^[281]).

The Canadian province of New Brunswick has also been at the forefront of innovative educational diversity management. In 1986, with the passage of Bill 85 in New Brunswick, school principals and teachers were legally required to include all students in the regular classroom (Aucoin, 2017^[309]). And then in 2013, with the passage of policy 322, inclusive education was written into educational law:

- Recognises that every student can learn
- Is universal – the provincial curriculum provided is equitable to all students and this is done in an inclusive, common learning environment shared among age appropriate peers in their neighbourhood school

- Is individualised – the educational programme achieves success by focussing on the student’s strengths and needs, and is based on the individual’s best interest
- Is requiring school personnel to be flexible and responsive to change
- Is respectful of student and staff diversity in regard to their race, colour, religion, national origin, ancestry, place of origin, age, disability, marital status, real or perceived sexual orientation and/or gender identity, sex, social condition or political belief or activity
- Is delivered in an accessible physical environment where all students and school personnel feel welcome, safe and valued

Detailing the philosophical benefits of inclusive education, the policy listed the advantages of promoting diversity including increased feelings of respect, confidence, and safety. The policy even reaches beyond the classroom, noting that the foundations of a diverse country should be rooted in educational practices; “inclusive education practices are not only necessary for all students to develop and prosper, but also critical to building a society that is inclusive of all people and their basic legal, civil and human rights” (Government of New Brunswick, 2013^[310]).

In 2016, the provincial government of New Brunswick was awarded the *Zero Project* Award for Innovative Policy. The project “is a global initiative working for zero barriers for people with disability, with reference to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities” (Malaquias, 2016^[311]). Sweden could learn from both provinces in expanding inclusive education to all students.

6.4. Citizenship Education

It is important for students to ‘learn to learn together’ as the consequences of not doing so are dire; sometimes youth that lack intercultural skills resort to violence or extremist groups, which “encourage them to reject diversity and identify only with those persons with whom they share a common first language and ethnicity.” Educational systems are in a unique position to tackle such problems by influencing youth through citizenship education. Schools must equip all students with the means to think beyond their context and thus, integrate into a globalized and diversified world (Suárez-Orozco, 2007^[312]). From there, students will have the skills to communicate with people from different cultures, ideally allowing students alternative pathways to solve problems and seek solutions.

Citizenship education is a means to firstly, help individuals realise that they are part of a community or to a set of communities ranging from the narrower communities at the local level to the wider ones at national and global levels. Secondly, citizenship education aims to equip students with competences that promote simultaneously the interests of the individual and the community (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017^[313]).

Furthermore, several studies illustrate the important role that students’ activities in the community play in students’ construction and development of knowledge and skills for active citizenship (Henderson, Pancer and Brown, 2013^[292]; Annette, 2008^[293]). The ICCS 2016 school questionnaire included questions on students’ opportunities to participate in activities in the local community. In Sweden, as many as 64% of students were in schools where principals reported that all, nearly all, or most of students participated in human rights projects (43% on average across ICCS 2016 participating countries). However, only 27% of students were in schools where principals reported that all, nearly all, or most of students participated in multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community

(45% on average across ICCS 2016 participating countries). In comparison, 35% of students in Finland were in schools where principals so reported.

Some studies find a positive role of students' perception of the classroom climate in helping students understand the advantages of democratic values and practices (Quintelier and Hooghe, 2013^[288]). The International Civic Citizenship Study (ICCS) survey finds a positive association between students' perception of how open to discussion their lessons on civic education were and their civic related outcomes. Sweden obtained a score that was significantly above the ICCS 2016 average and above its score in the previous round of 2009. Among Nordic countries, only Finland scored above Sweden (Schulz and al., 2016^[289]).

Maintaining an open classroom climate is the single most effective factor associated with positive civic attitudes and behavioural intentions. Students who perceive their teachers to be encouraging and open to different opinions and discussion within the classroom tend to attach higher importance to the citizenship values, trust more the democratic institutions and are more ready to accept the idea of equal rights for immigrants and ethnic minorities (Blasko, Dinis Mota Da Costa and Vera Toscano, 2018^[329]).

6.4.1. Citizenship education is not well integrated in the teaching of different subjects

In Sweden, there is no specific subject for citizenship education in the school system. Instead democratic citizenship and aspects of people's citizenship are embedded in different school subjects, mainly social sciences. It is the responsibility of the school to provide for active democratic citizenry by including citizenship in the teaching and providing possibilities to exercise and experience democratic citizenship (Olson et al., 2015^[344]).

The national curriculum for both primary and upper secondary school state that Swedish schools shall represent and promote values such as the inviolability of human life, individual freedom and privacy, equal value for all, gender equality, and solidarity with the weak and vulnerable. Moreover, four different perspectives should be incorporated in all types of education: the historical, environmental, international and ethical. The international approach, for example, will help students understand their role in a global and international context and help create international solidarity (Lindström, 2013^[345]).

However, a review from the School Inspectorate (2012) finds that the knowledge and awareness of what the democratic citizenship mission (stated in the Education Act and the National Curriculum) entails is low (Skolinspektionen, 2012^[346]). Despite the fact that citizenship education is present in the Education Act and is a clear mission within all school forms, the democratic mission must be clarified and fully integrated into the teaching to ensure the development of students' civic knowledge and citizenship. The report shows that students need to be given greater influence and opportunities to participate in the teaching so that practical teaching in democratic values and citizenship is combined with their knowledge development in different school subjects. To do so, schools need to develop a critical attitude among principals, teachers and in the teaching methods (Skolinspektionen, 2012^[346]).

There are resources and support materials for teachers on how to better implement citizenship education in the teaching of different subjects. One such example is the webpage *Värdegrunden* [The Fundamental Value] that offers lesson plans and other materials that deal with e.g. gender issues, justice and integration

(<https://vardegrunden.se/>). Furthermore, managing and teaching controversial issues are parts of education for democratic citizenship and human rights. Capacity building of safe classrooms, democratic dialogue with people with different opinions, students' voice and tolerance of different views, backgrounds and experiences can be even more crucial when it comes to diversity.

The Council of Europe has, together with some European Union member states (including Sweden) developed a professional development training pack for teaching controversial issues in the classroom to strengthen the capability and confidence of teachers and school leaders (see also Section 4.5). The study recommends that "teaching of controversial issues be considered a priority area for teacher training in education for democratic citizenship and human rights education, both for new and existing teachers" (Council of Europe, 2015^[371]).

6.4.2. Examples from Australia for citizenship education

Sweden could learn from Australia, where civic and citizenship education has long been a part of its education systems. Since the late 1980s, it has been generally agreed that "all students are entitled to develop the knowledge, skills and capacities to be active and informed citizens, capable of participating in their own communities, the nation and the wider world" (Tudball and Henderson, 2013^[314]). Two different citizenship curriculums have been created, namely *Discovering Democracy* and *The Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship*. However, they found little success as it is difficult to create a country-wide citizenship curriculum and funding was short (Heggart, Arvanitakis and Matthews, 2018^[315]). Providing sufficient funding and integrating citizenship education into teaching are also important for the Swedish context.

A successful example comes from a small programme at a school in Western Sydney, where one teacher implemented a critical citizenship pedagogy called *Justice Citizens*. Through the citizenship class, students were empowered to create short films on a chosen community issue, which were then featured at a neighbourhood film festival. This programme was successful, in large part, because students were empowered to choose their own projects and eventually being in complete control of their project and learned a variety of ICT production skills such as blogging, and the shooting and editing of video (Kelly and Kamp, 2014^[316]). Through entrance and exit interviews, students expressed that they had become active citizens (Heggart, 2017^[317]; Rogers, 2016^[318]). Critical citizenship pedagogy could be applied consistently across schools in Sweden.

6.5. Administrative Leadership for Diversity

School leaders need to be fully aware of the implications and challenges of managing a culturally and religiously diverse educational establishment. Even in less diverse schools, school leaders should promote inclusive and culturally responsive approaches because the next generation of youth will most likely work in diverse environments where they will need intercultural awareness and understanding (Faas, Smith and Darmody, 2018^[319]).

In schools where principals strive to create a culture of trust and respect, "teachers and students are more apt to embrace diversity as an essential aspect of their system" (Cherkowski and Ragoonaden, 2016^[320]). Considering that "school leaders have a great deal of power in determining school culture and instructional practices," they can be agents for social change within schools and are an integral part in championing diversity (Schiff, 2008^[321]); principals' knowledge and skills about diversity are integral in shaping the

school culture and correspondingly, in “preparing all students for a democratic and multicultural society” (Hernandez and Kose, 2011^[322]). Principals play a significant role in organising the school’s inner work, adjusting the curricula and supporting the new approach in the classrooms in the form of content and teaching style (Norberg, 2017^[323]).

Educational leadership is essential in creating inclusive schools; “the more importance a district superintendent or school principal [places] on inclusion, the more staff and resources [are] directed towards inclusion and ultimately the more students [are] committed.” Inversely, when administrative leadership are not proponents of inclusive educational practices, teachers feel unsupported in diverse classrooms (Aucoin, 2017^[309]).

6.5.1. Professional development programmes do not specifically prepare school leaders for newcomer students

Since 2010, newly employed school leaders in Sweden have to take part in a National School Leadership Training Programme. The 3-year programme covers three main areas of knowledge: school legislation and public authority, management by goals, and objectives and school leadership. There is no specific module for managing diverse schools or multicultural classroom; but it can be a topic which is discussed within the school leadership coursework (Skolverket, 2015^[358]).

Even though there is no specific regulation in the School Leadership programme regarding diversity, there are some attempts to tackle the topic. For example, a school leadership project was undertaken in four municipalities in Sweden in the period 2013-2014 to respond to the organisational challenges created when an increasing number of immigrant students arrived in Swedish schools (Lahdenperä et al., 2016^[359]). The project aimed to develop leadership, organisational and pedagogical skills that would facilitate the school administration with the integration of these new students. Professional development was offered in the form of research circles for principals and other school management figures focused on reflection and learning and lectures for all school staff. School leaders and other administrative staff expressed that through the organised activities they could voice their questions and talk about their concerns. A systematic leadership programme to prepare school leaders for newcomers across municipalities in Sweden does not exist.

6.5.2. Example from the United States for administrative leadership

At the school and university level in the United States, the ***Urban School Leaders Collaborative*** (USLC), now in its 12th year, is a cohort-based principal preparation programme dedicated to developing leadership capacity within the San Antonio Independent School District (SAISD). As the third largest school district in San Antonio, Texas, SAISD serves a diverse population of families, the majority of whom are Hispanic and low income. The goal of the programme is to prepare leaders who can work effectively in ethnically, racially, socially, and linguistically diverse educational environments. Through partnerships with local school districts and institutions of higher education, students have the opportunity to apply leadership theories and practices in real-world settings (Murakami and Kearney, 2016^[324]) (http://education.utsa.edu/educational_leadership_and_policy_studies/). Introducing programmes to specially prepare principals for diverse educational environments could be beneficial also in the case of Sweden.

6.6. Whole-School Approach to an Inclusive School Climate and Culture

School culture and climate can make an important difference in inclusion. Managing diversity and promoting an inclusive school climate is not only about teachers and textbooks, but it also about how they are treated and greeted in the hallways, how students interact with teachers, how the community interacts with the staff, how staff interact and how students interact with each other (Ryan, 2012^[325]). “A positive school climate is the product of a school’s attention to fostering safety; promoting a supportive academic, disciplinary, and physical environment; and encouraging and maintaining respectful, trusting, and caring relationships throughout the school community” (National Centre on Safe Supporting Learning Environments, 2018^[362]).

Managing diversity is the responsibility of the entire school; “a whole-school approach involves all members of the school community – school staff, students, parents and carers, agencies that engage with the school, and other community members” (Grant and Francis, 2016^[332]). This also applies to language learning, which happens in hallways, during physical education, at recess, in subject classes or afterschool (Nilsson and Bunar, 2016^[201]). All learners and their diverse needs need to be at the centre of education. The school should offer a caring, stimulating and conducive learning environment and set high expectations for all learners to reach their full potential (European Commission, 2015^[333]).

The ICCS 2016 finds that students’ civic is affected not only by leaning processes but also by more general experiences in school. Students’, teachers’, and parents’ participation in school decision-making processes can be regarded not only as a part of democratic governance processes at school but also as a factor characteristic of schools that have a democratic learning environment (Torrance, 2013^[291]). In Sweden, only 2% of students are in schools where parents are involved in decision-making processes (18% on average across ICCS 2016 countries) and 21% of students are in schools where they are given an opportunity to actively participate in school decisions (30% on average across ICCS 2016 countries).

6.6.1. Whole-school approaches to diversity and inclusion are initiated by schools rather than through a national policy

There is no particular national policy towards a whole-school approach to diversity and inclusion or the celebration of cultural events. However, some projects have tried to promote a positive school climate throughout schools. For example, the project “Whole School: school and social services based integration work” was conducted in the period 2013-14 in the city of Borås which consisted of integration work in a multicultural school environment. Funded by the Public Health Agency of Sweden, two social workers worked with students for one year in the grades 1-6 at a specific school in the city of Borås. The overall project objective was to develop and test a school-based working model with children and parents to increase social integration (i.e. students’ tendency to have friends of a different ethnic background). It also aimed to examine whether increased integration contributes to the improvement of students’ academic achievement and prosocial behaviour (i.e. rule-following and the propensity to be a “good friend”) (Medin and Jutengren, 2015^[363]).

The Whole School Project developed and evaluated two interventions: a group activity with a focus on values directed at students and network meetings with parents. Evaluation results show that the network meetings, a structured form of parent meetings, could contribute to the promotion of integration between parents with and without an immigrant background

and increase engagement in Swedish schools. The project developed a working model related to issues of integration and the well-being of children in school and prepared a survey instrument for school children in a multicultural environment that addresses social integration, school performance, and prosocial behaviour (Medin and Jutengren, 2015^[363]). Nonetheless, the project's interventions showed no clear benefits for the children, and changes in social integration could not be linked to changes in school performance and prosocial behaviour over time.

One aspect that can promote a more tolerant school climate is cultural celebrations. Some schools in Sweden use the Multicultural Calendar (that was an initiative from a municipal organisation in Stockholm called *Multikulturellt Centrum*) which includes all types of cultural celebrations and religious holidays. A blog exists with advice on how to approach and celebrate the various holidays in the classroom (<https://mangkulturellaalmanackan.wordpress.com/>). For religious holidays, students can have the right to have a day off. It is up to the school and the municipality to decide, so it varies across municipalities.

6.6.2. Examples from Canada and Australia for whole-school approaches to an inclusive school climate and culture

Sweden could learn from other countries who have regional or national policies in place to promote whole-school approaches. At the regional level, in 2011, the province of New Brunswick Association for Community Living in Canada created the programme ***Creating an Inclusive School: Indicators of Success***. This whole school approach to educating is rooted in inclusion; “an inclusive school is based on the philosophy that the whole school shares in the responsibility for inclusion. A real culture of inclusion cannot be brought about unless everyone embraces it” (New Brunswick Association for Community Living, 2011, p. 6^[334]). The programme is based on nine school characteristics: diversity and inclusion are embraced, creating a sense of belonging, student learning experiences are inclusive, supports are available and properly utilised, fostering appropriate behaviour, inclusion and students with exceptionalities, proactive school management and leadership, and an innovative creative environment. Cyclical in nature, the programme focuses on taking action, educating, reflecting, and examining (New Brunswick Association for Community Living, 2011^[334]; McMaster, 2013^[335]).

Also at the regional level, the Department of Education in New South Wales in Australia published guidelines for schools on how to implement a whole school response to welcome and integrate refugee students. Strategies include educational, emotional well-being and social support, as well as how to: enrol refugee students as quickly as possible, provide orientation to them, provide coordinated learning support by all school staff, monitor and assess refugee students, engage parents and families, and engage with the wider community and government agencies (New South Wales Government, 2016^[336]).

In terms of school culture, the Australian Government also “celebrates and values the benefits of cultural diversity for all Australians, within the broader aims of national unity, community harmony and maintenance of their democratic values” (Department of Social Services, 2011, p. 5^[329]; Singh and Rajan, 2015^[330]). Most schools include Harmony Day on 21 March in their cultural calendar which celebrates diversity through activities such as sport, dance, art, film, music, storytelling, cooking and sharing cultural meals. Harmony Day is meant to enable participating in activities to learn and understand how Australians from diverse backgrounds belong to the same nation. NAIDOC10 Week (July) and Refugee Week (June) celebrate the cultural practices, histories and achievements of, respectively,

Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders and humanitarian entrants (Colvin, 2017^[331]). Other cultural activities include international days, barbeques, sporting programmes which encourage team work among students of different cultures, and the implementation of support programmes for parents from specific racial groups.

6.7. Conclusion and Policy Pointers

Inclusion implies considerable reform of the school in terms of curriculum, assessment, pedagogy and grouping of students, based on a value system that welcomes and celebrates diversity arising from gender, nationality, race, religion, language or origin, social background, level of educational achievement or disability. Schools enjoy great flexibility to reform their practice along these lines but national legislation concerning curriculum and assessment, recording and reporting set limits (Mittler, 2000, p. 10^[337]).

While diversity in the classroom is increasing in Sweden, highly diverse classrooms have been typically located in metropolitan or densely populated areas. As a result of the refugee crisis, housing shortages motivated a higher intake of immigrants in the northern regions of Sweden, raising intake levels to those of metropolitan areas (Statistics Sweden, 2018^[2]). Housing shortage effects are also felt in large cities and metropolitan areas, where many new immigrants stay with relatives, who in many cases are also new in Sweden, and face the risk of social and economic exclusion (Boverket [National Board of Housing, 2015^[338]]). This increased diversity in schools and cities in both metropolitan and less urban areas entails considerable challenges for education and necessitates a comprehensive approach across different sectors.

Sweden can consider the following actions:

6.7.1. *Implement a diversity-conscious curriculum consistently across schools*

“Academic achievement does not belong to one race or social group, and teachers need to be aware and vigilant of the messages they send to their students by closely selecting topics, people, and themes that reflect positive messages about who students are and who they can expect to become in the future” (Rosario, 2014, p. 197^[340]). Diversity goes way beyond ethnicity and encompasses many other forms of diversity. The exact methods to achieve such diversity-conscious curriculums are often unique to classrooms. However, methods such as separate subjects on tolerance and including multiculturalism as a content topic for language classes, history and civic education can help students to develop critical thinking and understand societal processes better. While some schools in Sweden are already engaging in such practices, it is important that designing a diversity-aware curriculum is implemented consistently across schools (Suárez-Orozco, 2007^[312]). Additionally, teachers should be prepared to do so through teacher training and continuous professional development (see also Sections 4.4 and 4.5). Effective teachers use “the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them” (Gay, 2000^[341]). This diversity framework is addressed consistently in successful teacher education programmes.

6.7.2. *Promote inclusive education in schools so that all students can benefit from a good quality education*

Even if teachers and principals understand the importance of including all students in the regular classroom, many experience challenges in how to do so (Aucoin, 2017^[309]). There

is often a gap between policy and practice. Hence, teachers and administrative leadership need to be educated on the importance and benefits of inclusive learning, and strategies to do so should be taught and shared among principals, teachers, support staff, parents and students. Sweden should promote inclusive education for all students, and ensure that all students can benefit from a good quality education.

Inclusive classrooms are not created solely through integration; rather they are created when common learning spaces, support, and extra attention are combined (Bunar, 2016^[280]). There are a variety of approaches to do this. And notably, while certain support measures work effectively in one school, they may not in another. Thus, policies aimed at fostering inclusivity need imbedded flexibility; for example, some schools may benefit from reducing class size (Froese-Germain, Riel and McGahey, 2012^[344]), while others may be positively impacted by more teaching aids (Blatchford, Russell and Webster, 2012^[345]). These learning supports should be reinforced during and after any transition period such as from SAS to Swedish classes or from introductory to mainstream classes (Bunar, 2016^[280]).

6.7.3. Develop active citizenship education in schools that can help students develop democratic values and skills

Sweden's education system is focused on promoting democratic values and skills. The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) shows that students in no other participating country performed significantly better than the Swedish students in knowledge about the society and about democratic values. Sweden is also among the countries where the results have improved the most between 2009 and 2016 (Schulz and al., 2016^[289]). However, as diversity continues to increase, an even more active citizenship education in schools could be needed to ensure that youth, irrespective of their background, trust each other, trust public institutions, are mindful and open to diversity, and have the knowledge and skills to actively participate in the economic and social life of their communities. Following the example from Australia, Sweden should provide guidelines for creating an active citizenship curriculum in schools and offer funding for schools and teachers to develop projects that can help students become active citizens.

6.7.4. Offer training for administrative leadership in diversity management to prepare school leaders for increasingly diverse schools and to be able to support teachers, staff and students

School leaders can play a key role in promoting and supporting diverse schools. They develop comprehensive school-based policies and procedures on how to integrate immigrant and refugee students beyond legal requirements. They can introduce formal procedures for the practices from admission to assessment, and offer professional development to engage teachers and support staff in emerging practices and research. School leaders can also require teamwork among their teachers, and include scheduling time to adapt and develop curricula in order to provide quality instruction for newcomer students. Successful school leaders also build relationships with local government representatives, district leaders, local businessmen, and sometimes even journalists to advocate for funding, resources, and to raise awareness of the needs of their immigrant students (Suárez-Orozco, 2018^[342]; El Ganzoury, 2012^[343]).

Training for administrative leadership in diversity management is essential for integrating immigrant and refugee students. Following the example of San Antonio (Texas), Sweden should provide training for school leaders in diversity management, and develop school leaders to support inclusive education practices.

6.7.5. Reinforce a whole school approach to foster an inclusive school climate and culture in order to welcome and integrate all students

Managing diversity and promoting an inclusive school climate is the responsibility of the entire school and involves all members of the school community including school staff, students, parents and carers, agencies that engage with the school and other community members. A culture of inclusion cannot be established unless everyone embraces it. Therefore, Sweden should adopt a whole school approach to managing diversity and promoting an inclusive school climate and culture. The National Agency for Education could publish guidelines for schools on how they could implement a whole school response to welcome and integrate immigrant and refugee students and develop an inclusive school climate and culture. This could also entail guidelines for schools on how to include cultural celebrations which are applied consistently across schools. Guidelines could also address greater parent engagement and building effective relationships between schools and communities.

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Annex A: Participants

Name	Institution	Date
State Secretary Erik Nilssen; Kjell Nyman; Cristina Pontis; Charlotte Persson; Åsa Källén	Ministry of Education and Research	9 April 2018
Anna Ambrose; Camilla Holmberg; Maria Schwartz; Isabelle Zupanc	National Agency for Education	10 April 2018
Helena Holmlund	IFAU (Institute for Evaluation of Labour Market and Education Policy)	10 April 2018
Aina Bigestans	Nationellt centrum för svenska som andraspråk vid Stockholms universitet (The National Centre for Swedish as a Second Language)	10 April 2018
Fredrik Lindgren	Friskolornas riksförbund (The Swedish Association of Independent Schools)	10 April 2018
Åsa Ernestam	SKL (Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions - SALAR)	10 April 2018
Anna Jändel-Holst; Svante Tideman	Lärarnas riksförbund (The National Union of Teachers in Sweden)	10 April 2018
Patrik Ribe	Lärarförbundet (The Swedish Teachers Union)	10 April 2018

Lena Linnerborg	Sveriges Skolledarförbund (The Swedish Association of School Principals and Directors of Education)	10 April 2018
Prof. Bunar Nihad; Prof. Eskil Wadensjö	Stockholm University	9 April 2018