

Chapter 3

Adversity and adjustment: The resilience of students with an immigrant background

This chapter defines several categories of students depending on their migration-related experiences that are used extensively in the report. It discusses the prevalence of students with an immigrant background in education systems around the world, and the particular challenges education systems face in integrating immigrant students who had arrived in the host country when they were 12 years old or older. The chapter examines differences between students with and without an immigrant background in their ability to attain baseline academic proficiency, and in their degree of well-being, as measured by their sense of belonging at school, their satisfaction with life, how anxious they feel about their schoolwork, and their motivation to achieve.

Notes regarding Cyprus

Note by Turkey: The information in this document with reference to “Cyprus” relates to the southern part of the Island. There is no single authority representing both Turkish and Greek Cypriot people on the Island. Turkey recognises the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Until a lasting and equitable solution is found within the context of the United Nations, Turkey shall preserve its position concerning the “Cyprus issue”.

Note by all the European Union Member States of the OECD and the European Union: The Republic of Cyprus is recognised by all members of the United Nations with the exception of Turkey. The information in this document relates to the area under the effective control of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

Note regarding data from Israel

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

What the data tell us – Overview of migrant groups

- In 2015, almost one in four 15-year-old students in OECD and EU countries had an immigrant background, i.e. he or she was foreign-born or had at least one parent who was.
- Between 2003 and 2015, the share of students with an immigrant background grew by six percentage points, on average across OECD (seven percentage points across EU countries).
- Over the past decade, of all groups of students with an immigrant background, the share of second-generation immigrant students, native-born children of foreign-born parents, grew the most, on average across OECD and EU countries.
- On average across OECD and EU countries in 2015, late arrivals – foreign-born students who settled in the host country at or after the age of 12 – represented about one-third of all first-generation immigrant students. Between 2003 and 2015, their share grew in 14 out of 36 countries and economies with available data. The increase was larger than twenty percentage points Austria, Latvia, Luxembourg, the Slovak Republic, Sweden, Turkey, Tunisia and Uruguay.

Since its first round in 2000, the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) has asked participating students to report whether they and/or their parents were born in the country in which the student sat the PISA assessment or in a different country. In a number of countries, the student questionnaire was designed to identify the country in which students and/or their parents were born, if this was different from the country in which students sat the assessment. Students could select from a short list, adapted to the specific country context so as to reflect the main migrant communities in the country, as well as a remainder category, “other”. The questionnaire also asked foreign-born students to identify the age at which they migrated.¹

Traditional analyses of PISA data have considered students with an immigrant background as students who have foreign-born parents. These students are further distinguished between the native-born children of two foreign-born parents (second-generation immigrant students) and foreign-born students who have two foreign-born parents (first-generation immigrant students). According to these definitions, students who have families with a mixed background – i.e. students who have one native-born parent and one foreign-born parent – are considered as not having an immigrant background.

The standard PISA categorisation of students with an immigrant background has been useful for analysing subject-specific outcomes, but it obscures differences across family characteristics that may be of particular relevance when attempting to identify the effects of migration on broader education outcomes, including subject-specific performance, motivation, and social and emotional well-being.

PISA data can be used to characterise three types of migration-related adversity:

- having two foreign-born parents
- living in a mixed household
- being foreign-born.

Who are the students with an immigrant background?

Having two foreign-born parents

Whether or not a student has direct experience of migration, having two foreign-born parents means that a student may have greater difficulty in understanding the formal and informal rules and processes that govern the functioning of the education system of the host country, and the social and cultural practices and traditions that regulate the local community. For example, the student may find it difficult to talk with their family about specific authors examined in language-of-instruction courses, historical figures and cultural references. The degree of adversity that stems from having foreign-born parents varies, depending on the parents’ level of education (observed in PISA), the parents’ level of openness to and curiosity about the host country’s institutional framework (unobserved in PISA) and the age at which the student’s parents migrated (unobserved in PISA).

Table 3.1 ■ Snapshot of immigrant groups

	Percentage of students with an immigrant background	Change between 2006 and 2015 in the % of students with an immigrant background	Share of first-generation immigrant students among students with an immigrant background	Change between 2006 and 2015 in the share of first-generation immigrant students	Percentage of late arrivals (as a % of first-generation immigrants)	Share of second-generation immigrant students among students with an immigrant background	Change between 2006 and 2015 in the share of second-generation immigrant students	Share of native students of mixed-heritage among students with an immigrant background	Change between 2006 and 2015 in the share of native students of mixed-heritage	Share of returning foreign-born students among students with an immigrant background
OECD average	23.13	6.44	19.98	-1.87	29.06	24.83	3.78	44.05	3.97	11.14
EU average	21.49	6.67	17.74	-2.93	29.8	23.78	4.94	48.44	2.87	10.04
Macao (China)	83.16	-4.54	22.67	4.54	33.22	52.15	-14.25	19.85	7.43	5.33
Luxembourg	69.86	19.70	30.59	-0.13	31.43	43.82	7.77	22.45	-4.05	3.14
United Arab Emirates	66.01	m	52.19	m	29.38	35.06	m	10.24	m	2.51
Qatar	63.77	m	62.67	26.70	32.95	23.90	-18.81	10.27	-7.14	3.16
Hong Kong (China)	62.98	1.82	21.88	-9.27	24.33	33.85	-6.08	28.48	7.36	15.78
Switzerland	52.03	15.77	19.90	-5.96	25.23	39.80	10.85	35.33	-3.58	4.98
New Zealand	44.80	7.13	36.10	-1.24	26.67	24.47	6.37	30.57	-3.44	8.86
Australia	43.58	1.89	28.30	5.69	35.49	29.12	-3.09	38.21	-4.02	4.37
Singapore	43.19	m	32.74	m	40.03	15.56	m	45.82	m	5.88
Canada	41.49	10.82	34.32	3.96	29.27	38.31	3.99	23.06	-8.67	4.31
Ireland	33.72	15.91	32.69	14.58	24.61	9.98	5.70	40.38	-3.14	16.96
Belgium	33.45	9.44	26.01	2.16	33.06	26.95	0.30	40.77	0.46	6.27
United States	32.09	10.14	22.93	-3.51	22.91	48.92	6.42	25.46	0.37	2.69
Sweden	31.10	9.30	24.30	3.37	34.07	31.53	3.99	34.85	-8.64	9.33
Israel	30.98	m	14.42	-13.38	32.71	42.10	14.44	39.59	0.39	3.88
Austria	30.97	12.37	24.50	-13.33	31.03	41.03	15.49	28.98	-1.10	5.50
Cyprus*	29.68	m	27.03	m	29.66	10.92	m	51.21	m	10.85
United Kingdom	28.55	8.75	30.70	10.69	29.52	27.96	0.71	35.56	-7.02	5.79
Germany	28.14	7.33	13.31	-19.70	21.65	46.80	8.19	35.34	11.16	4.54
Croatia	27.36	m	6.50	-18.63	11.83	32.97	16.00	54.92	6.46	5.61
Jordan	27.04	m	11.55	-7.73	m	33.34	1.94	45.40	8.40	9.71
CABA (Argentina)	26.96	m	23.16	m	m	40.00	m	34.21	m	2.62
Montenegro	26.70	m	7.29	-14.08	24.55	13.82	6.56	66.14	15.07	12.75
France	26.26	-0.49	16.96	4.02	33.78	33.22	-3.33	44.26	0.87	5.56
Portugal	24.94	8.92	16.29	-2.48	22.07	13.13	0.30	59.80	14.79	10.78
Kosovo	24.92	m	2.92	m	m	3.27	m	10.28	m	83.53
Norway	23.54	9.43	25.76	5.44	28.85	25.43	6.09	38.21	-6.98	10.60
Denmark	22.76	8.00	12.19	-8.80	20.49	34.72	8.91	40.46	3.91	12.63
Estonia	22.29	m	2.97	-1.54	46.12	41.81	-2.99	51.36	5.08	3.87
Greece	21.90	7.31	17.26	-22.20	13.17	31.83	24.56	40.09	4.79	10.82
Latvia	21.33	-8.92	4.69	2.76	36.64	18.96	-7.40	73.33	6.49	3.02
Netherlands	20.59	1.64	10.50	-6.30	14.29	41.68	4.18	40.06	5.39	7.76
Malta	20.33	m	17.13	m	m	7.28	m	64.51	m	11.08
Spain	18.65	10.28	48.62	-2.91	16.22	10.36	3.44	32.41	-0.70	8.62
Iceland	17.59	6.89	16.18	4.53	9.98	6.94	3.35	44.22	5.34	32.66
Italy	17.01	9.57	28.42	-1.46	21.24	18.52	12.09	41.78	-4.33	11.28
Costa Rica	16.92	m	15.63	m	23.43	31.78	m	45.57	m	7.02
Russia	16.90	-8.06	18.21	-5.14	32.41	22.44	3.15	53.18	11.86	6.17
Slovenia	16.37	m	20.27	11.11	32.14	27.42	-17.17	46.41	5.89	5.89
Lebanon	14.20	m	12.85	m	m	11.16	m	44.22	m	31.77
Trinidad and Tobago	12.84	m	11.79	m	m	15.66	m	51.49	m	21.06
Finland	11.54	6.42	18.96	-4.20	28.92	15.50	11.78	51.54	-0.67	14.00
Moldova	11.45	m	3.53	m	m	8.86	m	70.89	m	16.72
Czech Republic	11.15	2.77	15.46	3.31	30.56	14.90	7.24	62.56	-4.97	7.08
FYROM	9.96	m	6.72	m	m	13.84	m	63.83	m	15.61
Lithuania	8.80	m	4.39	0.68	34.33	15.52	-0.47	74.43	2.43	5.66
Hungary	7.91	3.77	14.49	-19.69	37.71	19.51	10.15	58.67	13.16	7.33
Chinese Taipei	7.64	m	0.94	m	55.88	2.75	m	86.12	m	10.19
Georgia	7.18	m	3.51	m	m	26.73	m	35.33	m	34.43
Slovak Republic	7.16	-0.25	8.19	6.27	45.14	8.52	3.18	72.68	-7.15	10.61
Tunisia	6.33	3.91	7.96	0.77	26.81	15.60	3.85	39.59	2.79	36.85
Albania	5.72	m	3.08	m	m	7.61	m	9.62	m	79.69
Uruguay	5.57	-1.18	6.23	-0.35	57.16	4.82	1.63	71.90	20.88	17.05
Bulgaria	5.41	m	9.13	6.36	42.76	10.09	6.01	60.40	-4.80	20.37
Dominican Republic	5.25	m	15.11	m	26.05	19.67	m	46.23	m	18.99
Chile	4.86	m	32.31	17.18	51.44	10.92	4.38	44.87	6.57	11.90
Mexico	4.29	0.74	19.87	-19.10	2.53	9.19	-2.41	33.43	8.93	37.51
Algeria	3.24	m	0.00	m	m	29.56	m	70.44	m	0.00
Turkey	2.97	0.61	9.73	-11.13	58.38	16.46	-11.18	58.82	32.29	14.99
Romania	2.65	m	5.01	-16.38	m	9.41	9.41	58.86	34.48	26.72
Colombia	2.60	m	8.51	3.26	22.62	14.74	2.50	54.03	7.03	22.72
Brazil	2.48	0.54	11.34	5.93	35.93	20.68	-43.18	53.47	28.80	14.51
Japan	2.46	1.71	8.17	-8.47	38.13	13.79	6.86	57.34	12.52	20.70
Peru	2.42	m	5.96	m	63.32	13.50	m	44.01	m	36.53
Thailand	2.24	1.52	5.55	0.63	100	30.97	0.84	55.63	6.82	7.86
Poland	1.90	1.63	8.13	-0.59	51.75	5.41	-5.49	51.39	12.17	35.07
Korea	1.29	0.99	5.76	5.76	0	0.00	-5.53	67.66	56.88	26.58
B-S-J-G (China)	1.00	m	21.06	m	37.64	7.22	m	55.22	m	16.51
Indonesia	0.78	0.24	12.73	-11.65	m	4.30	-2.35	49.67	31.66	33.31
Viet Nam	0.76	m	4.96	m	m	7.80	m	69.07	m	18.17

* See note at the beginning of this Chapter.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Tables 3.2 and 3.4.


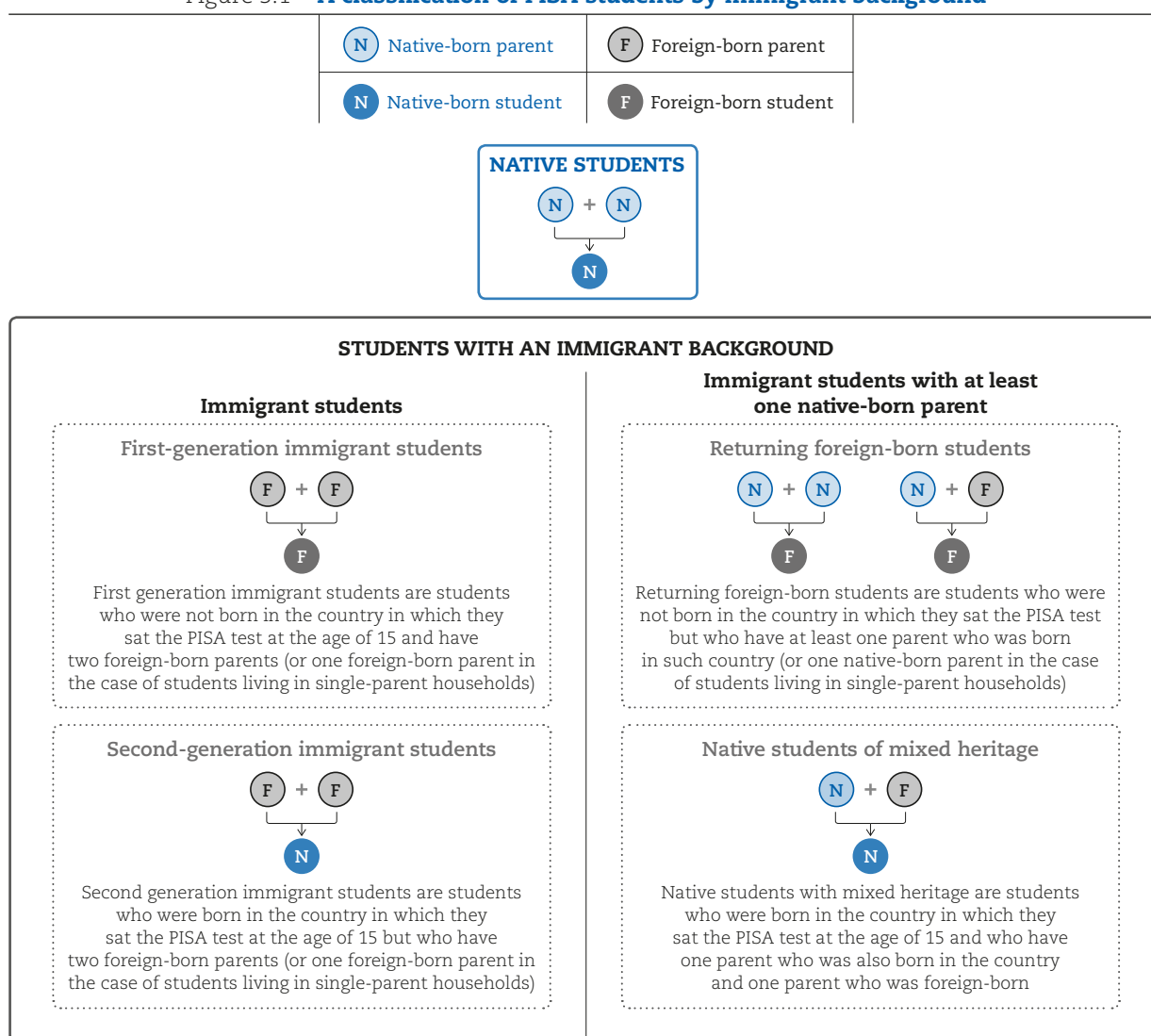
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Figure 3.1 ■ A classification of PISA students by immigrant background



Living in a mixed household

Living in a mixed household, with one foreign-born and one native-born parent, means that students can rely on the institutional knowledge of the native-born parent and are thus less likely to suffer the same level of adversity as the children of two foreign-born parents. However, students in mixed families might struggle with feelings of belonging and a sense of identity. Students with one foreign-born and one native-born parent, in fact, need to develop a personal identity that integrates and transcends the experiences of both parents.

Being foreign-born

Migration is a life-changing experience, and research identifies specific difficulties associated with moving and settling in a new country. These difficulties, which include the loss of close relationships, experiencing stress related to expectations about the unknown, having to learn a new language and adjusting to a new school system (Garza, Reyes and Trueba, 2004; Igoa, 1995; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Zhou, 1997) tend to be greater when children move at a late age.

Some children who fled war, persecution and extreme poverty in their country of origin experienced extremely difficult circumstances prior to migrating. They often missed learning opportunities during the migration phase and upon arrival, while waiting for their legal status and permanent residence to be

determined. This means that they often lag behind academically compared to native-born children of the same age; as a result, they may struggle at school and find it difficult to build social relationships with children of their age. Refugees and asylum seekers often face additional tensions as a result of being part of broken families, with some family members dead or left behind in the country of origin.

The prevalence of students with an immigrant background

Figure 3.2 suggests that in 6 out of the 69 countries and economies with available data in PISA 2015, the native-born children of native-born parents represent a minority, while in 26 countries and economies, the native-born children of native-born parents represented more than 9 out of 10 15-year-old students. Native-born children of native-born parents were a minority in Switzerland (48%), Hong Kong (China) (37%), Qatar (36%), the United Arab Emirates (34%), Luxembourg (30%) and Macao (China) (17%). By contrast, on average across OECD countries, around 77% of students were native-born children of native-born parents. Still, this means that, across OECD countries, as many as 23% of 15-year-old students had some form of recent experience of migration in the family: either they were born in another country or at least one of their parents was (Table 3.2, available on line).

Figure 3.2 indicates that the percentage of native-born children of native-born parents decreased between 2003 and 2015 in as many as 26 out of the 39 countries and economies with comparable data. On average across OECD countries, the decrease was as large as 6 percentage points (seven across EU countries) and it was over 15 percentage points in Ireland, Luxembourg and Switzerland. The percentage of native-born students of native-born parents increased only in Latvia, Macao (China) the Russian Federation (hereafter “Russia”) and Uruguay.

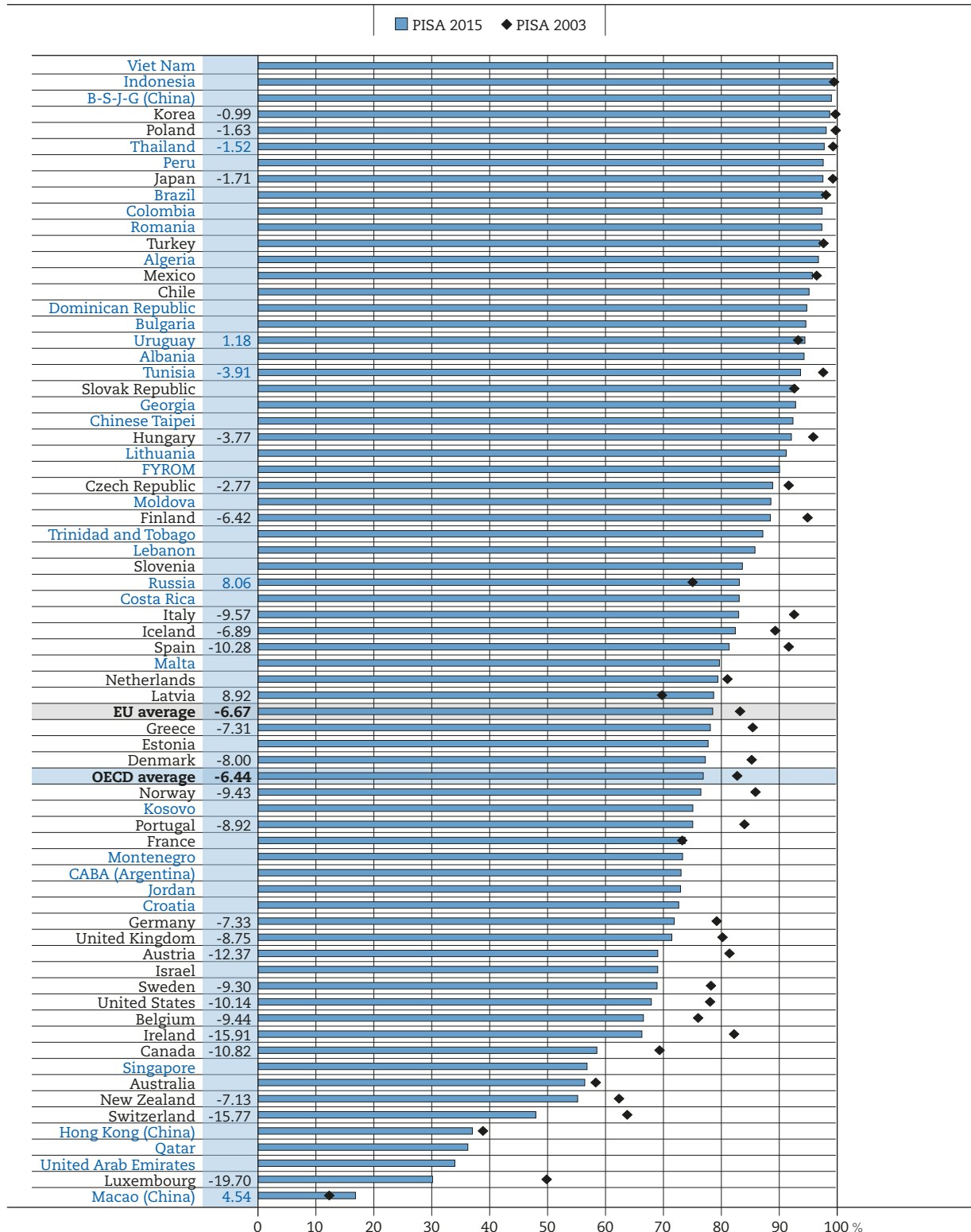
While in most countries the number of students without a recent experience of migration in the family shrank significantly between 2003 and 2015, countries differ markedly in the composition of their student population and in how the make-up of the group with an immigrant background has evolved over time. Figure 3.3 classifies students according to whether they or their parents are foreign-born and identifies four major groups: foreign-born students with two foreign-born parents (first-generation immigrants), foreign-born students with at least one parent who is native-born (returning foreign-born immigrants), native-born students of two foreign-born parents (second-generation immigrants), and native-born students of one foreign-born and one native-born parent (native students of mixed heritage).

On average across OECD countries, in 2015, around 31% of students with an immigrant background (and around 28% of students on average across EU countries) were native-born students with two foreign-born parents (or one foreign-born parent in the case of students living in single-parent households), 38% (44% across EU countries) were native-born students of mixed heritage (those with one native-born and one foreign-born parent), 23% (21% across EU countries) were foreign-born children of foreign-born parents, and 8% (also across EU countries) were returning foreign-born immigrants – i.e. they were born outside the country of assessment but had at least one parent who was native-born.

Figure 3.3 suggests a large degree of heterogeneity in the composition of the group of students with an immigrant background. Students who are foreign-born and have foreign-born parents were a majority only in Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. In as many as 25 out of the 69 countries and economies with available data, this group represented less than 10% of students with an immigrant background. In all other countries and economies, either the student or at least one of the students’ parents was born in the country in which the student sat the PISA assessment.

In Macao (China), more than one in two students with an immigrant background is native-born with two foreign-born parents. In 27 countries and economies, between one in two and one in four students, among all students whose family has a recent history of migration, shares this profile, as does fewer than one in ten students in 16 other countries and economies. In 29 countries and economies, more than one in two students with an immigrant background are native-born of mixed heritage (with one native-born and one foreign-born parent), while in Albania, Kosovo, Macao (China), Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, fewer than one in five students whose family has a recent history of migration shares this profile.

Figure 3.2 ■ Trends between 2003 and 2015 in the percentage of native-born students with native born parents



Note: Only countries/economies that participated in PISA 2003 and PISA 2015 are shown.

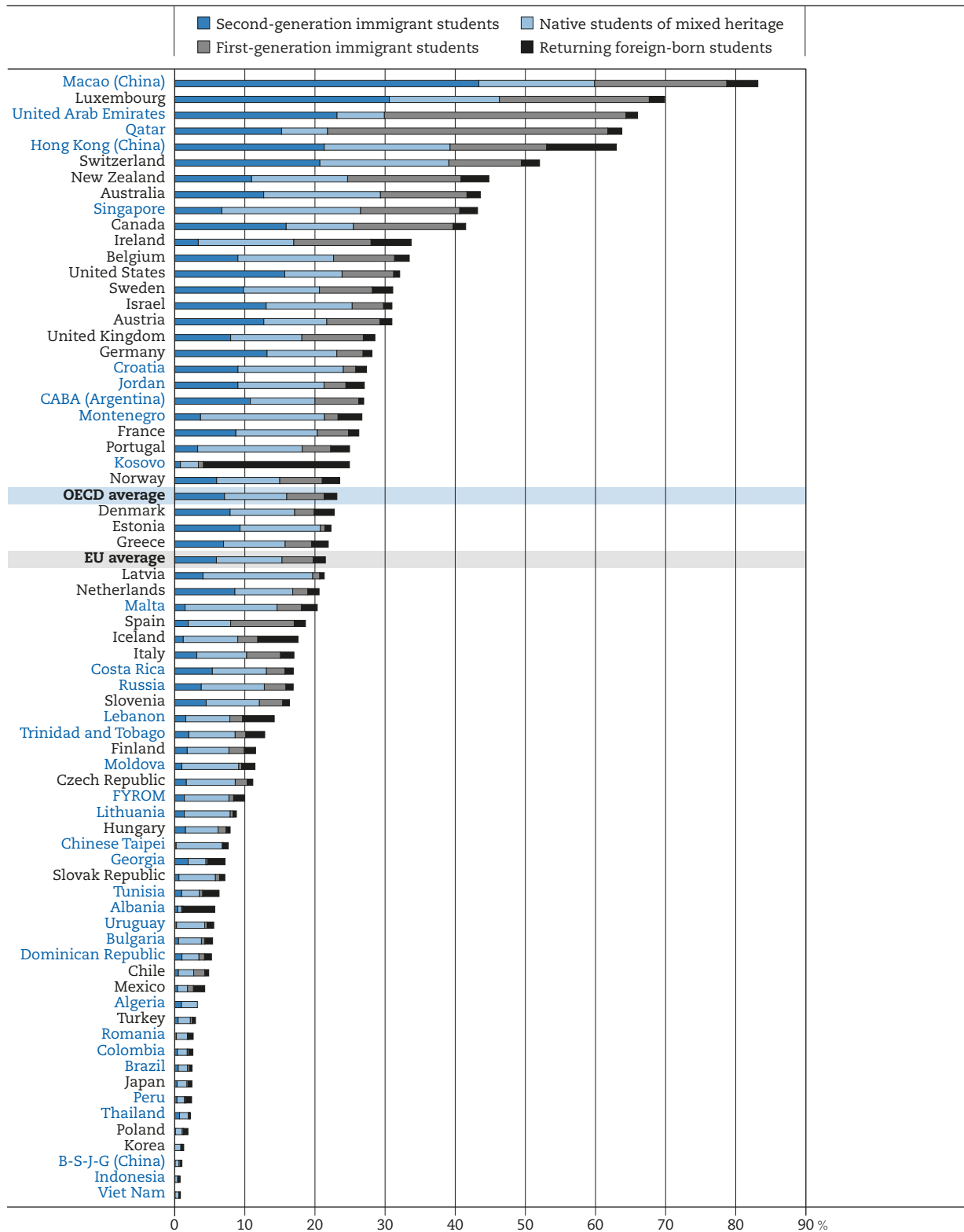
Statistically significant differences between PISA 2015 and PISA 2003 are shown next to country/economy names.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the percentage of native-born students with native born parents in 2015.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 and 2003 Database, Table 3.2.

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Figure 3.3 ■ **Percentage of students with an immigrant background, by group**
 Percentage of students that are either first-generation immigrants, returning foreign-born immigrants, second-generation immigrants, or native students of mixed heritage, by country



Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the percentage of students with an immigrant background.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 and 2003 Database, Table 3.2.

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Albania and Kosovo are important outliers as more than eight in ten students with an immigrant background are foreign-born returning migrants: students who were born in a different country with at least one parent who was born in Albania/Kosovo and who left the country at one point, most likely because of armed conflict, and decided to go back after the end of hostilities.

Box 3.1. Returning migrants in Albania and Kosovo

In Albania and Kosovo, the profile of students with a recent history of family migration looks remarkably different from that in all the other countries and economies that participated in PISA 2015. In the majority of countries and economies, the proportion of returning foreign-born students is small: around one in ten students, on average across OECD countries. But in Albania and Kosovo, four out of five students with an immigrant background are foreign-born returning students. These are students who were born abroad in 2000 (or 1999) and who have at least one parent who was born in Albania/Kosovo. This unique profile reflects the migration trends seen in this part of the Balkans since the last decade of the 20th century. The period of political instability and war that affected the region in the 1990s resulted in hundreds of thousands of people migrating from Albania and Kosovo, mostly to other parts of Europe. While that migration continued into the 21st century, the return of some migrants and inflows of refugees have also contributed to the demographic shifts observed in these countries during this period of time.

In 1989, Albania had a population of 3.2 million. Between that year and 2001, around 600 000 to 800 000 people emigrated from the country (King and Mai, 2013). The outflows grew significantly from 1991 with the fall of the dictatorship and the organisation of the first general elections. Since then, three major outflows, mostly for economic reasons, occurred in 1991-92, 1997-98 and 1998-99, with Italy and Greece as the main destination countries (IOM, n.d.). In the 2000s, emigration rates remained high (up to 481 000 Albanians left the country in that decade) and the situation has not changed much in recent years (INSTAT, 2013; Observatory for Children's Rights, 2017).

However, return migration has become significant too. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) (n.d.) estimates that that between 2001 and 2011, up to 139 827 immigrants returned to Albania. Another study suggests that between 2007 and 2012, some 180 000 Albanians living in Greece returned to Albania (ACIT, 2012). Similarly, according to the Institute of Statistics of Albania (INSTAT, 2013), up to 133 544 Albanian migrants aged 18 years and older, 98 414 of whom were men, returned to Albania between 2009 and 2013. Migrants returning to Albania tend to be relatively young, working-age men who move back to the country for employment and family reasons.

Similarly, Kosovo had a population of almost two million in 1991, and more than four in five Kosovars were of Albanian ethnicity (Statistical Office of Kosovo, 2008). The increase in emigration from Kosovo began in 1989 in response to the abolition of the country's autonomous status, the subsequent dismissal of tens of thousands of Albanians from their jobs, and the calling for compulsory military service for Serbs during the Milosevic era. But emigration rates exploded with the outbreak of war in Kosovo in 1998-99, when some 800 000 people fled the country (Vathi and Black, 2007). The end of the war did not mean the end of emigration flows, however. Since then, there has been a constant, small-scale migration of Kosovars to EU countries, mainly for economic and family-reunification reasons (Arenliu and Weine, 2016). An exception to this small-scale migration trend was a brief but rather significant episode of increased migration outflows from both Kosovo and Albania that took place in early 2015 (Mollers et al., 2017).

It is hard to estimate the size of Kosovo's diaspora but, according to some studies, it ranges between 380 000 and 874 000 people (UNDP, 2015: XII-XIII), most of them living in Germany (35.25%) and Switzerland (22.94%) (Ask, 2014). The return and repatriation of migrants has been a major characteristic of the post-conflict era in Kosovo. The literature suggests that most Kosovars who left the country because of the war returned between 1999 and 2001. Nonetheless, return migration trends have remained constant and significant since then, and the number of returnees is expected to remain high for years to come (Arenliu and Weine, 2016).

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The governments of Albania and Kosovo are responsible for developing policy responses to help students with an immigrant background thrive in school and in life. However, the profile of most immigrant students in these two countries is different from that of immigrant students in all other countries and economies that participated in PISA 2015. The majority of them are the children of a generation that had to leave the country in large numbers, most under difficult circumstances. Thus, education systems in Albania and Kosovo are likely to face some region-specific challenges linked to the particular migration experiences observed in these two countries over the past three decades.

The challenge seems greater in Kosovo because of the larger proportion of returning migrant students. In 2015, only 1 in 20 15-year-old students in Albania belonged to this group; but in Kosovo, more than 1 in 5 students did. However, this higher rate in Kosovo is specific to the particular cohort of students born around 2000; the rate is expected to decrease over subsequent cohorts. This is because the cohort of students who sat the 2015 PISA test was born right after the end of the war in Kosovo, at a time when one-third of the population was still living outside the country after having fled war. Between 1999 and 2001, most of those who had fled Kosovo returned (Arenliu and Weine, 2016).

In addition, those who fled the war in Kosovo, and their children, are more likely to encounter greater difficulties when they return, given the trauma of war and flight. Unemployment among returnees in Kosovo is high, and decent housing is scarce (UNICEF, 2012). Returnees also suffer traumatic stress, and mental and physical health problems.

Those who stayed longer in host countries, who returned involuntarily, or who lack the support of friends and family in Kosovo are more likely to have problems reintegrating (Arenliu and Weine, 2016). Certain minority groups, such as Roma, have faced greater reintegration problems. For example, 70% of Roma children, and children born and raised in the destination country are particularly at risk of developing mental health problems and dropping out of school (Knaus, 2007). The majority of returnee children in Kosovo suffer emotional problems, with three in four requiring clinical treatment. The poor environment for child rearing and difficulties encountered in establishing social contacts with peers are key risk factors affecting children's mental health. The incidence of adaptation and mental health problems is greater among those children who returned involuntarily (HIT Foundation, 2014).

To deal with these problems, the Kosovo Reintegration Fund allocated more than EUR 180 million to a series of programmes in 2011. These included developing curricula for language training for students in need; training teachers to provide psychosocial and acclimatisation assistance to repatriated children; and organising language courses for repatriated children. But there were significant delays in spending these resources (UNICEF, 2012). An evaluation of the Kosovo Education Strategic Plan (KESP) 2011-16 shows that some progress was made in enrolments in pre-university education and higher education for the total population, and in teacher re-qualification programmes. Nonetheless, more needs to be done to help returnee children integrate into the education system. This is acknowledged in the KESP 2017-21, which also includes a series of support programmes targeting vulnerable groups, including Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian students, and students with special needs (MEST, 2016).

The impact of returnee migrants on the Albanian education system seems weaker than that observed in Kosovo as the proportion of 15-year-old students who were returning foreign-born students in PISA 2015 was four times smaller in Albania than Kosovo. However, as in Kosovo, most of the students with an immigrant background in Albania in 2015 – around four in five of these students – were returning migrants. The living conditions for many returning migrants in Albania are poor, usually worse than those in their host country (INSTAT, 2013). Returnee children also suffer from psychological problems, including confusion, sadness, stress, anxiety and depression, associated with their migration experience. Many of them also report feeling that they had been doubly discriminated against – “racism there and racism here” – in both the host country where they grew up and in Albania.

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Psychological problems are more severe among those who recently returned and those who were older when they returned (Vathi and Duci, 2016). The Strategy on Reintegration of Returned Albanian Citizens 2010-15 provides support to returning migrants. Assistance for children and young people aims to facilitate enrolment in school, the recognition of skills and qualifications obtained abroad, and access to employment, vocational training and further education (Government of Albania, 2010). Returnee students must receive an individual work plan from their school to help them integrate and fill the gaps in their education resulting from their absence from school. However, there are reports of a lack of guidance, training and institutional capacity to apply these working plans effectively; and in most cases these plans are rejected by returnee students. In addition, organised psycho-social services are inadequate to meet the psycho-social needs of returnee children and to help them integrate in school (Observatory for Children's Rights, 2017).

On average across OECD countries, between 2003 and 2015 the percentage of students without an immigrant background decreased by 6 percentage points from 82% in 2003 to 77% in 2015, shrinking by more than 10 percentage points in Austria, Canada, Ireland, Luxembourg, Spain, Switzerland and the United States. Overall, the percentage of students without an immigrant background increased in only four of the countries with comparable data for the same period: in Uruguay, it increased by one percentage point; in Macao (China), by five percentage points; in Russia by, eight percentage points; and in Latvia, by nine percentage points.

Overall changes in the percentage of students with an immigrant background have been accompanied by changes in the composition of this student population. Figure 3.4 displays, for a selected group of countries, the percentage-point increase between 2003 and 2015 in the size of the overall population of students with an immigrant background and of the four groups of students included in that population (full results are available in Table 3.2 on line). On average across OECD and EU countries between 2003 and 2015, the greatest increase was in the percentage of second-generation immigrant students (by three percentage points across OECD and EU countries), followed by the percentage of native students of mixed heritage (by two percentage points; by three percentage points across EU countries) and of first-generation immigrant students (by one percentage point across OECD and EU countries). The increase in the number of returning foreign-born students was close to zero across OECD countries (0.16 percentage point) as well as EU countries (0.08 percentage point).

In most countries shown, the expansion of the population of students with an immigrant background largely reflects increases in the number of second-generation immigrant students and of native students of mixed heritage. In Austria, Canada and Luxembourg the largest rise was in the size of the first group, increasing up to 15 percentage points in Luxembourg. In Germany, the expansion of the two groups was almost identical (six and five percentage points, respectively), which balanced out the decrease of five percentage points in the number of first-generation immigrant students. When highlighting these findings, it is important to note that PISA 2015 data do not reflect the tens of thousands of refugees and asylum seekers who arrived in Germany just before or after the PISA 2015 survey was administered. By contrast, in Portugal, almost all of the surge in the percentage of students with an immigrant background can be attributed to the increase in the percentage of native students of mixed heritage (eight percentage points).

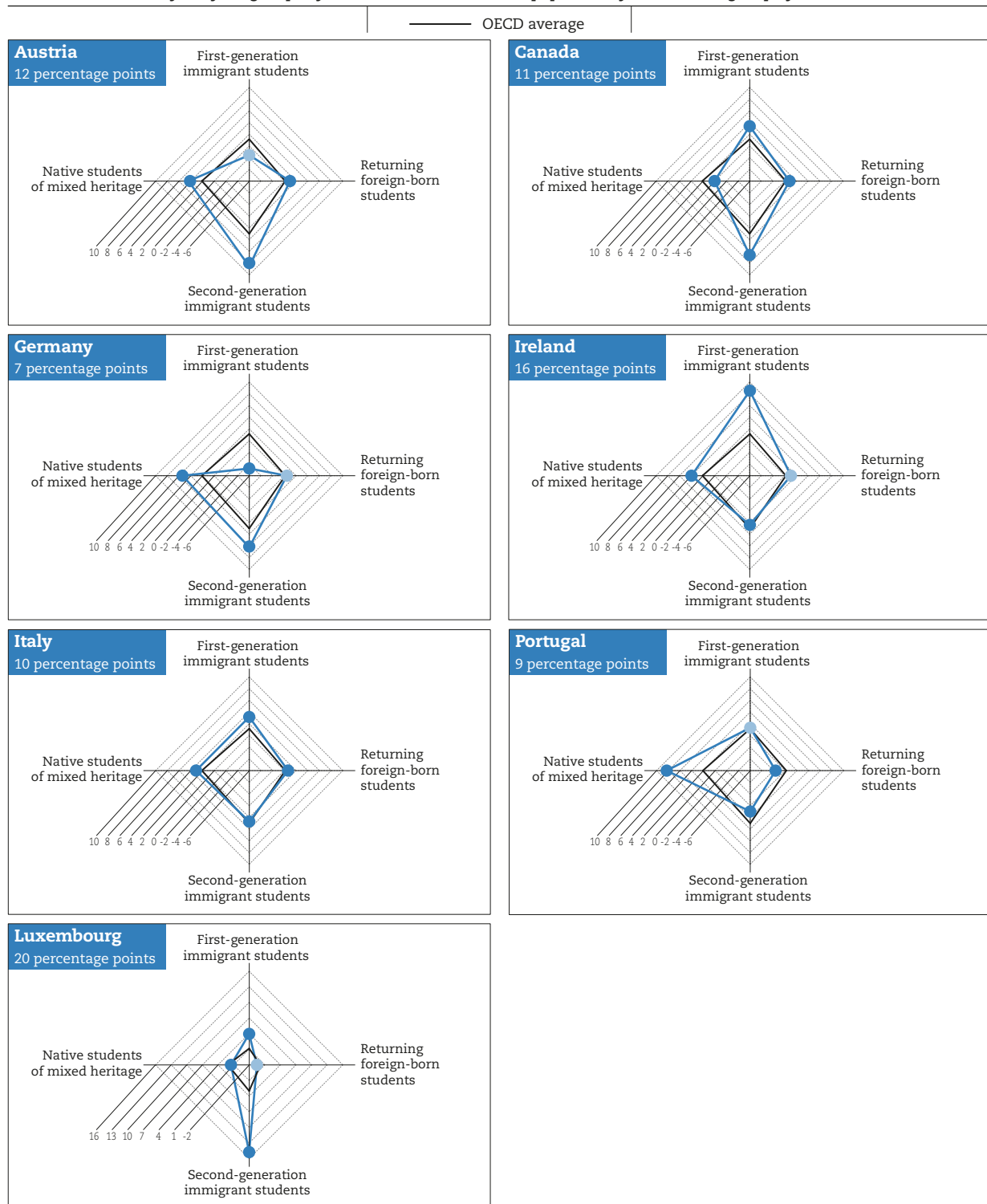
In the other selected countries, the growth was less concentrated on the two second-generation groups. In Ireland the group that grew the most was first-generation immigrant students (nine percentage points). Italy saw equal percentage-point increases in the number of first-generation immigrant students, second-generation immigrant students and native students of mixed heritage.

First-generation immigrant students: Differences related to the age at arrival

A crucial challenge for education systems is integrating children who settled in the country at or after the age of 12. In this report, these are also called as “late arrivals”. By contrast, students who had arrived in the country of destination before the age of 12, referred to as “early arrivals” in this report, usually started their schooling in the host country or at least attended several years of primary school in that country. While these students were largely socialised in the host country and community (and thus were confronted with fewer language barriers and less disruption in their studies because of changing education systems), they nonetheless have experienced migration personally.

Figure 3.4 ■ Trends between 2003 and 2015 in the percentage of students with an immigrant background, by group

Percentage-point increase between 2003 and 2015 in the size of the population of students with an immigrant background and of the four groups of students included in that population for a selected group of countries



Notes: Statistically significant differences for countries are marked in a darker tone. OECD average values are all statistically significant. The percentage-point change in the percentage of students with an immigrant background between 2003 and 2015 is reported under the country name.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.2.

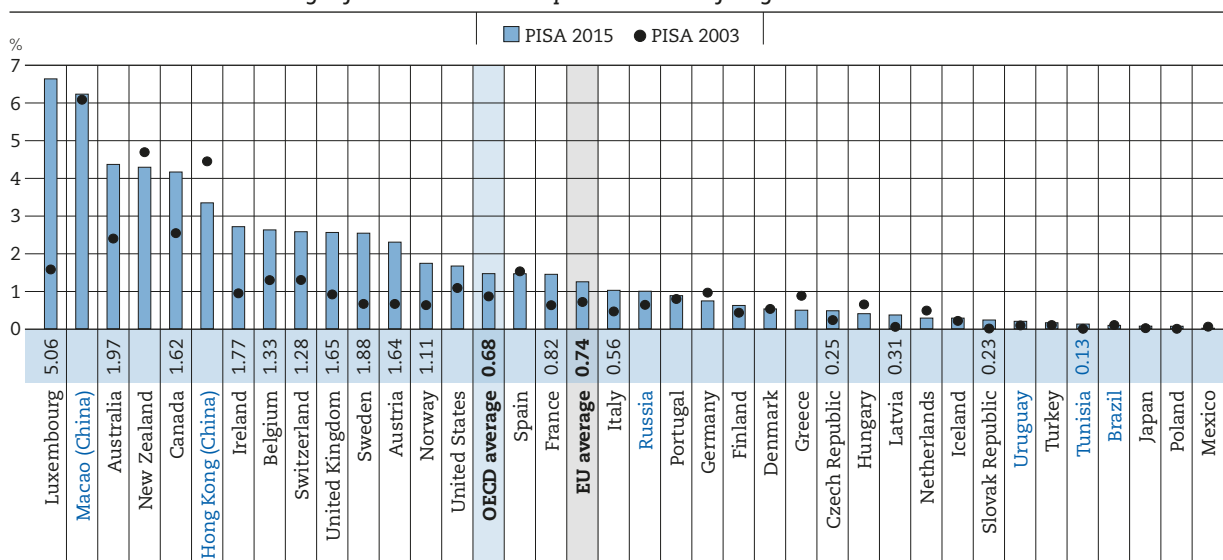
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In 2015, on average across OECD countries, 71% of foreign-born immigrant students of two foreign-born parents were early arrivals and as many as 88% of returning foreign-born students were (Table 3.4, available on line). Conversely, as many as 29% of foreign-born immigrant students with two foreign-born parents were late arrivals as were 12% of returning foreign-born immigrant students. In 2003, only around 22% of foreign-born immigrant students with two foreign-born parents were late arrivals as were 9% of returning foreign-born students.

Foreign-born students who settle in a new country after the age of 12 usually represent a minority of the immigrant student population. On average across OECD countries they represented only around 5% of the overall student body in 2015. Most of them (around 3.5%) were foreign-born students of foreign-born parents while about 1.5% were foreign-born students with at least one native-born parent (Table 3.3, available on line). Late arrivals with at least one parent who is native-born can rely on that parent for language support and guidance in integrating; they also might have established family links and have visited the country prior to settling. However, those who settled after the age of 12 and whose parents are also foreign-born do not have such support within the immediate family.

Figure 3.5 shows that between 2003 and 2015 the percentage of late arrivals with foreign-born parents increased only marginally, on average across OECD countries. But the OECD average masks large differences across countries in the relative proportion of this group of students in the total student population. The proportion of this group increased in as many as 15 of the 41 countries and economies with available data. The increase was larger than two percentage points in Belgium (where this group represented 2.7% of the student population in 2003 but around 5.3% in 2015), Ireland (where this group represented only around 1.5% of the student population in 2003 but around 8.3% in 2015), Italy (where this group increased from 1.2% in 2003 to 3.8% in 2015), New Zealand (where this group increased from 7.9% in 2003 to 11.8% in 2015), Spain (where this group represented around 1.2% of the student population in 2003 and around 7.6% in 2015) and the United Kingdom (where this group increased from 1.6% in 2003 to 6.1% in 2015). By contrast, the proportion of late arrivals whose parents are also foreign-born decreased between 2003 and 2015 in nine countries and economies. The decrease was larger than two percentage points in Austria, Germany, Greece and Hong Kong (China).

Figure 3.5 ■ Trends between 2003 and 2015 in the prevalence of late arrivals
Percentage of late arrivals whose parents are also foreign-born in 2003 and 2015



Notes: Results are displayed only for countries/economies that participated in both PISA 2003 and PISA 2015 and have valid data on late arrivals with foreign-born parents in both rounds.

Statistically significant differences between PISA 2015 and PISA 2003 are shown next to country/economy names.

Late arrivals are foreign-born students who arrived in the host country at or after the age of 12.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the percentage of late arrivals whose parents are also foreign-born in 2015.

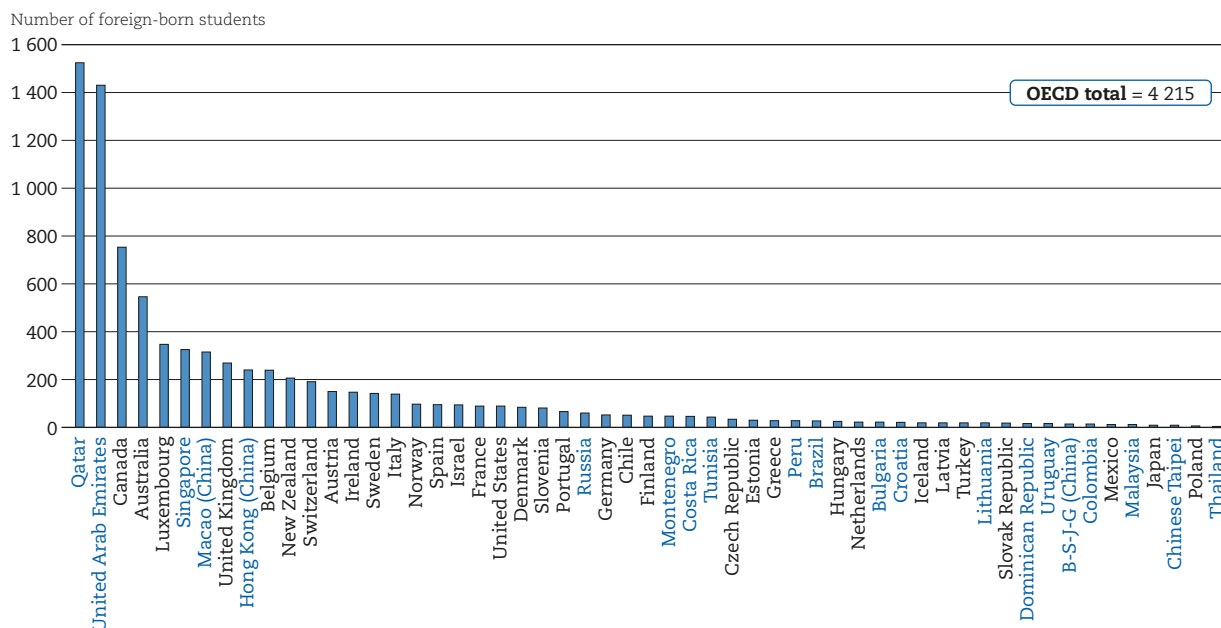
Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.3.

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680666>

Figure 3.6 presents data on the number of foreign-born students who had arrived after the age of 12 in the country in which they sat the PISA test. Overall across the 56 countries with available data, about 8 600 foreign-born students had arrived at or after the age of 12 to the country where they sat the PISA test. The vast majority of these students – about 3 000 – had immigrated to Qatar or the United Arab Emirates.

Figure 3.6 ■ **Estimates of the global prevalence of late arrivals**

Number of foreign-born students who had arrived at or after the age of 12 in the country in which they sat the PISA test



Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the number of foreign-born students who had arrived at or after the age of 12 in the country in which they sat the PISA test.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database.

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680685>

What the data tell us – The outcomes of students with an immigrant background

- Students with an immigrant background are considered to be resilient overall (across academic, social and emotional dimensions) if they attained baseline academic proficiency, they reported a sense of belonging at school and reported being satisfied with life. In 20 out of 32 countries and economies with available data, the percentage of first-generation immigrant students who are academically sound and socio-emotionally adjusted is lower than the percentage of native students who do. On average across OECD countries, the difference is of 17 percentage points (15 percentage points across EU countries) but it is over twenty percentage points in Austria, Finland, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland.
- Immigrant students who are not resilient across these three dimensions are especially vulnerable to suffering from low academic proficiency, although the relative importance of different sources of vulnerability varies across countries.
- On average across OECD and EU countries in 2015, around three in four native students – but only around 6 in 10 students with an immigrant background attained the baseline level of proficiency in the three core PISA subjects – science, reading and mathematics. Finland is the country where differences are most marked: 83% of native students in Finland attained baseline levels of performance in the three PISA core subjects but only 41% of first-generation immigrant students did.

...

- The performance gap between native students and students with an immigrant background is wider among foreign-born students and, in particular, among late arrivals (students who immigrated at or after the age of 12). Late arrivals are over 35 percentage points less likely than native students to achieve baseline levels of academic proficiency in Austria, France, Germany, Finland, Iceland and Sweden.
- The age at which foreign-born students immigrated is strongly related to the likelihood that they will report feeling a sense of belonging at school. In Germany, immigrant students who had arrived at or after the age of 12 were 45 percentage points less likely to report feeling that they belong at school than those who immigrated before the age of 12. In the United Kingdom, early arrivals exhibit no gap in sense of belonging compared to native students, while late arrivals are significantly disadvantaged.
- On average across OECD and EU countries, students with an immigrant background were four percentage points less likely to report being satisfied with life and to report low schoolwork-related anxiety than native students. Immigrant students, and especially first-generation immigrants, were more likely than native students to express high achievement motivation. The difference between the two groups of students is as large as 36 percentage points in the Netherlands and 23 percentage points in Belgium.

The academic resilience of students with an immigrant background

In this report academic resilience is defined as students' ability to attain or surpass the baseline level of performance in the three core PISA subjects – science, reading and mathematics. In all three subjects, the baseline level is the level at which students are able to tackle tasks that require, at least, a minimal ability and disposition to think autonomously.

In science, the baseline level of proficiency corresponds to the level at which students can not only use everyday knowledge about familiar scientific phenomena to recognise the correct explanation for them, but can also use such knowledge to identify the question being addressed in a simple experimental design or to identify, in simple cases, whether a conclusion is valid based on the data provided. In mathematics, the baseline level of skills is defined as the level at which students can not only carry out a routine procedure, such as an arithmetic operation, in situations where all the instructions are given to them, but can also interpret and recognise how a (simple) situation (e.g. comparing the total distance across two alternative routes, or converting prices into a different currency) can be represented mathematically. In reading, the baseline level of skills is defined as the level at which students can not only read simple and familiar texts and understand them literally, but can also demonstrate, even in the absence of explicit directions, some ability to connect several pieces of information, draw inferences that go beyond the explicitly stated information, and connect a text to their personal experience and knowledge (OECD, 2016).

On average across OECD countries in 2015, 72% of native students (71% across EU countries) – but 64% of students with an immigrant background (62% across EU countries) attained the baseline level of proficiency in the three core PISA subjects (Table 3.7, available on line). However, large differences can be observed both across and within countries, and across students' specific immigrant background, in the prevalence of students who attained the baseline level of proficiency. For example, over 80% of native students in Canada, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hong Kong (China), Japan, Singapore and Switzerland attained the baseline level of proficiency in all three core subjects but less than 20% of native students in Algeria, the Dominican Republic, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (hereafter "FYROM"), Kosovo, Qatar and Tunisia did. Among the group of countries where over 80% of native students attained the baseline levels of proficiency, in Canada, Hong Kong (China) and Singapore, over 80% of students with a recent history of immigration also attained baseline levels of proficiency while only around 62% of this group in Germany, 65% of this group in Switzerland and 66% of this group in Denmark did.

Table 3.5 ■ Snapshot of the academic, social, emotional and motivational resilience of immigrant students

	<div> <div>Countries/economies with values above the OECD average</div> <div>Countries/economies with values not significantly different from the OECD average</div> <div>Countries/economies with values below the OECD average</div> </div>									
	Percentage of immigrant students who are academically resilient	Relative risk for immigrant students of not being academically resilient (compared to natives)	Percentage of immigrant students who are socially resilient (sense of belonging at school)	Relative risk for immigrant students of not being socially resilient (compared to natives) (sense of belonging at school)	Percentage of immigrant students who are emotionally resilient (life satisfaction)	Relative risk for immigrant students of not being emotionally resilient (compared to natives) (life satisfaction)	Percentage of immigrant students who are emotionally resilient (schoolwork-related anxiety)	Relative risk for immigrant students of not being emotionally resilient (compared to natives) (schoolwork-related anxiety)	Percentage of immigrant students who are motivationally resilient (achievement motivation)	Relative risk for immigrant students of not being motivationally resilient (compared to natives) (achievement motivation)
OECD average	53.86	1.75	59.99	1.25	67.20	1.24	32.12	1.13	69.63	0.89
EU average	54.57	1.74	58.13	1.30	68.97	1.21	34.17	1.13	66.11	0.84
Singapore	90.52	0.58	66.95	0.94	m	m	24.14	0.9	85.12	1.4
Macao (China)	87.7	0.56	51.35	1.01	56.85	1.06	26.92	0.96	57.73	0.91
Hong Kong (China)	83.69	1.41	57.68	1.07	53.31	1.17	27.58	0.98	83.48	0.89
Canada	82.36	0.94	64.25	0.93	m	m	26.1	1.09	85.98	0.69
Ireland	76.33	1.18	60.13	1.26	67.59	1.24	24.25	1.07	86.38	1.06
Estonia	75.33	1.66	64.24	1.44	70.67	1.2	38.08	1.08	65.64	0.98
Australia	73.49	0.93	69.16	0.76	m	m	21.69	1.1	89.01	0.76
New Zealand	71.1	1.06	67.85	0.85	m	m	22.22	1.01	87.17	0.81
Hungary	68.48	0.87	67.03	0.98	77.25	0.74	45.73	0.93	61.69	1.07
Russia	66.87	1.17	63.65	1.11	76.48	0.96	37.27	1.03	74.03	0.97
United Kingdom	66.48	1.25	61.78	0.95	59.13	1.28	18.26	1.06	93.82	0.55
Lithuania	64.44	1.04	47.62	0.88	74.06	1.29	39.12	0.92	58.01	1.25
Latvia	63.91	1.34	63.79	1.45	69.03	1.15	43.69	1.17	69.91	0.84
Malta	62.43	0.88	47.04	1.42	m	m	m	m	m	m
Portugal	61.82	1.32	71.13	1.3	68.16	1.18	30.46	0.94	79.15	0.9
United Arab Emirates	59.05	0.53	63.6	0.92	65.26	1.22	28.44	1.05	91.8	1.23
Netherlands	58.86	1.9	73.68	1.22	84.86	1.11	48.38	1.24	56.77	0.65
Switzerland	58.04	2.52	61.38	1.3	77.03	1.37	48.24	1.52	48.41	0.77
United States	57.9	1.43	62.36	1.05	67.28	1.18	24.47	1.05	93.47	1.04
Norway	57.84	1.94	69.75	1.09	m	m	24.64	1.14	77.72	0.6
Germany	57.45	2.44	65.81	1.15	69.26	1.21	42.79	1.26	52.52	0.77
Luxembourg	56.99	2.01	53.46	1.54	71.12	1.18	38.69	1.4	53.37	0.86
Czech Republic	56.89	1.49	52.8	1.23	63.29	1.09	47.02	1.05	74.93	0.75
Israel	56.84	1.08	m	m	m	m	45.27	1.02	88.12	1.36
Croatia	55.04	1.25	72.77	1.11	82.15	0.93	42.57	1.02	62.79	0.9
Slovenia	53.6	2.31	61.54	1.19	62.58	1.23	26.08	1.11	55.35	0.87
Spain	53.54	1.83	73.41	1.78	65.94	1.41	19.38	1.09	66.51	0.84
Belgium	52.29	2.38	49.89	1.31	71.98	1.3	43.25	1.17	54.48	0.69
Qatar	52.26	0.56	62.63	0.78	66.5	1.34	25.99	1.03	90.2	1
Denmark	50.86	2.6	57.67	1.34	m	m	21.23	1.12	63.48	0.7
Italy	50.57	1.59	54.38	1.28	60.36	1.15	20.31	1.05	61.76	0.83
France	50.12	1.96	29.74	1.09	70.72	1.42	36.27	1.19	59.41	0.73
Finland	49.73	3.01	72.75	1.11	78.09	1.36	33.41	1.33	54.93	0.69
Japan	49.21	2.97	64.06	1.47	52.72	1.22	19.14	1.2	32.88	1.1
Sweden	48.99	2.16	56.12	1.27	m	m	24.92	1.18	83.67	0.55
Austria	47.32	2.22	67.44	1.14	69.76	1.36	35.19	1.27	56.97	0.76
Uruguay	43.71	0.98	58.05	1.3	74.72	1.05	21.59	0.96	76.35	0.96
Cyprus*	43.41	1.05	60.01	1.64	61.85	1.21	31.23	1.06	81.35	0.72
Montenegro	43.35	0.88	36.79	1.23	69.23	1.21	29.42	0.99	69.86	0.9
Moldova	41.55	0.93	52.9	1.31	m	m	m	m	m	m
Greece	37.7	1.55	68.03	1.37	58.14	1.2	27.89	1.09	65.3	1.04
CABA (Argentina)	34.27	1.96	69.42	1.69	m	m	m	m	m	m
Thailand	34.05	1.03	48.45	1.51	63.78	1.42	35.76	0.92	95.16	1.89
Turkey	33.24	1.73	36.56	1.23	42.14	1.13	28.73	1	78.7	1.48
Slovak Republic	32.46	1.14	23.29	1.9	60.93	1.44	50.09	0.92	64.81	1.2
Iceland	31.82	2.08	56.22	1.61	71.32	1.4	36.16	1.17	81.61	0.74
Chile	31.81	1.31	69.43	0.98	61.43	1.3	34.4	1.03	81.53	1.13
Georgia	30.67	1.01	56.01	1.18	m	m	m	m	m	m
Jordan	30.24	0.93	64.96	1.2	m	m	m	m	m	m
Trinidad and Tobago	28.2	1.24	52.83	1.64	m	m	m	m	m	m
Bulgaria	23.81	1.52	35.73	1.36	69.48	1.01	26.01	1.14	69.65	0.71
Costa Rica	20.12	1.22	63.68	1.01	81.07	1.08	10.18	1.03	83.29	1.06
B-S-J-G (China)	19.98	3.23	71.5	0.65	47.14	1.3	31.97	0.96	79.5	1.85
Lebanon	19.71	1.04	50.92	1.23	m	m	m	m	m	m
Albania	19.51	1.22	c	c	m	m	m	m	m	m
Colombia	17.1	1.22	39.47	1.59	79.91	0.88	9.63	1.02	81.62	2.35
Peru	17.04	1.15	46.63	1.36	c	c	c	c	c	c
FYROM	9.68	1.11	57.76	2.58	m	m	m	m	m	m
Brazil	7.25	1.26	43.97	1.68	72.06	1.04	24.64	0.89	83.93	0.81
Dominican Republic	6.55	1.01	25.67	1.44	83.22	1.02	10.62	1.04	90.5	0.63
Kosovo	6.16	1.07	68.59	1.71	m	m	m	m	m	m
Algeria	3.9	1.06	59.41	1.2	m	m	m	m	m	m
Mexico	3.88	1.52	50.59	1.46	76.28	1.53	13.52	1.26	72.35	1.66
Tunisia	3.79	1.16	24.83	1.48	59.52	1.02	18.75	1.18	85.89	1.37

* See note at the beginning of this Chapter.

Notes: Only countries/economies with valid data for at least one outcome are presented.

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 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". 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, PISA 2015 Database, Tables 3.7, 3.9, 3.10, 3.15 and 3.17.


StatLink  <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680970>

Table 3.6 ■ Snapshot of academic resilience, by immigrant background


	Percentage of first-generation immigrant students who are academically resilient	Relative risk of first-generation immigrant students not being academically resilient (compared to natives)	Percentage of second-generation immigrant students who are academically resilient	Relative risk of second-generation immigrant students not being academically resilient (compared to natives)	Percentage of native students of mixed heritage who are academically resilient	Relative risk of native students of mixed heritage not being academically resilient (compared to natives)	Percentage of returning foreign-born students who are academically resilient	Relative risk of returning foreign-born students not being academically resilient (compared to natives)
OECD average	48.73	1.96	60.50	1.54	70.76	1.09	66.11	1.28
EU average	49.82	1.99	59.83	1.60	68.59	1.12	62.08	1.36
Singapore	89.53	0.64	92.61	0.45	87.18	0.78	83.03	1.03
Macao (China)	87.14	0.58	87.94	0.55	83.59	0.74	82.96	0.77
Hong Kong (China)	82.98	1.47	84.15	1.37	86.01	1.21	84.15	1.37
Canada	81.52	0.98	83.12	0.90	82.47	0.93	79.35	1.10
Ireland	76.49	1.17	75.81	1.20	81.86	0.90	83.18	0.84
New Zealand	72.78	1.00	68.62	1.15	76.84	0.85	79.36	0.76
Estonia	72.13	1.88	75.55	1.65	79.98	1.35	71.22	1.94
Australia	69.36	1.07	77.49	0.79	75.1	0.87	76.80	0.81
Russia	69.32	1.09	64.88	1.24	74.53	0.90	60.83	1.39
Malta	66.33	0.79	53.26	1.09	60.96	0.91	52.42	1.11
United Arab Emirates	62.56	0.49	53.83	0.60	33.31	0.87	25.30	0.97
United Kingdom	62.11	1.42	71.27	1.07	72.22	1.04	76.51	0.88
Hungary	58.29	1.14	76.04	0.66	72.03	0.77	73.22	0.73
Qatar	57.53	0.50	38.44	0.72	21.46	0.92	29.18	0.83
Portugal	56.88	1.49	67.95	1.11	78.06	0.76	63.37	1.27
Switzerland	56.30	2.62	58.91	2.46	76.42	1.41	70.26	1.78
Luxembourg	54.80	2.11	58.51	1.94	69.69	1.42	69.43	1.43
Lithuania	53.29	1.36	67.59	0.94	62.67	1.09	44.28	1.62
Norway	52.85	2.17	62.90	1.71	78.08	1.01	66.22	1.55
Latvia	52.26	1.77	66.80	1.23	69.97	1.12	56.07	1.63
Croatia	52.24	1.33	55.59	1.23	65.22	0.97	60.31	1.10
Czech Republic	52.08	1.66	61.87	1.32	66.77	1.15	70.98	1.01
Spain	51.95	1.89	61.04	1.53	78.62	0.84	64.59	1.39
United States	48.78	1.74	62.18	1.28	68.63	1.06	60.88	1.33
Netherlands	48.72	2.37	61.42	1.78	73.94	1.20	67.53	1.50
Belgium	48.58	2.57	55.87	2.20	71.38	1.43	65.20	1.74
Denmark	48.21	2.74	51.79	2.55	79.95	1.06	76.60	1.24
Germany	45.75	3.12	60.78	2.25	70.44	1.70	66.60	1.92
Slovenia	45.60	2.71	59.51	2.01	74.41	1.27	62.25	1.88
Italy	44.98	1.76	59.14	1.31	72.18	0.89	53.07	1.50
Montenegro	43.78	0.87	43.12	0.88	47.25	0.82	27.55	1.12
Finland	41.19	3.53	60.19	2.39	80.58	1.16	70.73	1.76
Cyprus*	40.55	1.1	50.49	0.92	51.27	0.90	47.38	0.97
France	38.68	2.41	55.96	1.73	70.54	1.16	64.05	1.41
Austria	38.67	2.58	52.48	2.00	69.16	1.30	71.22	1.21
Sweden	38.51	2.61	57.07	1.82	73.07	1.14	74.52	1.08
Israel	37.92	1.56	63.32	0.92	72.10	0.70	59.92	1.01
Trinidad and Tobago	37.77	1.08	20.99	1.37	42.43	1.00	50.17	0.86
CABA (Argentina)	31.80	2.03	35.70	1.92	56.92	1.28	c	c
Greece	30.74	1.72	41.48	1.46	63.75	0.90	44.41	1.38
Iceland	27.93	2.20	40.91	1.80	61.74	1.17	73.65	0.80
Jordan	27.68	0.96	31.12	0.92	36.02	0.85	32.39	0.90
Chile	27.47	1.39	44.63	1.06	54.12	0.88	43.58	1.08
Lebanon	26.58	0.95	11.79	1.15	28.36	0.93	43.52	0.73
Slovak Republic	26.39	1.90	38.29	1.59	55.5	1.15	56.08	1.13
Costa Rica	20.42	1.21	19.98	1.22	31.07	1.05	31.91	1.04
Dominican Republic	15.09	0.92	0.00	1.08	7.17	1.01	13.25	0.94
Brazil	12.43	1.19	4.41	1.30	23.5	1.04	21.75	1.07
Kosovo	9.89	1.03	2.82	1.11	12.31	1.00	18.45	0.93
FYROM	8.57	1.12	10.22	1.10	21.07	0.97	14.73	1.04
Mexico	2.67	1.54	c	c	26.09	1.17	38.12	0.98
Algeria	m	m	3.90	1.06	8.19	1.02	m	m
Japan	c	c	c	c	76.72	1.36	74.92	1.47
Korea	c	c	m	m	70.85	1.33	c	c
Poland	c	c	c	c	72.79	1.14	c	c
Turkey	c	c	44.61	0.94	60.62	0.67	57.75	0.72
Albania	c	c	c	c	32.28	1.02	35.89	0.97
B-S-J-G (China)	c	c	c	c	33.05	2.70	c	c
Bulgaria	c	c	c	c	44.81	1.10	31.99	1.36
Colombia	c	c	11.57	1.31	21.48	1.16	27.05	1.08
Georgia	c	c	32.17	0.99	31.57	0.99	37.89	0.90
Indonesia	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Moldova	c	c	43.76	0.9	44.78	0.88	36.10	1.02
Peru	c	c	c	c	23.95	1.06	21.70	1.09
Romania	c	c	c	c	38.68	1.13	38.96	1.12
Chinese Taipei	c	c	c	c	76.67	1.14	80.45	0.96
Thailand	c	c	32.05	1.06	38.67	0.95	c	c
Tunisia	c	c	2.43	1.18	18.54	0.98	13.56	1.04
Uruguay	c	c	c	c	36.48	1.11	53.81	0.81

* See note at the beginning of this Chapter.

Notes: Only countries/economies with valid data for at least one outcome are presented.

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.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.7.

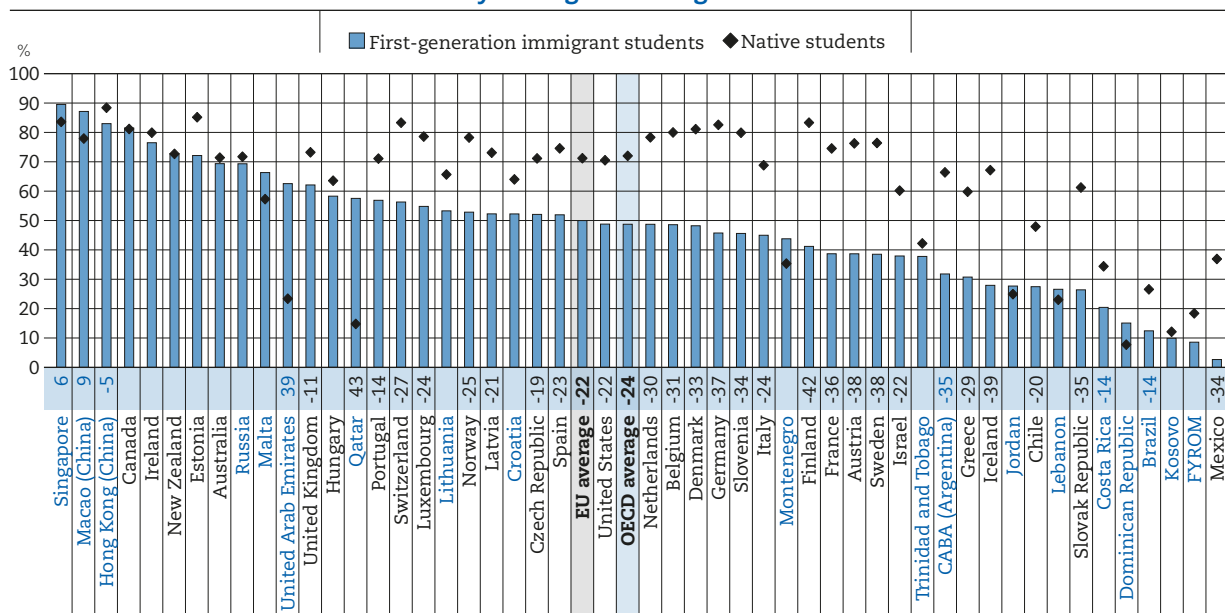
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On average the performance gap between native students and students with an immigrant background tends to be wider when the student had a personal experience of migration and the more recent the migration experience. For example, on average across OECD countries, the gap was widest between native students and foreign-born students with foreign-born parents (24 percentage points; 22 percentage points across EU countries), followed by native-born students of foreign-born parents (12 percentage points; 12 percentage points across EU countries). Differences in baseline performance are smaller for students with an immigrant background and at least one native-born parent. On average across OECD countries, compared to native students, returning foreign-born students were six percentage points less likely to attain the baseline levels of proficiency (across EU countries, eight percentage points less likely) and native students of mixed heritage were one percentage point less likely (across EU countries, two percentage points less likely).

The largest gap – 42 percentage points – was observed in Finland: while 83% of native students attained baseline levels of performance in all three core PISA subjects, only 41% of first-generation immigrant students did. Figure 3.7 shows that the difference between the percentage of native students and the percentage of first-generation immigrant students who attained baseline levels of proficiency was larger than 30 percentage points in Austria, Belgium, Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (Argentina) (hereafter “CABA [Argentina]”), Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Mexico, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Sweden.

In many countries the gap between the percentage of native students and the percentage of first-generation immigrant students who achieved baseline levels of proficiency was considerably larger than that between the percentage of native students and the percentage of second-generation immigrant students who attained those levels of proficiency (Table 3.7, available on line). This gap was particularly large, at more than 15 percentage points, in Germany, France, Finland, Hungary, Israel and Sweden.

Figure 3.7 ■ **Percentage of students attaining baseline academic proficiency, by immigrant background**



Notes: Only countries with valid values for first-generation immigrant students are shown.

Statistically significant differences between first-generation immigrant and native students are shown next to country/economy names. For the OECD and EU average, this number refers only to the subset of countries/economies with valid information on both groups of students.

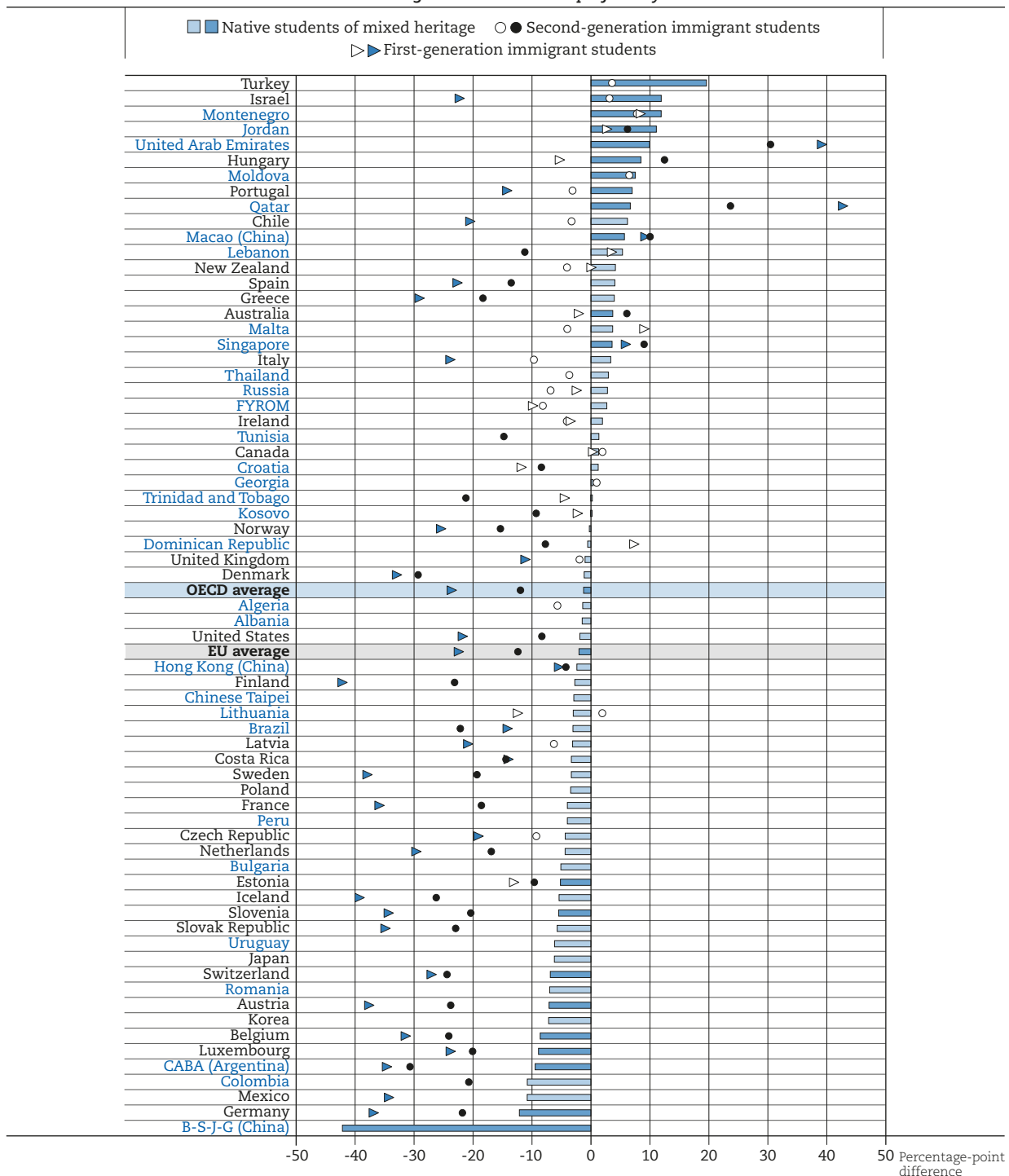
Students who attain baseline academic proficiency are students who reach at least PISA proficiency level two in all three PISA core subjects – math, reading and science.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the percentage of first-generation immigrant students attaining baseline academic proficiency.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.7.

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680704>

Figure 3.8 ■ **Difference in attaining baseline academic proficiency, by immigrant group**
 Difference between students with an immigrant background and native students in the percentage of students attaining baseline academic proficiency



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

Only countries with valid values for native students of mixed heritage are shown.

Students who attain baseline academic proficiency are students who reach at least PISA proficiency level two in all three PISA core subjects – math, reading and science.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the difference in the percentage of native students of mixed heritage and native students attaining baseline academic proficiency.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.7.

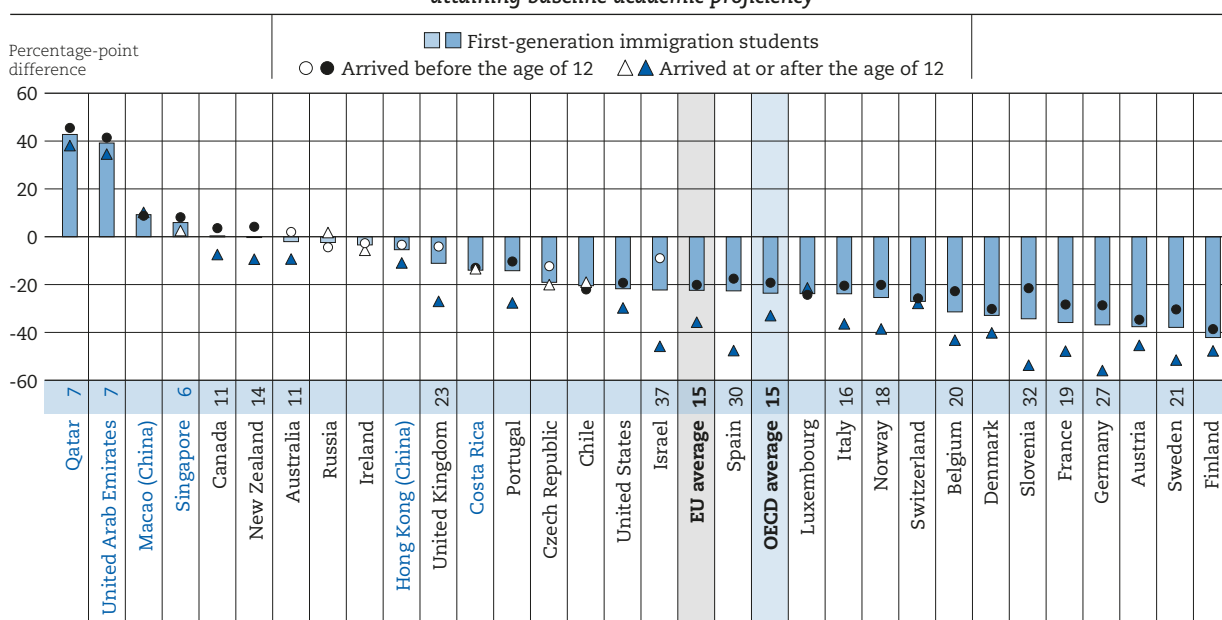
StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680723>

Figure 3.8 shows that in a large majority of countries, students who were born in the country in which they sat the PISA test and who have one native-born and one foreign-born parent had a similar probability of attaining baseline levels of proficiency as native-born students with two native-born parents. But in Austria, Belgium, CABA (Argentina), Estonia, Germany, Luxembourg, Slovenia and Switzerland, there was a statistically significant gap between these two groups. In Austria, Beijing-Shanghai-Jiangsu-Guangdong (China) (hereafter “B-S-J-G [China]”), Belgium, CABA (Argentina), Estonia, Germany, Luxembourg, Slovenia and Switzerland, native students of mixed heritage were less likely than native students to attain baseline academic proficiency.

First-generation immigrant students – i.e. students who have immigrated and have foreign-born parents – show the lowest levels of academic adjustment. Figure 3.9 shows how the gap in the percentage of students who reached the baseline levels of proficiency in reading, mathematics and science between native students and first-generation immigrant students varies according to the age at which the student arrived in the host country. On average across OECD and EU countries, students who had arrived in the country in which they sat the PISA test at or after the age of 12, showed considerably lower levels of academic adjustment than immigrant students who had arrived in the country before the age of 12.

Although the difference in academic adjustment between the two groups was 15 percentage points, on average across OECD and EU countries, the gap was particularly wide in Belgium, Germany, Israel, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom, where it was larger than 20 percentage points. In Luxembourg and Switzerland all foreign-born students, irrespective of the age at which they immigrated to the country, were similarly likely to attain baseline levels of proficiency in the three core PISA subjects and show a similar disadvantage when compared to native students.

Figure 3.9 ■ **Difference in attaining baseline academic proficiency, by age at arrival**
Difference between first-generation immigrant and native students in the percentage of students attaining baseline academic proficiency



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

Only countries with valid values for both first-generation immigrant students who arrived before the age of 12 and those who arrived at or after the age of 12 are shown.

Statistically significant differences between those that arrived before the age of 12 and those who arrived at or after the age of 12 are shown next to country/economy names. For the OECD and EU average, this number refers only to the subset of countries/economies with valid information on both groups of students.

Students who attain baseline academic proficiency are students who reach at least PISA proficiency level two in all three PISA core subjects – math, reading and science.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the difference in the percentage of first-generation immigrant and native students attaining baseline academic proficiency.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.8.

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680742>

On average across OECD countries the percentage of native students and of first-generation immigrant students who achieved baseline levels of proficiency did not change between 2006 and 2015, but the percentage of second-generation immigrant students who did so increased by about six percentage points, from 54% in 2006 to 60% in 2015 (Table 3.9, available on line). PISA shows that in several countries the percentage of native and immigrant students who reached baseline levels of performance in the three core PISA subjects changed significantly between 2006 and 2015 (Table 3.9, available on line). The percentage of native students who attained this level of proficiency increased by more than 10 percentage points in Bulgaria, Colombia, Israel, Romania, Russia and Qatar. Of these countries, Israel is the only country where academic resilience among first-generation immigrant students deteriorated during the period, even though performance improved among their native peers. In Russia, Israel and Qatar, the large improvement of native students' academic performance was accompanied by a similar increase in the percentage of second-generation immigrant students who attained the baseline level of performance in the three subjects. In Qatar the increase among second-generation immigrant students was over 17 percentage points larger than the increase observed among native students. In Spain, first-generation immigrant students improved more than any other group between 2006 and 2015.

In Australia, Canada, Finland, Hungary, Korea, Iceland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Slovak Republic and Switzerland, the percentage of native students who achieved baseline levels of proficiency decreased between 2006 and 2015. Among students with an immigrant background there was no decline in the percentage of students with an immigrant background who attained baseline levels of academic proficiency in Canada, Hungary and the Netherlands while a decline was also observed among this group of students in Australia, Finland, Iceland, New Zealand and the Slovak Republic.

The social and emotional resilience of students with an immigrant background

Sense of belonging and social integration

Students' well-being is not just about feeling happy and achieving good grades in school, but also about being engaged with life and with other people (Gale et al., 2013). The social aspect of students' well-being captures both the quantity and the quality of students' social networks (Helliwell and Putnam, 2004). People with trustworthy connections – a valuable social support network – can be protected from loneliness, and physical and mental health problems.

A sense of belonging is defined as feeling accepted and liked by the rest of the group, feeling connected to others and feeling like a member of a community (Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1943). Human beings in general, and teenagers in particular, desire strong social ties and quality relationships. Fifteen-year-old students spend most of their time at school. Thus, students who feel that they are part of and are accepted by a school community report that their life has more meaning (Juvonen, 2006). They are more likely to be healthy (Lippman et al., 2011), to perform higher academically and to be more motivated in school (Cohen et al., 2009; Goodenow, 1993; Katja et al., 2002; Sánchez et al., 2005). They are also less likely to engage in risky behaviours, such as substance abuse and truancy (Currie et al., 2012; Resnick et al., 1997; Schulenberg et al., 1994).

In PISA 2015 students were asked to report their feelings about social bonding and isolation, loneliness and belonging to the school community on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ("strongly agree") to 4 ("strongly disagree"). Students are considered to feel a sense of belonging at school when 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 (or left out of things) at school".²

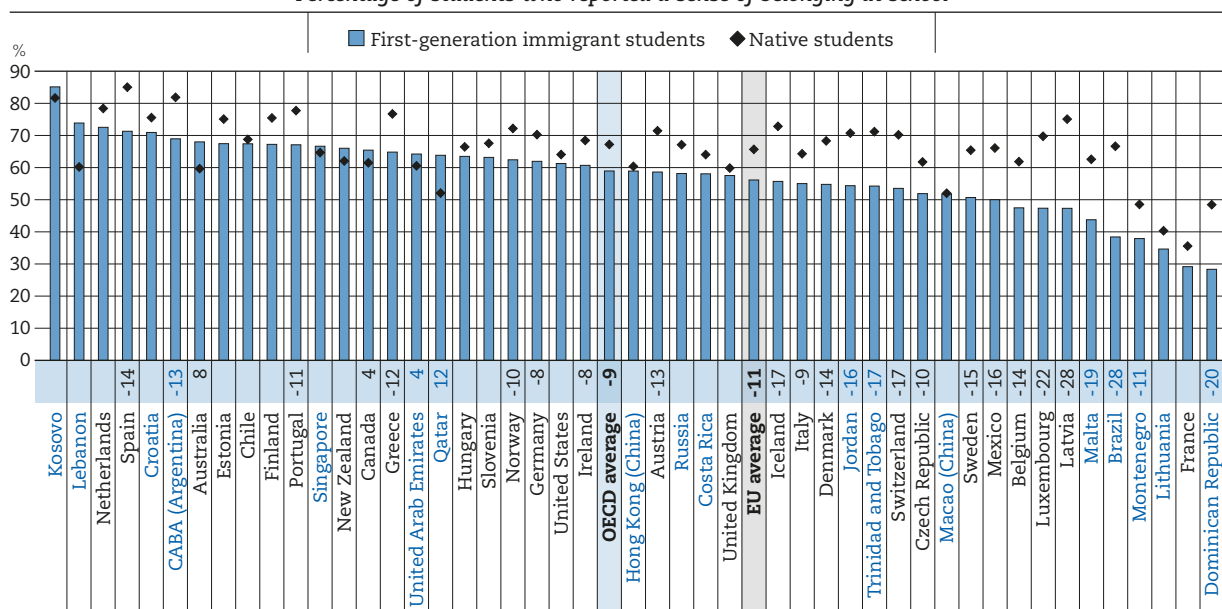
Table 3.10 (available on line) shows the percentage of students who reported a sense of belonging by immigrant background. On average across OECD countries, 67% of native students reported a sense of belonging (66% across EU countries), but only 59% of first-generation immigrant students did (57% across EU countries). Some 63% of second-generation immigrant students reported a sense of belonging (62% across EU countries), as did 64% of returning foreign-born students (60% across EU countries) and 63% of native student of mixed heritage (61% across EU countries).

Figure 3.10 shows that the difference between native and first-generation immigrant students in the percentage of students who reported a sense of belonging was larger than 10 percentage points in Austria,

Belgium, Brazil, CABA (Argentina), Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Greece, Iceland, Jordan, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malta, Montenegro, Malta, Mexico, Montenegro, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Trinidad and Tobago.

Figure 3.10 ■ **Sense of belonging at school, by immigrant background**

Percentage of students who reported a sense of belonging at school



Notes: Only countries with valid values for first-generation immigrant students are shown.

Statistically significant differences between first-generation immigrant and native students are shown next to country/economy names. For the OECD and EU average, this number refers only to the subset of countries/economies with valid information on both groups of students.

Students who report a sense of belonging at school are Students 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”.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the percentage of first-generation immigrant students who reported a sense of belonging at school.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.10.

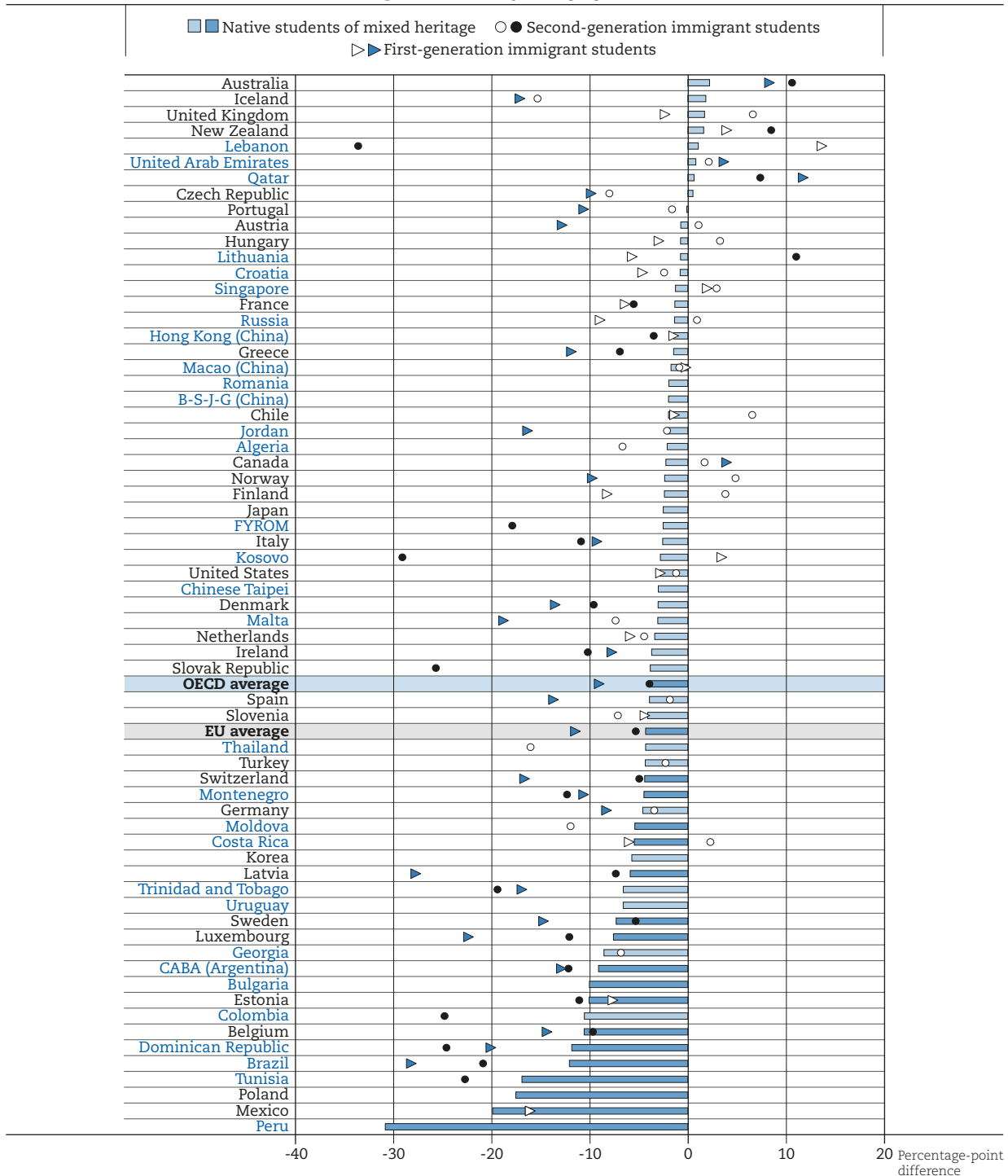
StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680761>

Figure 3.10 shows that countries differ greatly in the extent to which native students reported a sense of belonging at school. Figure 3.11 illustrates, for countries with available data, the gap between native students and different groups of students with an immigrant background in their sense of belonging at school. In most countries, the gap between the groups was widest when considering first-generation immigrant students, and was smallest when considering native students of mixed heritage. However, in Costa Rica, second-generation immigrant students were as likely as native students to report a sense of belonging at school, while the proportion of native students with mixed heritage who enjoy a sense of belonging at school and are socially integrated was six percentage points smaller than that of native students.

In the majority of countries and economies, native students of mixed heritage reported a similar sense of belonging as native students. However, in Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, CABA (Argentina), Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Peru, Sweden, Switzerland and Tunisia, native-born students of mixed heritage were less likely than native-born students with two native-born parents to report a sense of belonging at school.

First-generation immigrant students show the weakest sense of belonging at school. Figure 3.12 shows the variation in the gap in sense of belonging between native students and first-generation immigrant students related to the age at which the student arrived. On average across OECD and EU countries, immigrant students who had arrived in the host country at or after the age of 12 were less likely than students who had arrived before the age of 12 to report a sense of belonging at school.

Figure 3.11 ■ **Difference in sense of belonging at school, by immigrant group**
 Difference between students with an immigrant background and native students in the percentage of students who reported a sense of belonging at school



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

Only countries with valid values for native students of mixed heritage are shown.

Students who report a sense of belonging at school are students 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”.

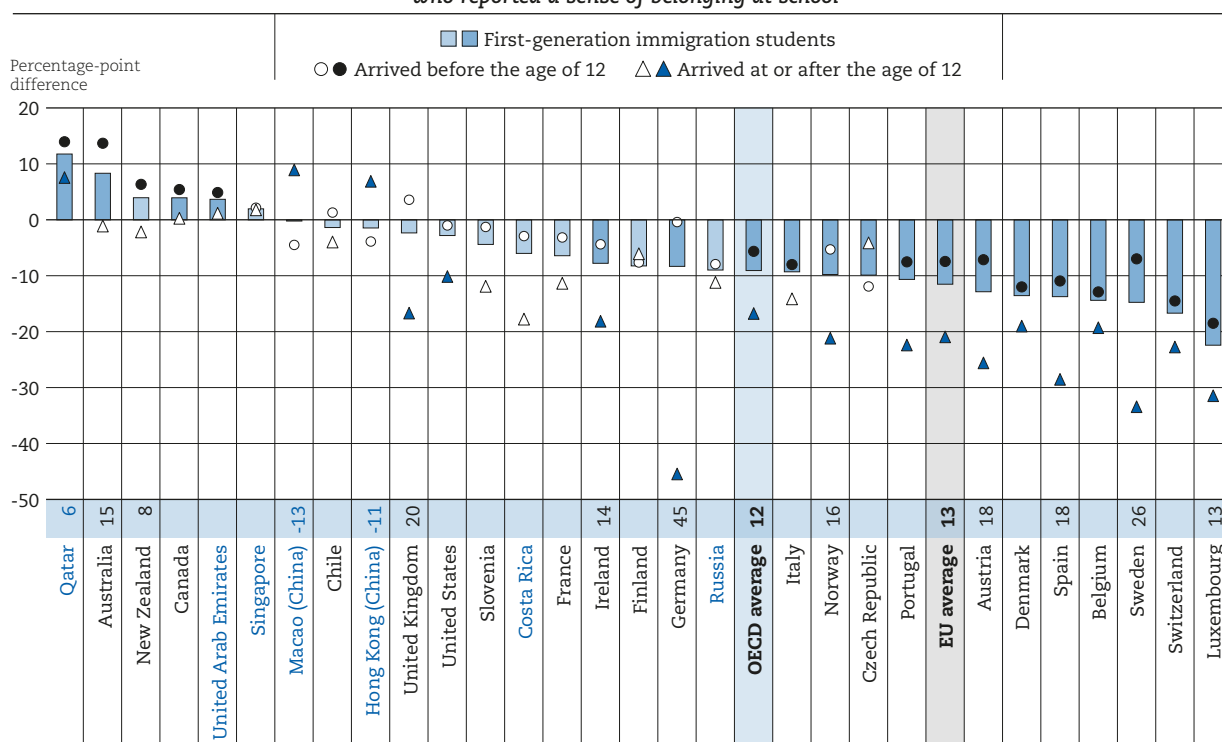
Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the difference in the percentage of native students of mixed heritage and native students who reported a sense of belonging at school.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.10.

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Although early arrivals were 12 percentage points more likely to report feeling like they belong at school compared to late arrivals, on average across OECD countries (13 percentage points more likely across EU countries), the difference was particularly wide in Germany (45 percentage points), Sweden (26 percentage points), the United Kingdom (20 percentage points), Austria (18 percentage points), Spain (18 percentage points) and Norway (16 percentage points). Identifying differences in age at arrival is particularly revealing in the case of the United Kingdom where, on average, first-generation immigrant students and native students were equally likely to report a sense of belonging, but late arrivals show the greatest difference compared with native students. This was also the case in Australia, a country where immigrant students who had arrived before the age of 12 were more likely than native students to report a strong sense of belonging and social integration, while those who had arrived at or after the age of 12 reported a similar sense of belonging as native students.

Figure 3.12 ■ **Difference in sense of belonging at school, by age at arrival**
Difference between first-generation immigrant and native students in the percentage of students who reported a sense of belonging at school



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

Only countries with valid values for both first-generation immigrant students who arrived before the age of 12 and those who arrived at or after the age of 12 are shown.

Statistically significant differences between those that arrived before the age of 12 and those who arrived at or after the age of 12 are shown next to country/economy names. For the OECD and EU average, this number refers only to the subset of countries/economies with valid information on both groups of students.

Students who report a sense of belonging at school are students 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”.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the difference in the percentage of first-generation immigrant students and native students who reported a sense of belonging at school.

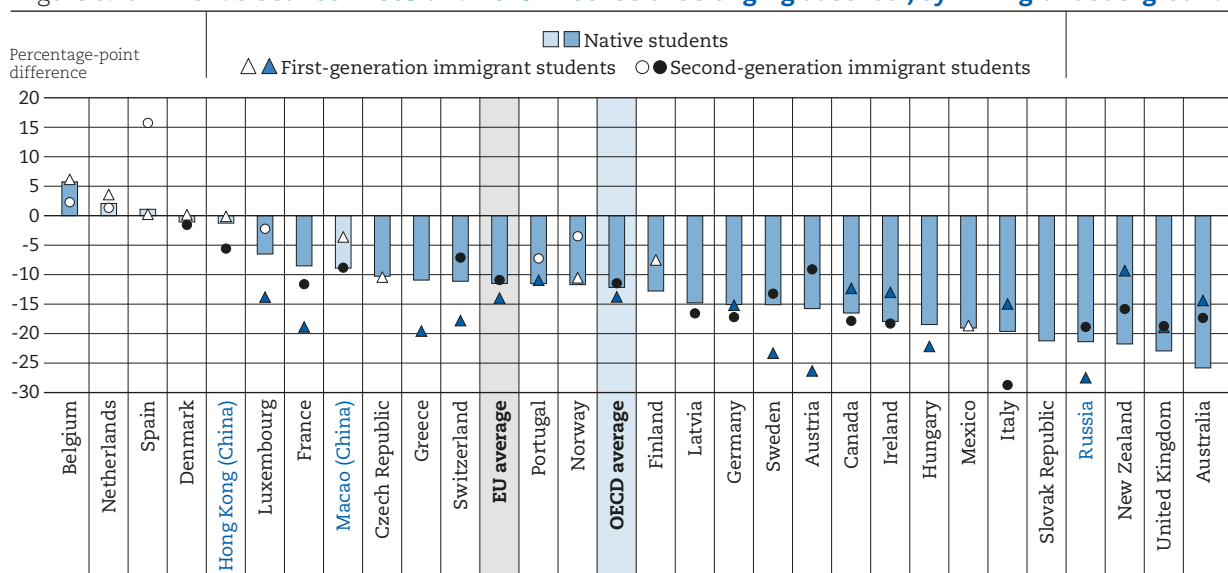
Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.11.

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680799>

Since questions on sense of belonging were asked in both PISA 2003 and PISA 2015, it is possible to examine the evolution of students’ social integration and sense of belonging. Figure 3.13 shows, for countries with available data, how the percentage of native, first-generation immigrant and second-generation immigrant students who reported that they feel that they belong at school changed between 2003 and 2015.

With the exception of Belgium, where the percentage of native students who reported feeling a sense of belonging increased between 2003 and 2015, and Denmark, Hong Kong (China), Macao (China), the Netherlands and Spain, where there were no changes, in all other countries more native students in 2003 than in 2015 reported that they felt well-integrated. The drop in the percentage of native students who so reported was greater than 20 percentage points in Australia, New Zealand, Russia, the Slovak Republic and the United Kingdom. In most countries this decline among native students was matched by a similar decline among both first- and second-generation immigrant students. The drop in the proportion of first-generation immigrant students who reported a sense of belonging was most pronounced in Austria, France, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Russia, Sweden and the United Kingdom. In Italy and the Slovak Republic, second-generation immigrant students showed the steepest decline during the period. In Australia and New Zealand, the sharp decline in native students' sense of belonging was not shared among first- and second-generation immigrant students.

Figure 3.13 ■ Trends between 2003 and 2015 in sense of belonging at school, by immigrant background



Notes: Results are displayed only for countries/economies that participated in both PISA 2003 and PISA 2015 and have valid data in both rounds for either first- or second-generation immigrant students.

Statistically significant differences between PISA 2015 and 2003 are marked in a darker tone.

Only countries with valid values for first- or second-generation immigrant students are shown.

Students who report a sense of belonging at school are students 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”.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the change of the percentage of native students who reported a sense of belonging at school between 2003 and 2015.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 and 2012 Database, Table 3.12.

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680818>

Box 3.2. Attitudes towards co-operation

Students' capacity to collaborate is receiving growing attention lately as research shows that labour markets increasingly demand collaboration skills (Autor, Levy and Murnane, 2003; Deming, 2017). However, collaboration skills are also important beyond the workplace as the level of well-being of individuals and societies is dependent on their capacity to cooperate with others, solve common problems and live in harmony. For these reasons, education systems in some countries have begun to adapt their curricula and instruction to help their students acquire collaboration skills (Griffin and Care, 2015; Hesse et al., 2015). Socio-economic status is strongly related to students' attitudes and dispositions towards co-operation. The majority of studies show that students of lower socio-economic status are more likely to exhibit behaviour consistent with co-operation and consideration of others (Pitt and Robinson, 2017; Stephens et al., 2012).

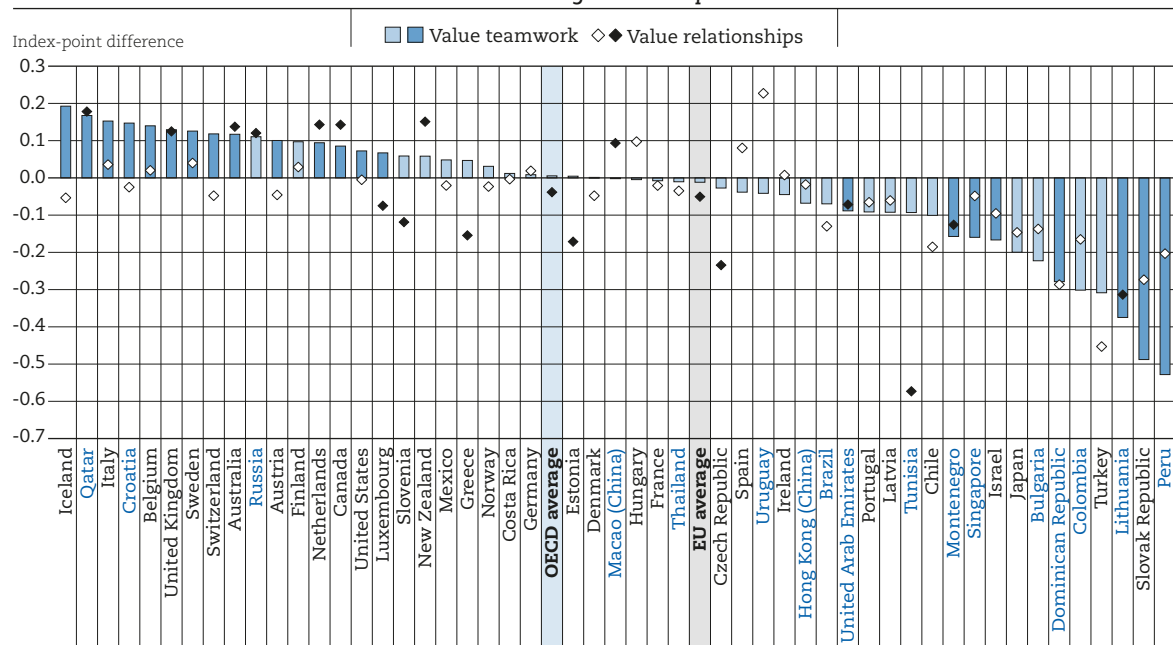
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Others indicate that students of higher socio-economic status tend to report higher levels of empathy (Varnum et al., 2015), which might be associated to valuing relationships with others and other positive traits such as honesty, sense of humour and friendliness (Varnum, 2015).

PISA 2015 measured students' attitudes towards co-operation by asking them the extent to which they agree with the following statements: "I am a good listener"; "I enjoy seeing my classmates be successful"; "I take into account what others are interested in"; "I enjoy considering different perspectives"; "I prefer working as part of a team to working alone"; "I find that teams make better decisions than individuals"; "I find that teamwork raises my own efficiency"; and "I enjoy co-operating with peers". Possible answers were "strongly disagree", "disagree", "agree" and "strongly agree". Responses were used to create two indices with a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one across OECD countries. The index of valuing teamwork is based on the first four questions and the index of valuing relationships is based on the last four.

Figure 3.14 shows the index-point difference between immigrant (comprising both first and second generation immigrants) and native students on the two indexes. In 14 countries out of 51 with available data, immigrant students reported that they value teamwork more than native students did, while the opposite was true in only 8 countries and economies. By contrast, in 9 countries and economies, immigrant students reported that they value relationships less than native students did, while the opposite is true in only 8 countries and economies. In Austria, Belgium, Croatia, Iceland, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States, immigrant students reported that they value teamwork more than native students did; but both groups of students reported similar levels of valuing relationships.

Figure 3.14 ■ **Valuing teamwork and valuing relationships, by immigrant background**
Difference between immigrant and native students in scores on the PISA indexes of valuing teamwork and valuing relationships



Notes: Only countries with valid values for immigrant students are shown.

The index of valuing teamwork is based on students' level of agreement with the following statements: "I prefer working as part of a team to working alone"; "I find that teams make better decisions than individuals"; "I find that teamwork raises my own efficiency"; and "I enjoy cooperating with peers", with "strongly disagree", "disagree", "agree" and "strongly agree" the possible responses.

The index of valuing relationships is based on students' level of agreement with the following statements: "I am a good listener"; "I enjoy seeing my classmates be successful"; "I take into account what others are interested in"; "I enjoy considering different perspectives", with "strongly disagree", "disagree", "agree" and "strongly agree" the possible responses.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the difference between immigrant and native students in the index of valuing teamwork.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Tables 3.13 and 3.14.

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In the Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Slovenia and Tunisia, immigrant students reported that they value teamwork as much as native students did, but they reported lower levels of valuing relationships than their native peers did. The same was true across OECD and EU countries. A possible explanation for this finding is that, in theory, immigrant students value cooperation at least as much as native students do; but in practice, when they actually co-operate with others, they tend to enjoy the act less than native students do. Due to language and cultural barriers, immigrant students might have difficulty co-operating with their peers, or they might be intentionally excluded by them.

Life satisfaction

Good educators strive to improve children's life prospects but also care about the quality of their students' current lives. Much of the thinking about the link between education and the quality of students' lives has focused on mental health problems that children might manifest at school. Teenagers are particularly at risk of psychological disorders because adolescence is a period of intense emotional upheaval (Gilman et al., 2008). Satisfaction with life is known to decrease during adolescence (Goldbeck et al., 2007), and low life satisfaction has been linked to school dropout, substance abuse, aggression and misbehaviour among students (Huebner and Alderman, 1993; Valois et al., 2001; Zullig et al., 2001). Approaches that address only mental health and behavioural problems might not do anything to create the conditions in which children and adolescents can flourish. Helping students find greater satisfaction with their lives, rather than just responding when students exhibit behaviours associated with dissatisfaction with life, can sustain the psychological, social and cognitive development of all students (Huebner and Hills, 2013; Suldo, Riley and Shaffer, 2006).

Life satisfaction can be defined as a subjective appraisal of the quality of one's life (Diener et al., 1999). Satisfaction with life is one measure of students' "subjective" well-being (defined as people's self-reported experience and evaluation of life), together with the frequency of positive emotions, such as joy and pride, the frequency of negative emotions, such as anger or sadness, and the sense of having a purpose in life (OECD, 2015).

PISA 2015 asked students to rate their life on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the worst possible life and 10 means the best possible life. Self-reported measures of life satisfaction are more stable indicators of subjective well-being than reports of positive or negative affective states (Gilman et al., 2008). In this report, students who reported a level of satisfaction equal to or greater than 7 are considered to report being satisfied with life, and immigrant students who reported so are considered emotionally resilient.

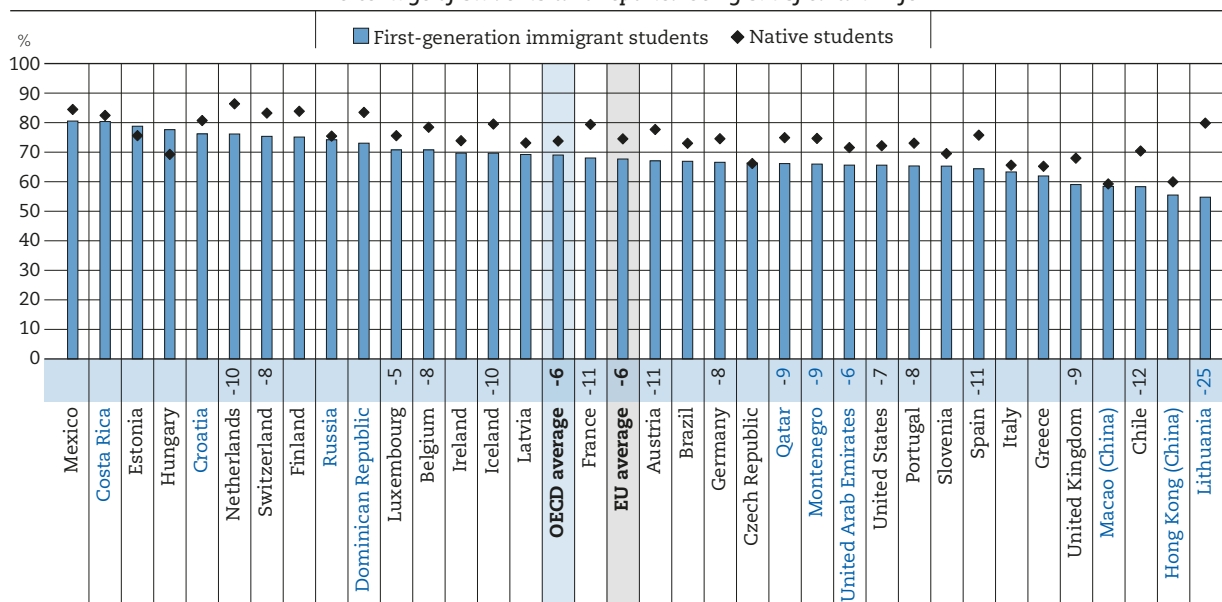
Data from PISA 2015 show that, on average across OECD countries, students with an immigrant background were less likely than native students to report being satisfied with life. In contrast to results concerning academic adjustment and sense of belonging, the gap in life satisfaction between native students and immigrant students is small, on average, and is similar across the groups of immigrants considered (Table 3.15, available on line). On average across OECD countries, 72% of native students reported that they are satisfied with their life (74% across EU countries) while 68% to 69% of each of the four groups of students with an immigrant background considered in this report reported the same (67% to 70% across EU countries). However, Figure 3.15 shows that countries differ in the percentages of native and first-generation immigrant students who reported being satisfied with life. For example, in Mexico as many as 84% of native students reported being satisfied with their life, while in Chile 70% did so. Similarly, while in the Netherlands 76% of first-generation immigrant students reported being satisfied with life, in the United Kingdom only 59% did.

Figure 3.15 shows that countries differ greatly in the levels of life satisfaction expressed by native students and by first-generation immigrant students. Table 3.15 (available on line) illustrates, for countries with available data, the differences between native students and different groups of students with an immigrant background in the percentage of students who reported being satisfied with life.

Results suggest that, in most countries, a smaller proportion of first-generation immigrant students than native students reported being satisfied with their life. The gap between the two appears to be larger than the one between second-generation immigrant students and native students which, in turn, is larger

than the gap between native students and native-born students of mixed heritage. But countries differ markedly in this respect. In as many as 19 of the countries and economies with available data, there is a difference in the percentage of native students and of native students of mixed heritage who report being satisfied with life. In Colombia, this gap is 12 percentage points and is almost as large as the gap between native students and first-generation immigrant students in Chile, France and Spain. In Brazil, native students of mixed heritage were considerably less likely than native students with two native-born parents to report being satisfied with their life.

Figure 3.15 ■ **Satisfaction with life, by immigrant background**
Percentage of students who reported being satisfied with life



Notes: Only countries with valid values for first-generation immigrant students are shown.

Statistically significant differences between first-generation immigrant and native students are shown next to country/economy names. For the OECD and EU average, this number refers only to the subset of countries/economies with valid information on both groups of students.

Students who report being satisfied with life are students who reported a life satisfaction of 7 or above on a scale from 0 to 10.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the percentage of first-generation immigrant students who report being satisfied with life.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.15.

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680856>

In Ireland, Italy, Greece and Slovenia second-generation immigrant students were considerably less likely than native students to report being satisfied with life, while native students of mixed heritage and first-generation immigrant students reported similar levels of life satisfaction as native students. In Germany and Switzerland, the gap in the percentage of students who reported being satisfied with life was wider between native students and both native-born mixed-heritage students and first-generation immigrant students than between native students and second-generation immigrant students. In Greece, Ireland, Italy and Slovenia, native-born students of foreign-born parents are the only students who were less likely to report being satisfied with life than native students, on average.

These results suggest that even though the experience of migration has a profound impact on children's emotional well-being, in many countries, native-born children of foreign-born parents or of mixed heritage parents are less satisfied with their lives than are children who had immigrated into the country.

Table 3.16 (available on line) shows the difference between native and first-generation immigrant students in the percentage of students who reported being satisfied with life, depending on the age at which the latter group of students had arrived in the host country. Results indicate that, on average across OECD countries, students who had arrived in the country in which they sat the PISA test at or after the age of 12 reported similar levels of life satisfaction as students who had arrived before the age of 12.

In general, differences between these two groups of first-generation immigrant students are small. In some countries, however, the percentage of late arrivals who reported being satisfied with life is more similar to the percentage of native students who so reported than to the percentage of early arrivals who reported being satisfied with life. This might be because of the sense of opportunity and promise that settling in a new community might bring to immigrants, particularly when families immigrate to a new country to improve their economic prospects or to flee war and persecution. In Germany, Ireland, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States, the difference in the percentage of students who reported being satisfied with their life is small when comparing native students with immigrant students who arrived after the age of 12 but relatively larger when comparing native students with immigrant students who arrived at or before the age of 12. By contrast, in Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Spain and Switzerland, the most recent arrivals were less likely to report being satisfied with life than native students and other foreign-born students who had arrived in the host before the age of 12.

Schoolwork-related anxiety

The anxiety related to school tasks and tests, along with the pressure to get higher marks and the concern about receiving poor grades, is one of the sources of stress most often cited by school-age children and adolescents. Students who suffer from anxiety are more likely to perform poorly, be frequently absent from school, and drop out of school altogether (Cortina, 2008; Ramirez and Beilock, 2011). Excessive levels of anxiety can also negatively affect students' social and emotional development and sense of self-worth, prompt students to use chemical substances to reduce stress, and lead to exhaustion (Salend, 2012; Zeidner, 1998).

In considering students' anxiety, PISA 2015 chose to focus on the students' cognitive and emotional reactions to schoolwork. In this report, students are considered to be well-adjusted if they reported low levels of schoolwork-related anxiety by indicating that they disagree or strongly disagree with the statements "I feel very anxious even if I am well prepared for a test" and "I get very tense when I study for a test". The PISA questions thus cover both study- and test-related anxiety.

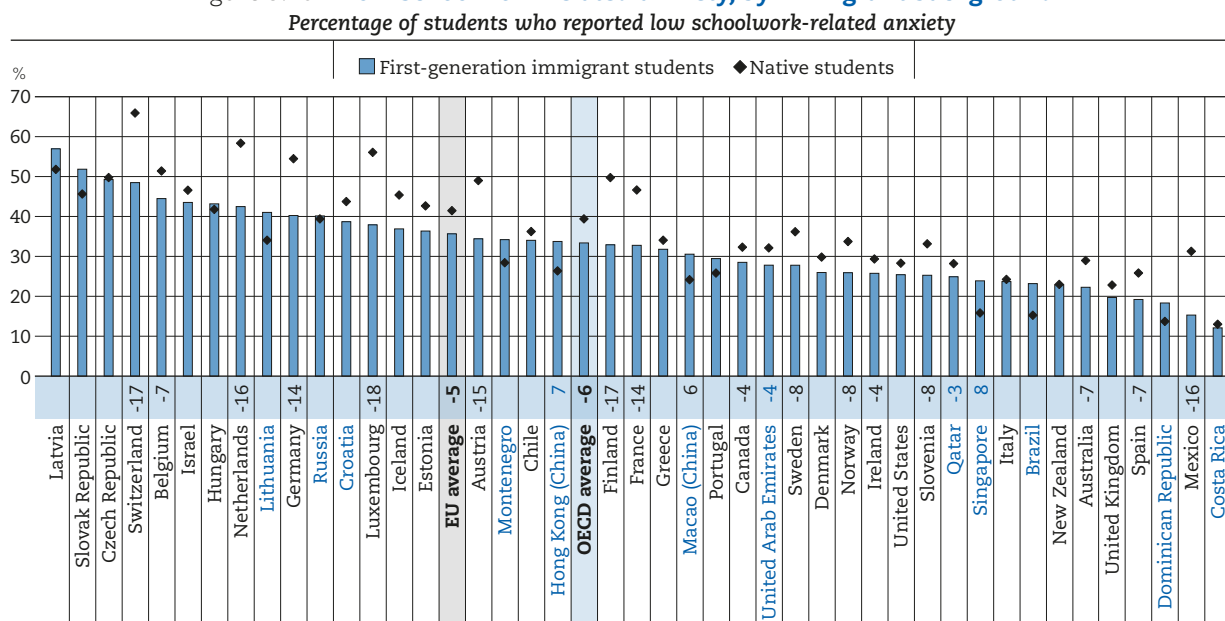
On average across OECD countries, around 39% of native students reported low levels of schoolwork-related anxiety (41% across EU countries), but only 33% of first-generation immigrant students reported low levels of schoolwork anxiety (35% across EU countries), a difference of about 6 percentage points. Figure 3.16 shows that in as many as 18 of the 43 countries and economies with available data, native students were more likely to report low levels of anxiety than first-generation immigrant students; and in Austria, Finland, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands and Switzerland, the difference between native and first-generation immigrant students in the percentage of students who reported low schoolwork-related anxiety was larger than 10 percentage points.

Differences in schoolwork-related anxiety across different groups of students with an immigrant background are pronounced (Table 3.17, available on line). For example, the data indicate that, contrary to other aspects of resilience, particularly the social and emotional resilience reflected in students' sense of belonging and satisfaction with life, native-born students of mixed heritage tend to have low levels of schoolwork-related anxiety: only in Austria, Belgium, Latvia, Germany, Luxembourg, Qatar and Switzerland was this group of students less likely to report low levels of anxiety compared to native students.

Table 3.17 also suggests that, in many countries, first- and second-generation immigrant students appear to suffer comparable levels of vulnerability towards anxiety, compared with native students. For example, the difference between native students and both first- and second-generation immigrant students in the percentage of students who reported low schoolwork-related anxiety was large and similar in magnitude in Austria, Finland, Sweden and Switzerland.

Table 3.18 (available on line) reports the difference between native and first-generation immigrant students in the percentage of students who reported low schoolwork-related anxiety, depending on the age at which the latter group of student had arrived in the host country. Results indicate that, in most countries, students who had arrived in the country at or after the age of 12 reported similar levels of schoolwork-related anxiety as students who had arrived in the country before the age of 12.

Figure 3.16 ■ Low schoolwork-related anxiety, by immigrant background



Notes: Only countries with valid values for first-generation immigrant students are shown.

Statistically significant differences between first-generation immigrant and native students are shown next to country/economy names. For the OECD and EU average, this number refers only to the subset of countries/economies with valid information on both groups of students.

Students who report low schoolwork-related anxiety are students who reported that they “disagree” or “strongly disagree” 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”.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the percentage of first-generation immigrant students who report low schoolwork-related anxiety.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.17.

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In France, late arrivals were at least 13 percentage points less likely to report low anxiety compared to early arrivals and 22 percentage points less likely compared to native students. In Israel, early arrivals were as likely as native students to report low schoolwork-related anxiety, while late arrivals were 17 percentage points less likely than native students.

Achievement motivation

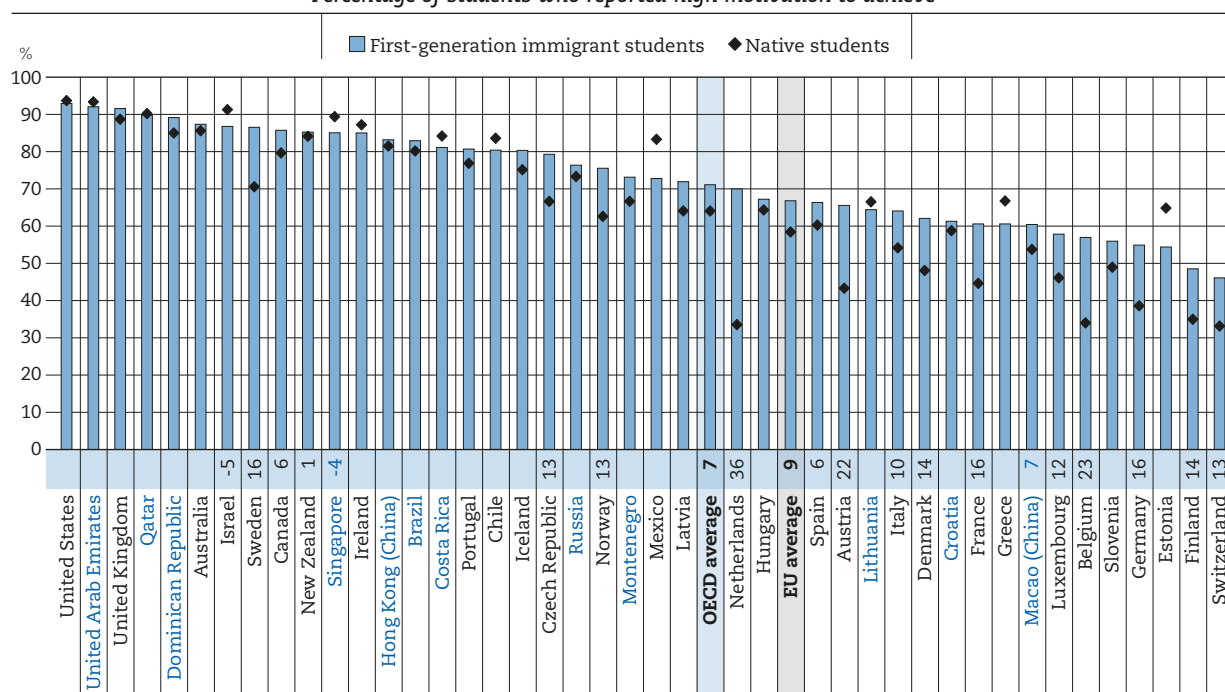
One of the most important ingredients of achievement, both in school and in life, is the motivation to achieve (OECD, 2013). In many cases, people with less talent, but greater motivation to reach their goals, are more likely to succeed than those who have talent but are not capable of setting goals for themselves and to stay focused on achieving them (Duckworth et al., 2011; Eccles and Wigfield, 2002). The motivation to achieve goals not only leads individuals to pursue work they perceive to be valuable, it also prompts them to compete with others (Covington, 2000). This drive may come from an internal or external source. Achievement motivation is intrinsic when it is sparked by an interest or enjoyment in the task itself. It is organic to the person, not a product of external pressure. Achievement motivation can be extrinsic when it comes from outside the person. Common sources of extrinsic motivation among students are rewards like good marks, or praise from parents and teachers.

Motivating students is one of the major challenges teachers face every day. As they move into adolescence, children become more able to exercise complex thought, have greater capacities for self-regulation, and hold a stronger desire for meaningful work (Damon, Menon and Bronk, 2003). Despite these blossoming abilities and attitudes, steep declines in motivation to do schoolwork are often observed among adolescents (Lepper, Corpus, and Iyengar, 2005). At a period in life when school should be seen as more relevant, students rate school as less useful and important for their well-being (Wigfield and Cambria, 2010). Because people tend to form beliefs about what they can achieve in life at a young age, the development of positive motivation to achieve at school is a prerequisite for success in life.

For the first time, PISA 2015 asked students to report whether they “strongly agree”, “agree”, “disagree” or “strongly disagree” with the following statement: “I want to be the best, whatever I do”. In this report, students are considered to be motivated to achieve if they “agree” or “strongly agree” with the statement.

On average, first-generation immigrant students were more likely than native students to report that they want to be the best in whatever they do. Figure 3.17 shows that, on average across OECD countries, 71% of first-generation immigrant students but only 64% of native students reported that they want to be the best in whatever they do (across EU countries, 67% of first-generation immigrant students and 59% of native students so reported). In as many as 16 countries and economies, first-generation immigrant students were more likely than native students to report that they want to be the best in whatever they do. The gap in achievement motivation in favour of foreign-born students of foreign-born parents was particularly wide in the Netherlands (a difference of 36 percentage points), Belgium (23 percentage points), Austria (22 percentage points), and Sweden, France and Germany (a difference of 16 percentage points).

Figure 3.17 ■ **Difference in motivation to achieve, by immigrant background**
Percentage of students who reported high motivation to achieve



Notes: Only countries with valid values for first-generation immigrant students are shown.

Statistically significant differences between first-generation immigrant and native students are shown next to country/economy names. For the OECD and EU average, this number refers only to the subset of countries/economies with valid information on both groups of students.

Students 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”.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the percentage of first-generation immigrant students who report high motivation to achieve.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.19.

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680894>

Figure 3.17 shows that countries differ greatly in students’ self-reported levels of achievement motivation. Over 90% of native students in the United States agreed or strongly agreed that they want to be the best in whatever they do while only 33% of native students in Switzerland so reported. Table 3.19 (available on line) shows, for countries with available data, the gap between native students and different groups of students with an immigrant background in the percentage of students who reported being motivated to achieve.

Colombia, Montenegro and the United States are the only countries where native students of mixed heritage families were less likely than native students to express high levels of achievement motivation. Interestingly, in these countries, this group was the only group of students with an immigrant background who reported different levels of achievement motivation than students without an immigrant background. In Israel, Lithuania, Singapore and the United Arab Emirates, second-generation immigrant students were less likely to report being motivated to achieve than native students, and in Israel and Singapore, first-generation immigrant students were less likely than native students to report so. In all other countries where differences between groups are observed, achievement motivation appears to be greater among students with an immigrant background, with first-generation immigrant students more likely to report being motivated to achieve than all other groups. However, in Finland, the gap between second-generation immigrant students and native students in the percentage of students motivated to achieve was considerably wider than the gap observed between first-generation immigrant students and native students.

Table 3.20 (available on line) shows the variation in achievement motivation between native students and first-generation immigrant students, depending on the age at which the student arrived in the host country. Results indicate that, in most countries, students who had arrived in the country in which they sat the PISA test at or after the age of 12 reported similar achievement motivation as students who had arrived before the age of 12. In Belgium and Sweden a larger proportion of both groups of immigrant students reported high achievement motivation than native-born students and a larger proportion of late arrivals than early arrivals reported high achievement motivation. The difference between the two groups of first-generation immigrant students was 9 percentage points in both countries. In Germany, late arrivals were 34 percentage points more likely than early arrivals to report high achievement motivation. By contrast, in New Zealand and the United Kingdom, the proportion of immigrant students who had arrived before the age of 12 and reported high achievement motivation was larger than the proportions of students who reported so among both native-born students and immigrant students who had arrived at or after the age of 12. The difference in the gaps in motivation between first-generation immigrant students who had arrived after and those who had arrived before the age of 12 stood at 9 percentage points for both the United Kingdom and New Zealand.

Overall resilience

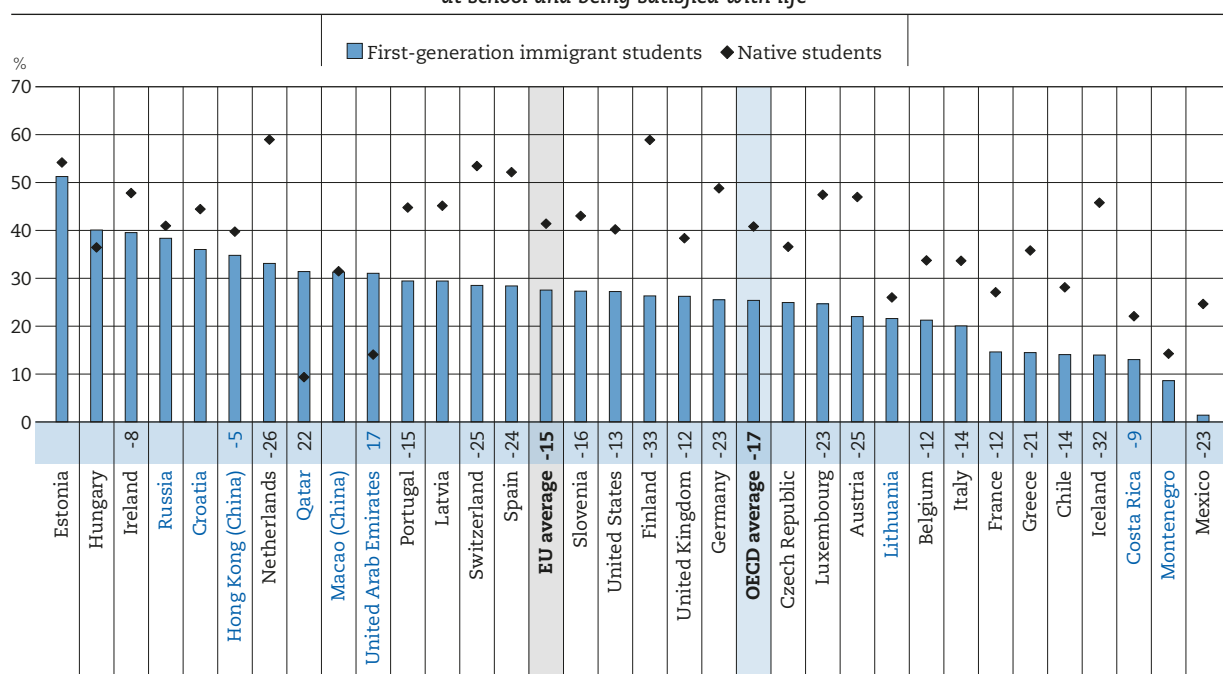
Previous sections have shown that, on average, students with an immigrant background are less likely to attain baseline academic proficiency and levels of social and emotional well-being, in other words many students with an immigrant background do not overcome their disadvantage. However, the size of the disadvantage that immigrants face varies across dimensions of resilience and countries. First-generation immigrant students in Finland were 41 percentage points less likely to attain baseline academic proficiency compared to native students, the benchmark used to identify academic resilience (the largest gap among countries with available data); however, there was no statistically significant difference in the percentage of students who report a sense of belonging at school and being satisfied with life between the two groups (the benchmarks used to identify social and emotional resilience respectively). In the United Kingdom, first-generation immigrant students were only 11 percentage points less likely than native students to attain baseline academic proficiency (the lowest negative statistically significant gap); however, they were nine percentage points less likely to report being satisfied with life (above the OECD average of six percentage points). In each country, different groups of students with an immigrant background display different positive adjustments to adversity and different degrees of academic, social and emotional resilience.

To investigate immigration-related disadvantages in a broad measure of resilience, which encompasses academic, social and emotional dimensions, a single indicator of academic and socio-emotional well-being was built. Students are defined as being academically sound and socially and emotionally well-adapted if they attained baseline academic proficiency, they reported a sense of belonging at school and reported being satisfied with life. Students with an immigrant background who fit in this category are defined as resilient overall. Figure 3.18 shows that in 20 out of 32 countries and economies with available data, the percentage of first-generation immigrant students who fit in this category was lower than the percentage of native students who did. On average across OECD countries, the difference was

of 17 percentage points (15 percentage points across EU countries) but it was over twenty percentage points in Austria, Finland, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland. The figure also shows that the percentage of more successful students among natives varies greatly between countries: it was as high as 59% in the Netherlands, but only 9% in Qatar.

Figure 3.18 ■ **Academically sound and socially and emotionally well-adapted students, by immigrant background**

Percentage of students who attain baseline academic proficiency, report a sense of belonging at school and being satisfied with life



Notes: Only countries with valid values for first-generation immigrant students are shown.

Statistically significant differences between first-generation immigrant and native students are shown next to country/economy names. For the OECD and EU average, this number refers only to the subset of countries/economies with valid information on both groups of students.

Students who attain baseline academic proficiency are students who reach at least PISA proficiency level two in all three PISA core subjects – math, reading and science.

Students who report a sense of belonging at school are Students 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”.

Students who report being satisfied with life are students who reported a life satisfaction of 7 or above on a scale from 0 to 10.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the percentage of first-generation immigrant students who attained baseline academic proficiency, reported a sense of belonging at school and being satisfied with life.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.21.

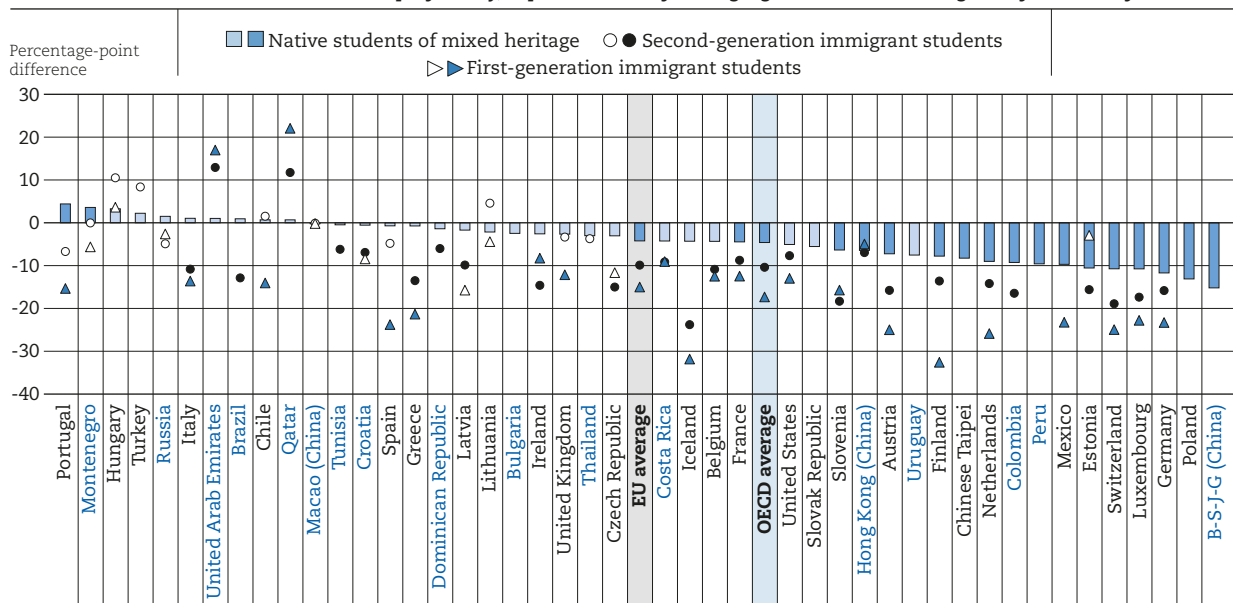
StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680913>

Table 3.21 (available on line) shows that, on average across OECD countries, first-generation immigrant students were six percentage points less likely to be resilient than second-generation immigrant students (five across EU countries). Figure 3.19 shows that in approximately one third of countries and economies with available data, native students of mixed heritage were less likely than native students to attain baseline academic proficiency, report a sense of belonging at school and being satisfied with life. The difference in likelihood was above ten percentage points in Estonia, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Germany, Poland, Switzerland and B-S-J-G (China). However, these students display greater adaptation than first- and second-generation immigrant students. On average across OECD countries, immigrant students with at least one native-born parent (a group that includes return foreign-born students and students of mixed heritage) were 10 percentage points more likely to be resilient than immigrant students with two foreign-born parents (a group that includes first- and second-generation immigrant students) (eight percentage points across EU countries).

PISA 2015 shows that the likelihood of first-generation immigrant students being resilient overall is strongly related to the age at which they arrived in the host country. Table 3.22 (available on line) shows that, on average across OECD and EU countries, late arrivals were 10 percentage points less likely to be resilient than early arrivals. Late arrivals were 24 percentage points less likely than native students to attain baseline academic proficiency, report a sense of belonging at school and being satisfied with life. In Belgium, Spain and the United Kingdom, the percentage of resilient students among late arrivals was over 14 percentage points lower than the percentage among early arrivals.

Figure 3.19 ■ Differences in the percentage of academically sound and socially and emotionally well-adapted students, by immigrant group

Difference between students with an immigrant background and native students in the percentage of students who attain baseline academic proficiency, report a sense of belonging at school and being satisfied with life



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

Only countries with valid values for native students of mixed heritage are shown.

Students who attain baseline academic proficiency are students who reach at least PISA proficiency level two in all three PISA core subjects – math, reading and science.

Students who report a sense of belonging at school are students 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”.

Students who report being satisfied with life are students who reported a life satisfaction of 7 or above on a scale from 0 to 10.

Students 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”.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the difference in the percentage of native students of mixed heritage and native students who attained baseline academic proficiency, reported a sense of belonging at school and being satisfied with life.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, Table 3.21.

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933680932>

Notes

1. The questionnaire was modified in 2003, so information on country of origin and age at arrival is only available in the 2003, 2006, 2009, 2012 and 2015 rounds of PISA.
2. The comparability of questions on students' sense of belonging may be affected by translation issues among students who completed background questionnaires in French.

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Annex 3.A1

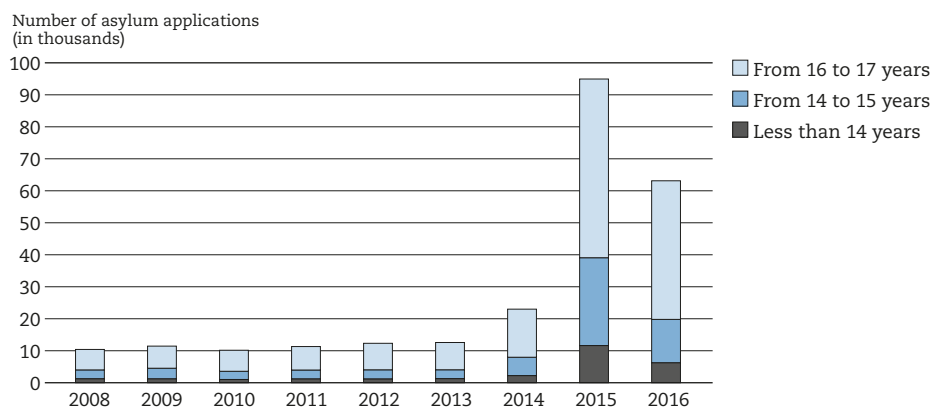
Unaccompanied children

Unaccompanied minors and unaccompanied children are defined by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) as those “who have been separated from both parents and other relatives and are not being cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so”. The UNCRC also states that the best interests of the child must be a primary consideration in all actions affecting children. Providing access to education and offering further support can help these children integrate successfully into the education system in the host country. However, a significant proportion of unaccompanied minors in many OECD countries face serious difficulties not only in obtaining access to education but also in receiving basic services and therefore may be particularly vulnerable to suffering from poor academic outcomes and low levels of social, emotional and motivational well-being.

The number of unaccompanied minors grew in the past few five years: in 2015-16, UNICEF recorded at least 300 000 unaccompanied minors in around 80 countries, almost five times more than the 66 000 registered in 2010-11 (UNICEF, 2017b). One of the regions where the numbers have increased most dramatically is Europe (see Figure 3.A1.1). According to Eurostat, unaccompanied minors submitted 63 290 applications for asylum in EU-28 countries in 2016. Around 90% of these children were boys; nine in ten of them were 14 years old or older. As Figure 3.A1.2 shows, more than half of these minors came from Afghanistan and Syria, but there is also a significant representation from Iraq, Eritrea, Somalia, Gambia and Pakistan. Germany received almost 1 in 6 of all applications for asylum submitted by unaccompanied minors in 2016, surpassing Sweden as the country receiving most applications (see Figure 3.A1.3). As of December of 2017, data on unaccompanied minors applying for asylum in 2017 had not been released. Nevertheless, not all unaccompanied minors apply for asylum, so the number of these minors arriving in Europe is estimated to be higher. International organizations indicate that data on unaccompanied children and minors not applying for asylum is almost non-existent, which makes rather difficult to estimate the real number of unaccompanied minors arriving to a country (UNHR/UNICEF/IOM, 2017). In a study carried out by the European Commission in 2013, only 13 EU countries had data on unaccompanied minors who were not applying for asylum. These figures revealed that, in the same year, the number of unaccompanied minors applying for asylum, and the number of those not applying for asylum were practically the same: around 13 000.

Another region where unaccompanied minors are growing in numbers is along the Mexican route to the United States and Canada. Data from the US Border Patrol (USBP) indicates that the number of unaccompanied minors apprehended at the southwest border of the United States has increased over the past decade (see Figure 3.A1.3).

Figure 3.A1.1 ■ **Asylum applications submitted by unaccompanied minors in the EU 28, by year and age**



Source: Data adapted from: Eurostat, Asylum applicants considered to be unaccompanied minors by citizenship, age and sex. Annual data. http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_asyunaa&lang=en (accessed on 15 September, 2017).


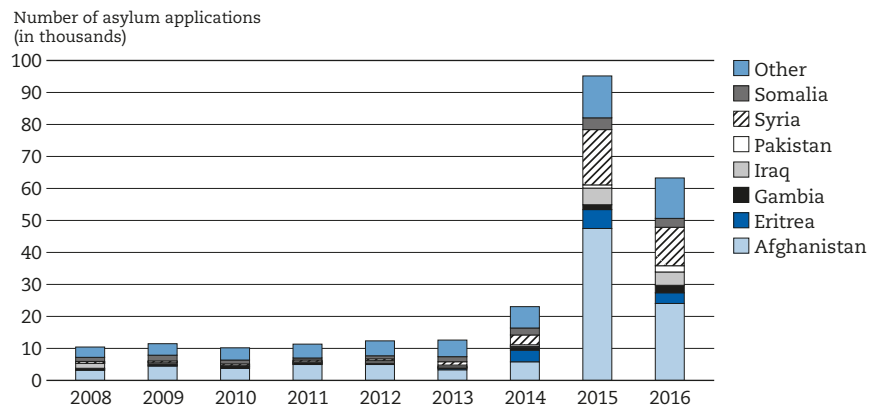
StatLink  <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933681008>

Figure 3.A1.2 ■ Asylum applications submitted by unaccompanied minors in the EU 28, by year and country of origin



Source: Data adapted from: Eurostat, Asylum applicants considered to be unaccompanied minors by citizenship, age and sex. Annual data. http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_asyunaa&lang=en (accessed on 15 September, 2017).

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933681027>

Table 3A1.1 ■ Asylum applications submitted by unaccompanied minors in selected European countries, by year and country of application

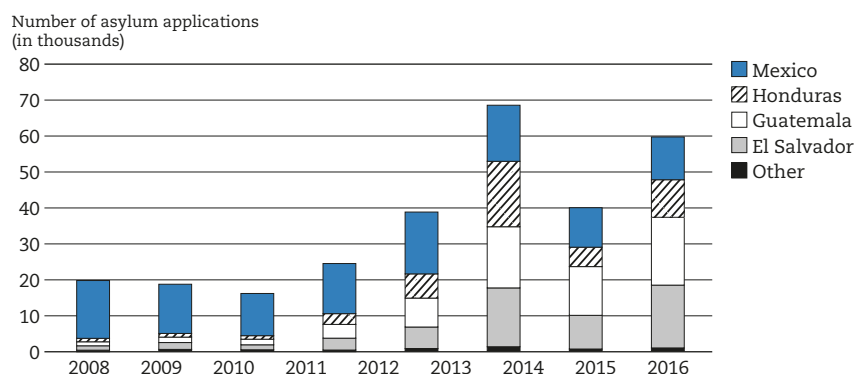
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Belgium	975	420	475	2 545	1 020
Bulgaria	60	185	940	1 815	2 750
Czech Republic	5	0	5	15	0
Denmark	355	350	820	2 130	1 185
Germany	2 095	2 485	4 400	22 255	35 935
Estonia	0	5	0	0	0
Ireland	25	20	30	35	35
Greece	75	325	440	420	2350
Spain	15	10	15	25	30
France	490	365	270	320	475
Croatia	70	55	10	5	170
Cyprus*	25	55	50	105	215
Italy	970	805	2 505	4 070	6 020
Latvia	0	5	0	10	5
Lithuania	5	0	5	5	0
Luxembourg	15	45	30	105	50
Hungary	185	380	605	8 805	1 220
Malta	105	335	55	35	15
Netherlands	380	310	960	3 860	1 705
Austria	1 375	935	1 975	8 275	3 900
Poland	245	255	185	150	140
Portugal	10	55	15	50	25
Romania	135	15	95	55	45
Slovenia	50	30	65	40	245
Slovak Republic	5	5	10	5	0
Finland	165	160	195	2535	370
Sweden	3 580	3 850	7 050	34 300	2 195
United Kingdom	1 125	1 265	1 945	3 255	3 175
Iceland	5	0	0	5	20
Liechtenstein	0	0	0	5	5
Norway	705	670	940	4790	270
Switzerland	495	355	780	2670	1 985
TOTAL	13 720	13 695	24 820	102 590	65 340

* See note at the beginning of this Chapter.

Source: Adapted from: Eurostat, Asylum applicants considered to be unaccompanied minors by citizenship, age and sex Annual data, http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_asyunaa&lang=en (accessed on 15 September, 2017).


StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933681065>

Figure 3.A1.3 ■ **Unaccompanied minors apprehended at the United States border, by fiscal year and country of origin**



Note: Data presented by fiscal year, starting on October 1st.

Source: Adapted from: U.S. Customs and Border Protection, Southwest Border Migration Statistics, www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/sw-border-migration (accessed on 15 September, 2017).

StatLink  <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933681046>

Countries' obligations towards unaccompanied minors

Countries are responsible for unaccompanied minors who arrive on their territory and, in accordance with the UNRC's mandate, the "best interests" of children must govern every aspect of their treatment (UNHCR, 1989). This involves quickly identifying children at risk, ensuring family unity, preventing arbitrary detention, and providing legal representation, appropriate reception conditions and basic social protection as soon as possible, particularly through access to healthcare and education. But there are significant differences in the way OECD countries handle this responsibility.

In the EU context, there is a great heterogeneity in procedures, practices and resources. In principle, after authorities immediately identify unaccompanied minors, child protection authorities should ensure that these children are accommodated in special facilities that provide an adequate standard of living and access to education and healthcare. In addition, a guardian should be assigned as soon as possible to ensure that these children's rights are adequately safeguarded (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2016a).

Access to education

The main challenge for host-country education systems is to enrol unaccompanied minors in school as soon as possible. Many of these children have spent a long time without attending school and further delays in enrolment are an unnecessary extension of their exclusion from education. Although EU member states must ensure access to education to asylum-seeking children within the first three months of their arrival, delays are common. These delays usually occur for two reasons. First, because of the long period of time that many unaccompanied minors have to stay in reception centres where education is, at best, only provided informally by NGOs and volunteers (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2016a). Second, because once having abandoned the reception centres and moved to a care facility, the number of places available and the procedures in place may delay enrolment in school for several months.

In addition, in some countries there are certain age-related restrictions that might make it particularly difficult – or even impossible – for unaccompanied minors to eventually enrol in school. The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) warns that in some countries unaccompanied minors remain outside the education system. ECRE also reports that in many EU member states many children have to wait for up to several months before accessing compulsory education or second-language courses. Unaccompanied minors who are older than the limit set for enrolment in compulsory schooling when they arrive in their destination country may find it particularly difficult to access education or language courses. The failure to ensure prompt school enrolment to these minors may have serious consequences on the development of these children.

Prompt enrolment in school is essential, but unaccompanied minors also require further support to ensure their successful integration into schools. The majority of unaccompanied minors arriving in a country have not attended school for a long time. They tend to be unfamiliar with the education system and many of them have – at best – only limited knowledge of the language of instruction. On top of that, the majority of unaccompanied minors have experienced traumatic events during their journey. Overall, these children face greater obstacles to success in school. For instance, in Spain, NGOs report that 80% of unaccompanied minors drop out of school (Huddleston and Wolffhardt, 2016). For all of these reasons, further assistance in the form of language courses, additional support in class, educational counselling and psychological help are essential for the educational and broader well-being of unaccompanied minors.

Additional sources of stress and anxiety among unaccompanied minors are protracted asylum proceedings and the provision of temporary leave to remain rather than permanent solutions. Uncertainty about future rights to remain in the country might discourage unaccompanied minors from pursuing education goals or social activities, de facto limiting these children's ability to plan for their future and preventing them from being able to develop to their full potential.

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Spotlight on social outcomes among native and immigrant young adults in Europe: Evidence from the European Social Survey

The focus of this report is on the academic and other well-being outcomes of 15-year old students in a wide range of countries and economies that participated in PISA 2015. The PISA data analysed in this report provide extensive information on students' proficiency in mathematics, reading and science; their sense of belonging to the school community; their satisfaction with life; and their level of schoolwork-related anxiety and achievement motivation. However, the long-term integration prospects of immigrant students depend not only on their academic proficiency and their social and emotional well-being, but also on their physical well-being as well as their attitudes and dispositions.

Since PISA does not contain information on the broader circumstances of young people with an immigrant background, such as their attitudes, dispositions and social outcomes, data from the European Social Survey (ESS) are used in this Spotlight to explore such differences. Two important differences distinguish the types of analyses that were conducted using PISA data and those illustrated in this Spotlight. First, PISA examines 15-year-old students while analyses presented in this Spotlight refer to individuals who were between the age of 15 and 20 at the time in which the ESS interview took place, irrespective of whether they were students or not. The focus on a broader age range was due to the fact that ESS has a small age-specific sample. Second, while in PISA the socio-economic condition of respondents is characterised using a composite indicator of socio-economic status, the PISA index of Economic, Social and Cultural Status (ESCS), in ESS parental educational attainment is used as the key control.

Although the ESS survey contains information on a wide range of outcomes that characterise the well-being of individuals and their long-term integration prospects, analyses presented in this Spotlight refer to a set of indicators that were considered in all of the first eight rounds of ESS available up to date. Pooling data from the eight ESS rounds is necessary because of sample-size limitations. Only countries with a representative sample of at least 30 individuals categorised as young immigrants are included in the analysis. Immigrant individuals are defined as those who are either foreign-born or are native-born but have two foreign-born parents. The 19 countries considered are: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

The most recent ESS study is round eight, which contains information collected in 2016. However, at the time this analysis was conducted (December 2017), data from round eight was not yet available for Portugal and Spain. In both cases, the analysis is based on data from rounds one through seven. This Spotlight reports findings from around 19 000 15-20 year-olds in Europe, some 12% of whom were immigrants.

The outcomes analysed in this Spotlight are: trust (generalised trust; institutional trust; feelings of safety in the local area); satisfaction (with democracy, the state of the economy, the national government and education and health services); and other well-being variables (self-reported health; social life).

Trust

Generalised trust

Generalised trust is a feeling of goodwill towards anonymous others. It allows for smooth interactions in complex societies, where people engage frequently with others whom they do not know and from whom they differ in many ways. Generalised trust involves an "indiscriminate belief in the general benevolence of one's fellow citizen" (Sturgis et al., 2010) and the "expectation that other members of the community will behave in a cooperative and honest way" (Fukuyama, 1995). Monitoring disparities in generalised trust between young native and immigrant people and how these differ across countries can help to identify if immigrants feel welcome and safe in their communities and if they believe in the goodwill and openness of natives towards them.

The ESS includes three questions on generalised trust with a 0 to 10 response format. The questions are: "(...) generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?" (Responses from 0 "You can't be too careful" to 10 "Most people can be trusted");

“(…) do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?” (Responses from 0 “Most people try to take advantage of me” to 10 “Most people try to be fair”); and “Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?” (Responses from 0 “People mostly look out for themselves” to 10 “People mostly try to be helpful”).

Table 3.a indicates that young immigrant people report lower levels of generalised trust than natives and that such difference reflect, to a large extent, differences in the two groups in parental educational attainment. On average across all countries analysed, the mean value on the 0 to 10 point scale of young natives’ responses to the question on whether most people can be trusted is 5.39. The corresponding figure among young immigrants is 4.98, a difference of 0.41. Differences between young natives and immigrants are particularly pronounced (larger than 0.70) in Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland. Differences between young natives and immigrants in the extent to which they report that most people can be trusted are reduced by around a quarter on average across all the countries examined (from a difference of 0.41 points to a difference of 0.33 points) when natives and immigrants with similarly educated parents are compared.


Table 3.a ■ Generalised trust, by immigrant background

	Most people can be trusted (10) or you can't be too careful (0)			Most people try to take advantage of you (0), or try to be fair (10)			Most of the time people are helpful (10) or mostly looking out for themselves (0)		
	Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people		Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people		Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people	
		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education
Austria	5.59	-0.71	-0.71	6.10	-0.93	-0.95	5.51	-0.58	-0.65
Belgium	5.28	-0.61	-0.46	5.88	-0.11	-0.10	4.97	-0.62	-0.64
Denmark	6.45	-0.97	-0.70	6.91	-0.24	-0.07	5.79	-0.05	-0.07
Estonia	5.44	-0.44	-0.51	5.82	-0.71	-0.79	5.18	-1.21	-1.14
Finland	6.52	-0.65	-0.34	6.78	0.19	0.19	5.65	0.39	0.45
France	4.70	-0.52	-0.28	6.02	-0.46	-0.31	4.71	-0.16	-0.05
Germany	5.04	-0.44	-0.25	6.07	-0.33	-0.26	5.12	0.19	0.23
Greece	4.47	0.34	0.36	4.36	0.26	0.27	3.72	-0.21	-0.20
Ireland	5.57	-0.33	-0.34	5.96	-0.27	-0.23	5.69	-0.24	-0.27
Israel	5.15	-0.05	0.00	5.32	0.60	0.80	5.27	-0.44	-0.54
Luxembourg	5.04	-0.20	0.06	5.89	-0.08	0.06	5.23	0.44	0.67
Netherlands	5.97	-0.83	-0.85	6.47	-0.19	-0.15	5.50	0.10	0.27
Norway	6.21	-0.56	-0.49	6.70	-0.65	-0.48	5.94	-0.02	-0.15
Portugal	4.34	0.09	-0.14	5.49	-0.04	0.05	4.66	-0.29	-0.44
Slovenia	4.77	-0.81	-0.76	5.34	-0.54	-0.49	5.01	-0.25	-0.26
Spain	5.20	0.26	0.21	5.57	0.18	0.30	4.39	0.96	0.99
Sweden	5.90	-0.81	-0.64	6.59	-0.79	-0.69	5.77	-0.31	-0.29
Switzerland	5.62	-0.77	-0.67	6.40	-0.58	-0.43	5.73	-0.18	-0.22
United Kingdom	5.21	0.18	0.20	5.58	-0.24	-0.15	5.36	0.26	0.31
Average	5.39	-0.41	-0.33	5.96	-0.26	-0.18	5.22	-0.12	-0.11

Notes: Individuals defined as immigrants are those who are either foreign-born or are native-born but have two foreign-born parents. Statistically significant differences between immigrant and native young people are highlighted in bold and blue. A lighter tone is applied to negative differences (i.e. when immigrants’ mean value is smaller than natives’ mean value) and a darker tone is applied to positive differences (i.e. when immigrants’ mean value is greater than natives’ mean value).

Only countries that participated in at least two rounds and with a sample of at least 30 immigrant individuals are included in the analysis. Countries are ranked in alphabetical order.

Source: European Social Survey rounds 1-8 (pooled data).

StatLink  <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933681084>

Similarly, on average across all countries analysed, the mean value on the 0 to 10 point scale of young natives’ responses to the question on whether most people will try to be fair can be trusted is 5.96 while among young immigrant individuals the average index value is 5.70 (a 0.26 point difference). The differences between the two groups is particularly pronounced (larger than 0.70) in Austria, Estonia and Sweden.

Differences young natives and immigrants in the extent to which they report that most people try to be fair were also greatly reduced when differences between the two groups in parental educational background was controlled for. Israel is a significant outlier because it is the only country where young immigrants reported higher mean index values when comparing individuals with similarly educated parents.

Differences between young natives and immigrants on the extent to which people try to be helpful are mostly not statistically significant. Only in Austria, Belgium and Estonia young natives report higher mean index values, a difference that cannot be explained by differences among the two groups in parental educational attainment. In Spain young immigrants report higher mean index levels than young natives both before and after accounting for parental education.

Institutional trust

Another dimension that characterises the way in which young people feel towards society is the extent to which they report feeling that institutions are responsive to their needs (Hetherington 1998; North, 1990). The ESS survey contains questions on people's trust in the following seven institutions: the [country]'s parliament; the legal system; the police; politicians; political parties; the European Parliament; the United Nations". Respondents could use a score ranging from 0 (no trust) to 10 (complete trust). Higher values therefore represent greater levels of trust.

Table 3.b and Table 3.c show very few differences between young immigrant and native people in their reported levels of trust towards institutions. When such differences exist, they are indicative of a greater level of institutional trust among young immigrant individuals. For example, in countries such as Germany, Greece, Ireland, Norway, Switzerland and the United Kingdom young immigrant individuals report higher levels of trust towards the European parliament than young native individuals, after accounting for differences in parental educational attainment. Similarly, in Spain and Germany young immigrants report greater trust in the legal system than young native people.

Table 3.b ■ Institutional trust among young individuals, by immigrant background – 1

	Trust in country's parliament (0-10)			Trust in the legal system (0-10)			Trust in the police (0-10)		
	Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people		Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people		Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people	
		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education
Austria	5.11	0.15	0.19	5.89	-0.16	-0.11	5.94	0.48	0.45
Belgium	5.41	0.33	0.57	5.93	0.41	0.60	6.39	-0.05	0.21
Denmark	6.49	-0.88	-0.58	7.38	-0.57	-0.27	7.69	-0.15	-0.02
Estonia	5.00	-0.35	-0.39	5.82	-0.10	-0.19	6.32	-0.52	-0.68
Finland	6.40	-0.62	-0.13	7.12	-0.79	-0.29	7.94	-0.35	0.24
France	4.55	-0.33	0.03	5.48	-0.19	0.04	5.83	-0.64	-0.39
Germany	5.17	0.43	0.61	6.20	0.45	0.59	6.80	0.08	0.08
Greece	3.82	0.25	0.27	5.15	0.64	0.65	4.99	0.94	0.93
Ireland	4.51	0.05	0.10	5.89	0.16	0.24	6.29	0.04	0.05
Israel	4.63	-0.28	-0.22	5.95	-0.45	-0.41	5.52	0.01	0.03
Luxembourg	5.64	0.39	0.59	6.26	0.21	0.27	6.33	0.71	1.05
Netherlands	5.60	0.16	0.29	6.27	0.18	0.39	6.29	-0.25	0.10
Norway	6.26	-0.08	0.35	6.87	-0.18	0.14	7.31	0.12	0.35
Portugal	3.94	-0.44	-0.17	4.45	-0.45	-0.20	5.43	-0.44	-0.29
Slovenia	4.18	-0.35	-0.13	4.85	-0.28	-0.09	5.75	0.44	0.48
Spain	4.76	0.38	0.42	4.68	1.23	1.27	5.61	1.04	1.10
Sweden	6.15	-0.30	-0.35	6.46	-0.38	-0.41	6.82	-0.31	-0.26
Switzerland	6.35	-0.02	0.07	6.79	-0.07	-0.02	6.83	0.15	0.17
United Kingdom	4.83	0.53	0.36	5.63	0.37	0.29	6.38	0.22	0.12
Average	5.20	-0.05	0.10	5.95	0.00	0.13	6.34	0.08	0.20

Notes: Individuals defined as immigrants are those who are either foreign-born or are native-born but have two foreign-born parents.

Statistically significant differences between immigrant and native young people are highlighted in bold and blue. A lighter tone is applied to negative differences (i.e. when immigrants' mean value is smaller than natives' mean value) and a darker tone is applied to positive differences (i.e. when immigrants' mean value is greater than natives' mean value).

Only countries that participated in at least two rounds and with a sample of at least 30 immigrant individuals are included in the analysis. Countries are ranked in alphabetical order.

Source: European Social Survey rounds 1-8 (pooled data).


StatLink  <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933681103>


Table 3.c ■ Institutional trust among young individuals, by immigrant background – 2

	Trust in politicians (0-10)			Trust in political parties (0-10)			Trust in the European Parliament (0-10)			Trust in the United Nations (0-10)		
	Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people		Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people		Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people		Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people	
		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education
Austria	3.35	-0.25	-0.24	3.61	-0.25	-0.40	4.91	-0.37	0.20	5.18	0.09	0.20
Belgium	4.79	0.15	0.25	4.95	0.15	0.16	6.17	0.16	0.29	6.36	0.15	0.29
Denmark	5.63	-0.67	-0.39	6.03	-0.67	-0.11	6.67	-0.37	-0.67	7.34	-0.72	-0.67
Estonia	3.99	-0.32	-0.40	4.06	-0.32	-0.37	5.82	-0.28	0.20	6.14	0.18	0.20
Finland	5.55	-0.33	-0.08	5.83	-0.33	-0.07	6.29	-0.33	0.43	6.98	0.00	0.43
France	3.64	-0.01	0.28	3.88	-0.01	0.58	5.22	0.13	0.07	5.98	-0.36	0.07
Germany	4.17	0.23	0.28	4.49	0.23	0.15	5.44	0.08	0.57	5.54	0.48	0.57
Greece	2.67	0.51	0.52	2.39	0.51	0.85	4.57	0.84	1.00	4.19	1.01	1.00
Ireland	3.83	-0.03	0.06	3.81	-0.03	-0.06	5.51	0.01	1.80	6.08	1.65	1.80
Israel	4.00	0.21	0.25	4.17	0.21	0.29	5.48	0.18	-0.33	5.14	0.10	-0.33
Luxembourg	4.93	-0.35	-0.03	5.01	-0.35	0.25	6.13	0.23	1.55	6.18	1.13	1.55
Netherlands	5.53	0.08	0.28	5.72	0.08	0.06	6.01	-0.14	0.31	6.25	-0.02	0.31
Norway	5.08	0.21	0.20	5.30	0.21	0.38	5.78	0.40	0.65	7.48	0.54	0.65
Portugal	2.73	-0.41	-0.05	2.60	-0.41	-0.15	5.12	-0.37	-0.49	5.81	-0.63	-0.49
Slovenia	3.14	-0.16	0.01	3.62	-0.16	-0.34	4.94	-0.59	0.17	5.19	-0.09	0.17
Spain	3.11	0.70	0.73	3.23	0.70	0.64	5.29	0.61	0.39	5.68	0.33	0.39
Sweden	5.14	-0.47	-0.66	5.29	-0.47	-0.69	6.10	-0.55	-1.10	7.24	-0.66	-1.10
Switzerland	5.42	-0.21	-0.15	5.64	-0.21	-0.39	5.73	-0.42	0.37	6.32	0.23	0.37
United Kingdom	4.19	0.54	0.34	4.31	0.54	0.17	4.84	0.36	0.77	5.76	0.77	0.77
Average	4.26	-0.03	0.06	4.42	-0.03	0.05	5.58	-0.02	0.33	6.05	0.22	0.33

Notes: Individuals defined as immigrants are those who are either foreign-born or are native-born but have two foreign-born parents. Statistically significant differences between immigrant and native young people are highlighted in bold and blue. A lighter tone is applied to negative differences (i.e. when immigrants' mean value is smaller than natives' mean value) and a darker tone is applied to positive differences (i.e. when immigrants' mean value is greater than natives' mean value).

Only countries that participated in at least two rounds and with a sample of at least 30 immigrant individuals are included in the analysis. Countries are ranked in alphabetical order.

Source: European Social Survey rounds 1-8 (pooled data).

StatLink  <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933681122>

Feelings of safety in local area

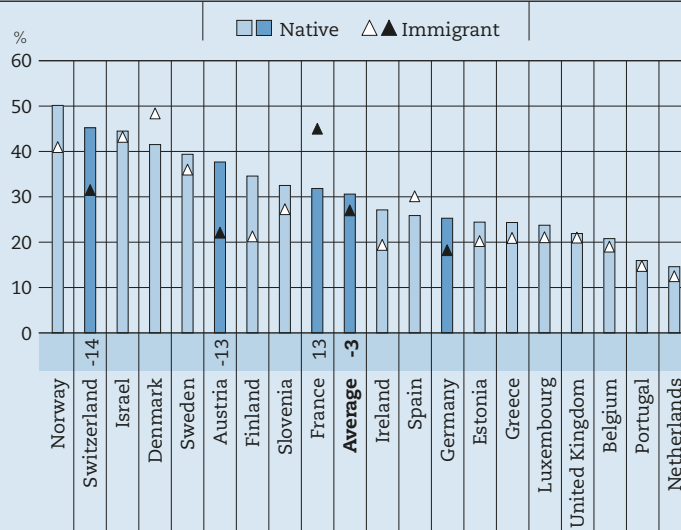
Feelings of safety are associated with institutional trust, particularly trust in the police, (Cheurprakobkit, 2006) and sense of belonging to the community (Ross and Jang, 2000). Other important determinants are the size of the community, with individuals living in urban centres reporting lower levels of safety (Zani et al., 2001). As a result, for immigrants, feeling safe in local area is important for developing a sense of belonging and trust in the community given that they often have few existing strong community ties based on shared experiences growing up in the local area. However, the fact that they are more likely to live in urban centres, and to live in more socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods where crime rates are higher, may lower their levels of perceived safety (Pendakur et al., 2016; Chiswick, Lee and Miller, 2002).

The ESS includes the following question regarding feelings of safety in the local area: “How safe do you - or would you - feel walking alone in this area after dark?”. Responses could be reported on a four-point Likert scale ranging from “very safe” to “very unsafe”.

Figure 3.a shows that young immigrants are less likely than young natives to live in areas where they feel very safe walking alone after dark. On average across the 19 countries included in the analysis, around 31% of young natives and 27% of young immigrants report feeling very safe walking alone in their local area after dark. The largest gap between the two groups of young people is observed in Austria (16 percentage points), Switzerland (14 percentage points) and Germany (7 percentage points). By contrast, France is the only country where the proportion of young immigrants who report feeling very safe walking alone in the local area after dark (45%) is greater than that of natives (32%). However, differences between young natives and immigrants in the extent to which they report feeling very safe when walking alone in their local area after dark can be partly explained by differences in parental educational attainment. On average across all

countries analysed, the native-immigrant gap decreases from 3.60 point difference to 3.28 point difference when parental educational attainment is considered. The magnitude of this reduction is 2 percentage points in Austria, 0.6 percentage point in France and 0.3 in Switzerland. After controlling for parental educational attainment, differences become non-statistically significant in Germany.

Figure 3.a ■ **Feelings of safety in the local area among young people, by immigrant background**
Percentage of young people that report feeling “very safe” walking alone in their local area after dark



Notes: Individuals defined as immigrants are those who are either foreign-born or are native-born but have two foreign-born parents.

A lighter tone of blue and a white triangle apply to countries where differences between young immigrant and native individuals before accounting for parental education are not statistically significant. A darker tone of blue and a black triangle apply to countries where differences between young immigrant and native individuals before accounting for parental education are statistically significant.

Statistically significant differences between young immigrant and native individuals after accounting for parental education are shown next to country/economy names.

Only countries that participated in at least two rounds and with a sample of at least 30 immigrant individuals are included in the analysis.

Countries are ranked in descending order of the percentage of young native individuals that report feeling “very safe” walking alone in local area after dark.

Source: European Social Survey rounds 1-8 (pooled data).

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933681179>

Satisfaction with institutions

Disparities in satisfaction with institutions between young native and immigrant individuals and how these differ across countries can help complete the picture of young immigrants’ feelings and experiences in the hosting society. To the extent and when national administrative and judicial institutions work well, citizens are also more likely to believe that parliaments and governments are attentive to their interests (Rohrschneider, 2005).

Satisfaction with certain institutions is particularly important for young immigrants because it is associated to other outcomes of great relevance for their successful integration. For instance, research shows that how citizens view the performance of the public sector may affect democratic values such as trust in administrative agencies and trust in governance, as well as participatory behaviour (e.g. Van de Walle and Bouckaert, 2003; Vigoda-Gadot, 2003). Immigrants’ satisfaction with institutions may be shaped not only by the quality of institutions in the country of destination but also by the quality of institutions in their country of origin. Some studies suggest that emigrating from a country characterised by severe political repression may result in more negative attitudes towards government in the host country (Bueker, 2005; Ramakrishnan, 2005). However, other studies indicate that immigrants from such countries might value democratic freedoms more and have more positive attitudes towards institutions in the host country (DeSipio, 1996; de la Garza, Falcon, and Chris Garcia, 1996). Research also suggests that positive attitudes towards government are more common among first-generation migrants than among native-origin and second-generation immigrants, with these two last groups presenting much more similar levels of trust and satisfaction (Maxwell, 2010).

The ESS contains a series of questions asking about the level of satisfaction with five institutions. In particular, there are three questions on satisfaction with democracy, the state of the economy and the national government. They are: “On the whole, how satisfied are you with the present state of the economy in [country]? (...) Now thinking about the [country] government, how satisfied are you with the way it is doing its job? (...) And on the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [country]?” For these three questions, respondents are asked to rate their level of satisfaction from 0 (“Extremely dissatisfied”) to 10 (“Extremely satisfied”). There are also two questions regarding the state of education and health services in the country. They are: “(...) please say what you think overall about the state of education in [country] nowadays” and “(...) please say what you think overall about the state of health services in [country] nowadays”. Possible responses to both range from 0 (“Extremely bad”) to 10 (“Extremely good”).

Tables 3.d and 3.e indicate that, on average across all participating countries, young immigrants report higher levels of satisfaction for all institutions considered. The widest gaps between immigrants and natives are observed in relation to the state of public services, namely education and health services. The narrowest gap is related to the state of the economy in the country. For all institutions analysed, the difference is larger after accounting for parents’ education, except in the case of satisfaction with the state of health services, where the difference is slightly smaller. The widening of the gap when considering parents’ level of education is particularly significant in relation to satisfaction with the way democracy works.

Countries differ both in the magnitude of the difference between young native and immigrants and in the degree to which parents’ education explains these differences. For instance, in Germany, young immigrants report significantly greater satisfaction education and health services than young natives while in Austria there are no differences between the two groups. Similarly, when considering satisfaction with the state of education, in the Netherlands, the difference between the two groups nearly doubles in size after accounting for parents’ education, but it becomes not statistically significant among young people in the United Kingdom.

Table 3.d ■ Satisfaction with democracy, the state of economy and the government among young individuals, by immigrant background

	How satisfied with the democracy works in the country (0-10)			How satisfied with the state of the economy in the country (0-10)			How satisfied with the national government (0-10)		
	Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people		Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people		Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people	
		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education
Austria	6.12	-0.06	-0.12	5.61	0.19	0.22	4.36	0.16	0.06
Belgium	6.10	0.32	0.44	5.40	0.32	0.44	5.00	0.75	0.74
Denmark	7.49	-0.24	0.13	6.51	-0.31	-0.19	5.56	0.07	0.06
Estonia	5.64	-0.77	-0.76	5.12	-0.69	-0.55	4.88	-0.45	-0.44
Finland	7.11	0.12	0.31	6.70	0.12	0.01	6.35	0.54	0.61
France	5.36	0.19	0.52	4.01	0.39	0.43	4.16	0.09	0.17
Germany	5.91	0.69	0.86	4.98	0.42	0.42	4.73	0.53	0.56
Greece	4.61	0.95	0.95	3.02	-0.28	-0.27	3.35	-0.03	-0.03
Ireland	5.71	-0.12	0.04	4.51	0.28	0.36	4.25	0.22	0.39
Israel	5.54	0.38	0.45	4.19	0.95	0.99	4.15	1.03	1.15
Luxembourg	6.72	0.36	0.61	6.42	0.73	0.72	6.03	0.83	1.00
Netherlands	6.46	0.33	0.51	5.61	-0.44	-0.46	5.34	0.22	0.32
Norway	6.98	0.67	0.99	7.06	0.36	0.50	5.60	0.81	1.05
Portugal	4.53	0.34	0.77	3.46	-0.04	0.19	3.58	-0.22	0.11
Slovenia	4.99	0.47	0.66	5.23	0.30	0.35	4.44	0.14	0.27
Spain	5.32	0.33	0.23	4.26	0.86	0.83	3.85	0.84	0.83
Sweden	6.99	0.08	0.05	6.25	-0.31	-0.59	5.66	-0.10	-0.44
Switzerland	7.36	0.05	0.13	6.59	0.39	0.42	6.50	0.50	0.49
United Kingdom	5.35	0.87	0.70	4.98	0.64	0.55	4.69	0.54	0.44
Average	6.01	0.26	0.39	5.26	0.20	0.23	4.87	0.34	0.39

Notes: Individuals defined as immigrants are those who are either foreign-born or are native-born but have two foreign-born parents. Statistically significant differences between immigrant and native young people are highlighted in bold and blue. A lighter tone is applied to negative differences (i.e. when immigrants’ mean value is smaller than natives’ mean value) and a darker tone is applied to positive differences (i.e. when immigrants’ mean value is greater than natives’ mean value).

Only countries that participated in at least two rounds and with a sample of at least 30 immigrant individuals are included in the analysis. Countries are ranked in alphabetical order.

Source: European Social Survey rounds 1-8 (pooled data).


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Table 3.e ■ Satisfaction with education and health services among young individuals, by immigrant background


	How satisfied with the state of education in the country nowadays (0-10)			How satisfied with the state of health services in the country nowadays (0-10)		
	Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people		Mean among young natives	Mean differences between immigrant and native young people	
		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education		Before accounting for parental education	After accounting for parental education
Austria	5.52	0.28	0.13	6.92	0.17	0.10
Belgium	6.92	0.19	0.12	7.42	0.44	0.41
Denmark	7.61	0.47	0.55	7.28	0.24	0.38
Estonia	6.68	-0.87	-0.90	6.42	0.50	-0.52
Finland	8.03	-0.01	0.59	7.32	0.53	0.75
France	5.48	0.27	0.12	6.67	0.79	0.83
Germany	5.21	0.67	0.50	6.11	0.96	0.97
Greece	3.84	0.99	0.98	3.97	0.61	0.61
Ireland	6.18	0.40	0.38	4.56	1.01	1.23
Israel	5.45	-0.20	-0.21	7.21	0.75	0.94
Luxembourg	5.00	1.30	1.26	7.07	0.83	0.88
Netherlands	6.22	0.48	0.83	6.39	0.74	0.83
Norway	6.81	0.76	0.72	6.61	0.97	0.95
Portugal	4.40	0.62	0.76	4.45	0.59	0.60
Slovenia	5.97	0.49	0.36	6.03	0.75	0.68
Spain	5.21	1.16	1.29	6.03	0.98	1.06
Sweden	6.44	0.53	0.54	6.38	0.35	0.04
Switzerland	6.96	0.44	0.42	7.57	0.49	0.48
United Kingdom	6.22	0.43	0.38	6.18	0.29	0.28
Average	6.01	0.44	0.46	6.35	0.63	0.61

Notes: Individuals defined as immigrants are those who are either foreign-born or are native-born but have two foreign-born parents.

Statistically significant differences between immigrant and native young people are highlighted in bold and blue. A higher tone is applied to negative differences (i.e. when immigrants' mean value is smaller than natives' mean value) and a darker tone is applied to positive differences (i.e. when immigrants' mean value is greater than natives' mean value).

Only countries that participated in at least two rounds and with a sample of at least 30 immigrant individuals are included in the analysis. Countries are ranked in alphabetical order.

Source: European Social Survey rounds 1-8 (pooled data).

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By contrast, Estonia and the Netherlands are the only countries where young immigrants report less satisfaction with at least one institution. In the Netherlands, young immigrants are significantly less satisfied with the state of the economy than are young natives. Young immigrants in Estonia report significantly less satisfaction with democracy, with the state of the economy and with the state of education than did young natives, and did not report greater satisfaction than natives with any of the issues considered.

Other well-being outcomes

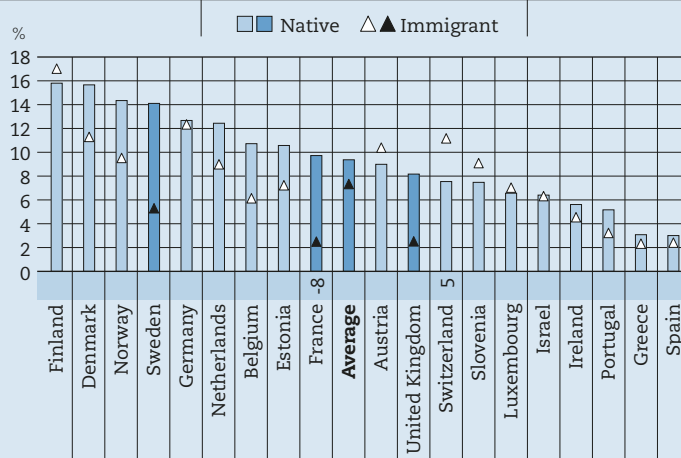
Self-reported health

Well-being data from the ESS can complement PISA analysis on the well-being of 15 year-olds students in several dimensions. Self-reported health is one of them. People that are socio-economically disadvantaged and low-educated are much more likely to suffer from poor health (Grossman, 2000; Grossman, 2006; Schütte et al., 2013; van der Kooi et al., 2013). However, poor health tends to be a problem of older people and, therefore, differences between native and immigrant young people in levels of self-reported health are expected to be small at young ages.

Health status was monitored in ESS through two questions. The first asks respondents about the state of their health in general using the following response categories “very good”; “good”; “fair”; “bad”; “very bad”. The second question was designed to identify the presence of long-standing illnesses and whether such conditions limit respondents' daily activities. More specifically, respondents were asked: “Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?” Respondents who could choose between one of the following respondents categories: “No”, “Yes a lot” and “Yes to some extent”.

Figure 3.b ■ **Health conditions affecting daily activities among young people, by immigrant background**

Percentage of young people that report being hampered in daily activities by illness, disability, infirmity or mental problems “a lot” or “to some extent”



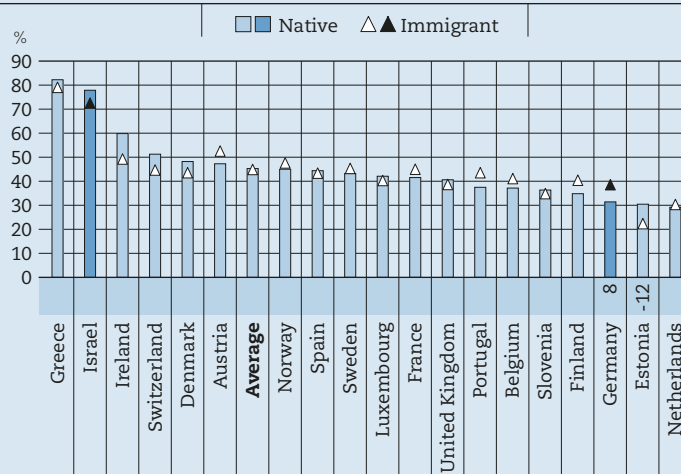
Notes: Individuals defined as immigrants are those who are either foreign-born or are native-born but have two foreign-born parents. A lighter tone of blue and a white triangle apply to countries where differences between young immigrant and native individuals before accounting for parental education are not statistically significant. A darker tone of blue and a black triangle apply to countries where differences between young immigrant and native individuals before accounting for parental education are statistically significant. Statistically significant differences between young immigrant and native individuals after accounting for parental education are shown next to country/economy names. Only countries that participated in at least two rounds and with a sample of at least 30 immigrant individuals are included in the analysis. Countries are ranked in descending order of the percentage of native young people that report being hampered in daily activities by illness, disability, infirmity or mental problem “a lot” or “to some extent”.

Source: European Social Survey rounds 1-8 (pooled data).

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933681198>

Figure 3.c ■ **Subjective health among young people, by immigrant background**

Percentage of young people that report “very good” general health



Notes: Individuals defined as immigrants are those who are either foreign-born or are native-born but have two foreign-born parents. A lighter tone of blue and a white triangle apply to countries where differences between young immigrant and native individuals before accounting for parental education are not statistically significant. A darker tone of blue and a black triangle apply to countries where differences between young immigrant and native individuals before accounting for parental education are statistically significant. Statistically significant differences between young immigrant and native individuals after accounting for parental education are shown next to country/economy names. Only countries that participated in at least two rounds and with a sample of at least 30 immigrant individuals are included in the analysis. Countries are ranked in descending order of the the percentage of native young people that report “very good” general health.

Source: European Social Survey rounds 1-8 (pooled data).

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Figures 3.b and 3.c show that there are generally no differences in self-reported health between young natives and immigrants. On average across the 19 countries analysed, 9% of young natives and 7% of young immigrants report that they are hampered in their daily activities by illness, disability, infirmity or mental health problems. Differences are statistically significant in Sweden (9% point difference), France (7% point difference) and the United Kingdom (6% point difference). However, when differences in parental educational attainment are considered, differences between young natives and young immigrants in the extent to which they reported that they are hampered in their daily activities by illness, disability, infirmity or mental health problems decrease. Differences become non-statistically significant on average and in Sweden and the United Kingdom. By contrast, differences become statistically significant after accounting for parental educational attainment in Switzerland. Similarly, on average across all these countries, there are no statistically significant differences between young natives and young immigrants in the percentage of respondents who reported that their health is very good. Only in Israel is the percentage of young natives who report very good health significantly higher (78%) than that of young immigrants (73%). By contrast, in Germany the proportion of young immigrants who report very good health (39%) is significantly larger than that of young natives (31%). When parental educational attainment is considered, differences become non-statistically significant in Israel, but increase in Germany (from 7.15 point difference to 8.06 point difference) and become statistically significant in Estonia, where a greater proportion of young natives than immigrants report very good health (12.49 point difference).

Participation in social networks

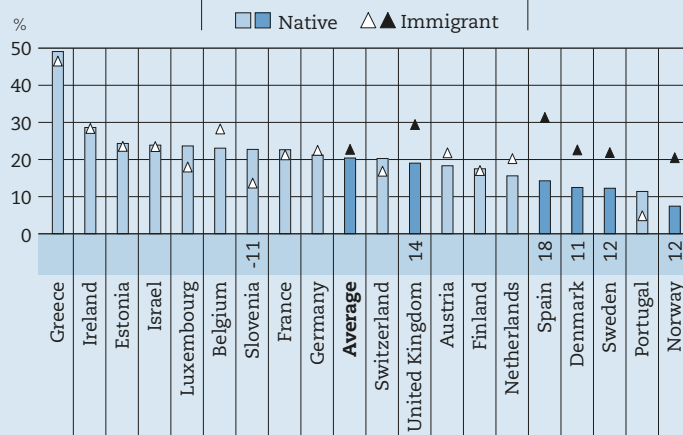
Having an active social life is important for young people's well-being. Research shows that engagement in positive social activities in early adulthood is associated with better psychological outcomes later in life (Carmichel, Reis and Duberstein, 2015). The development of social networks among immigrants both within and across ethnic groups may have multiple buffering effects from negative social, political and economic circumstances in the host country (Lew, 2004; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). Extended co-ethnic networks allow immigrants to share information and resources, identify economic and educational opportunities, share expertise and interchange services (Coleman, 1988; Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg, 1992). In adolescence, better social relations are related to better school outcomes among immigrants (Fang, Sun and Yuen, 2014).

The ESS asked participants to respond to a series of questions about their social life and two of these questions are good at characterising participation in social networks among young people: "how often do you meet socially with friends, relatives or work colleagues?" and "compared to other people of your age, how often would you say you take part in social activities?". Respondents could select one of the following responses for the first question "never"; "less than once a month"; "once a month"; "once a week"; "several times a week" and "every day". Respondents could select one of the following responses for the second question: "much less than most"; "less than most"; "about the same"; "more than most"; "much more than most".

Figures 3.d and 3.e show that young immigrants tend to be involved in social activities less often than natives, and report that they participate in these sorts of activities less often than most people their age. On average across the 19 countries considered, 20% of young natives and 23% of young immigrants report that they meet socially with their friends, relatives or work colleagues once a week or less. Differences between young natives and immigrants are significant in Spain (17% point difference), Norway (13% point difference), the United Kingdom (10% point difference), Denmark (10% point difference) and Sweden (10% point difference). However, differences in parental educational attainment can partly explain these differences. Gaps between young natives and young immigrants in the extent to which they report that they meet socially with their friends, relatives or work colleagues once a week or less become non-statistically significant on average across the 19 countries when parental educational attainment is considered. The difference becomes statistically significant in Slovenia (11 point difference) and it increases by 1 percentage point in Spain and Denmark, by 2 percentage points in Sweden and by 4 percentage points in the United Kingdom. By contrast, the immigrant-native gap decreases by about 1 percentage point in Norway after accounting for parental educational attainment. Similarly, on average across the 19 participating countries, around 31% of young immigrants but only 23% of young natives report taking part in social activities less often or much less often than most people their age. Differences are statistically significant in 11 out of the 19 countries analysed, and are particularly large in Greece (19 percentage points), Luxembourg (16 percentage points) and Spain (14 percentage points). When considering differences in parental educational attainment, these differences become non-statistically significant on average across all countries analysed and in Germany,

Ireland, the Netherlands and Switzerland. In addition, differences decrease by 1 percentage point in Israel and by 4 point difference in Luxembourg. By contrast, differences increase by half a percentage point in Spain and by 1 percentage point in Estonia and Sweden.

Figure 3.d ■ **Participation in social activities, by immigrant background**
Percentage of young people that report participating in social meetings with friends, relatives or work colleagues once a week or less



Notes: Individuals defined as immigrants are those who are either foreign-born or are native-born but have two foreign-born parents.

A lighter tone of blue and a white triangle apply to countries where differences between young immigrant and native individuals before accounting for parental education are not statistically significant. A darker tone of blue and a black triangle apply to countries where differences between young immigrant and native individuals before accounting for parental education are statistically significant.

Statistically significant differences between young immigrant and native individuals after accounting for parental education are shown next to country/economy names.

Only countries that participated in at least two rounds and with a sample of at least 30 immigrant individuals are included in the analysis.

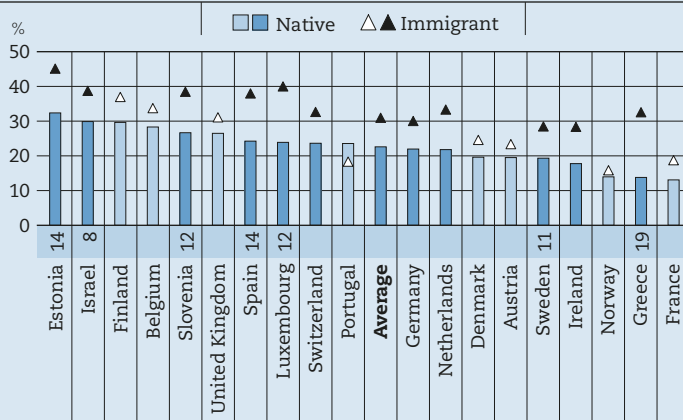
Countries are ranked in descending order of the percentage of young natives that report participating in social meetings with friends, relatives or work colleagues once a week or less.

Source: European Social Survey rounds 1-8 (pooled data).

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Figure 3.e ■ **Relative frequency of participation in social activities among young individuals, by immigrant background**

Percentage of young people that report taking part in social activities less often than other people of their age



Notes: Individuals defined as immigrants are those who are either foreign-born or are native-born but have two foreign-born parents.

A lighter tone of blue and a white triangle apply to countries where differences between young immigrant and native individuals before accounting for parental education are not statistically significant. A darker tone of blue and a black triangle apply to countries where differences between young immigrant and native individuals before accounting for parental education are statistically significant. Statistically significant differences between young immigrant and native individuals after accounting for parental education are shown next to country/economy names.

Only countries that participated in at least two rounds and with a sample of at least 30 immigrant individuals are included in the analysis.

Countries are ranked in descending order of the percentage of young natives that report taking part in social activities less often than other people of their age.

Source: European Social Survey rounds 1-8 (pooled data).

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933681255>

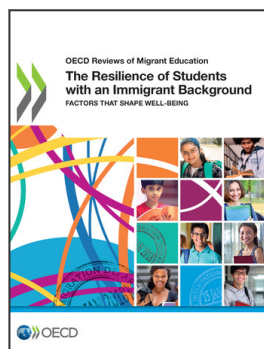
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From:

The Resilience of Students with an Immigrant Background

Factors that Shape Well-being

Access the complete publication at:

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

Please cite this chapter as:

OECD (2018), “Adversity and adjustment: The resilience of students with an immigrant background”, in *The Resilience of Students with an Immigrant Background: Factors that Shape Well-being*, OECD Publishing, Paris.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264292093-6-en>

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