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Strength through diversity: Country spotlight report for Chile Caitlyn Guthrie,
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STRENGTH THROUGH DIVERSITY: COUNTRY SPOTLIGHT REPORT FOR CHILE

OECD Education Working Paper No. 210

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Abstract

Chile is now working to develop stronger integration processes after being largely unprepared for the influx of immigrants who arrived in recent years. In the education sector, evidence suggests important differences in the academic and well-being outcomes between students with an immigrant background and native Chilean students. While available data on immigrant students in Chile is limited, these disparities highlight the need to reflect on the types of policies that can reverse emerging gaps, advance the educational and long-term success of students and promote social cohesion. As such, the Ministry of Education invited the OECD Strength through Diversity project to develop this Spotlight Report, which examines four policy priorities regarding the inclusion of immigrant and refugee students in the country: (1) School choice and segregation; (2) Language training; (3) Capacity building; and (4) Inclusive education. The findings of this report reflect existing OECD work on education policy in Chile and in the area of migration policy. The report also draws on national data, questionnaire results on policies and practices implemented in Chile to support the educational achievement and socio-emotional well-being of immigrant students and examples of policies and practices in peer-learner countries and regions that were collected through desk based research (notably from Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United States). Finally, interviews conducted by the OECD Strength through Diversity team during a review mission and a stakeholder workshop that took place in Santiago in June 2018 help inform the report.

Résumé

Après s'être trouvé largement pris au dépourvu face à l'afflux de migrants arrivés ces dernières années, le Chili travaille désormais au renforcement de ses processus d'intégration. Au niveau du secteur éducatif chilien, les données révèlent des écarts importants entre les élèves issus de l'immigration et leurs camarades autochtones en termes de résultats scolaires et de bien-être. Bien que les données disponibles sur les élèves issus de l'immigration au Chili soient limitées, les écarts constatés illustrent la nécessité de réfléchir aux types de mesures à prendre pour combler les disparités émergentes, favoriser la réussite scolaire et à plus long terme des élèves et encourager la cohésion sociale. Dans ce contexte, le ministère chilien de l'Éducation a demandé à l'OCDE, au titre de son projet La diversité fait la force, de rédiger ce rapport de la série « Coup de projecteur » sur quatre priorités de l'intégration des élèves issus de l'immigration et réfugiés dans le pays : 1) choix de l'établissement et ségrégation scolaire; 2) cours de langue; 3) renforcement des capacités; et 4) enseignement inclusif. Les conclusions du rapport s'appuient sur des travaux existants de l'OCDE concernant les politiques éducatives au Chili et les politiques migratoires. Il repose également sur des données nationales, des questionnaires sur les politiques et les pratiques mises en œuvre au Chili pour soutenir les résultats scolaires et le bien-être socioémotionnel des élèves issus de l'immigration, ainsi que sur des exemples tirés de régions et de pays pairs à partir de recherches documentaires (notamment en Australie, Canada, Pays-Bas, Suède et États-Unis). Enfin, les entretiens menés par l'équipe de projet de l'OCDE au cours d'une mission d'examen (voir l'annexe A) ainsi qu'un atelier organisé à Santiago avec les parties prenantes en juin 2018 ont contribué à étayer le rapport.

Foreword

Chile is now working to develop stronger integration processes after being largely unprepared for the influx of immigrants who arrived in recent years. From 2012 to 2015, migration inflows to Chile rose by 50% and as of 2017, 4.35% of the total population was born in another country (INE, 2018_[1]; OAS, 2017_[2]). Chilean classrooms reflect the diversity induced by increasing immigration. According to data from the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), the proportion of first-generation 15-year-old immigrant students in Chile grew by over 17 percentage points between 2006 and 2015, whereas the OECD average decreased by nearly two percentage points during this time (OECD, 2018_[3]). This is likely even higher since PISA 2015 data does not capture the large migration inflows that Chile experienced during the last three years.

Evidence suggests there are important differences in the academic and well-being outcomes between students with an immigrant background and native Chilean students. According to PISA 2015, 48% of students born in Chile with native-born parents achieved baseline academic proficiency (Level 2), in the three key subjects tested in PISA: reading, science and mathematics (OECD, 2018_[3]). However, only 32% of first and second-generation immigrant students achieved this level. There is also a difference in the reported life satisfaction between immigrant students (58%) and native Chilean students (70%). This gap is double the OECD average and well above the regional average. These disparities highlight the need to reflect on the types of policies that can reverse emerging gaps, advance the educational and long-term success of students of all students in Chile and promote social cohesion.

To support this reflection process, the Ministry of Education invited the OECD Strength through Diversity project to develop this Spotlight Report. The Report looks at four policy priorities regarding the inclusion of immigrant and refugee students in Chile. In collaboration with other stakeholders, the OECD and the Ministry of Education identified these four priorities:

- 1. School choice and segregation
- 2. Language training
- 3. Capacity building
- 4. Inclusive education

The findings of this report reflect recent OECD work on education policy in Chile (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]; OECD, 2017_[5]), and existing OECD work in the area of education and migration. The report also draws on national data, questionnaire results on policies and practices implemented in Chile to support the educational achievement and socio-emotional well-being of immigrant students and examples of policies and practices in peer-learner countries and regions that were collected through desk-based research (notably from Australia, Canada, the United States, the Netherlands and Sweden). Finally, interviews with participants conducted by the OECD Strength through Diversity

team during a review mission and a stakeholder workshop that took place in Santiago in June 2018 helped inform the report. This report consists of an overview section and four thematic sections that correspond with each of the key priorities.

The aim of the OECD's collaboration with the Ministry of Education on this Spotlight Report is to highlight some of the policy initiatives Chile has taken to integrate immigrant and refugee children in its education system and offer policy pointers to build on existing efforts. The OECD, with its Strength through Diversity project, stands ready to support Chile in developing an education system that promotes the inclusion of immigrant and refugee students.

The OECD team is grateful to the Chilean government for supporting this initiative, under the leadership of the Ministry of Education, and to the many participants who shared their views, experience and knowledge with us during the review mission and stakeholder workshop. In particular, special thanks is owed to Ximena Soledad Valdebenito Gutierrez (from the Research Centre of the Ministry of Education) for co-ordinating Chile's involvement in this Spotlight Report. The OECD team is also grateful for Chilean team members Fabiola Margarita Miranda Capetillo, Eliana Chamizo Álvarez, Karla Andrea Retamal Cofré, Amanda Castillo Rodriguez, Hadabell Castillo Herrera, Maria Francisca Navas Castillo and María Victoria Martínez y Fernando Barrientos for their guidance and support.

The development of this Spotlight Report was guided by Andreas Schleicher, Yuri Belfali and Paulo Santiago, who provided feedback during the drafting process. The report was prepared by Caitlyn Guthrie, Lucie Cerna and Francesca Borgonovi from the OECD Secretariat. Hanna Andersson also helped prepare this review during an internship with the OECD and as an external consultant. Input from Jazmin Chamizo (Independent Diversity Consultant) and Meredith Bannon (Pennsylvania State University) provided the team with valuable background material on the priorities discussed in the report. Alessandro Ferrara, Cecilia Mezzanotte, Diana Tramontano, Matthew Gill and Claire Berthelier from the OECD Secretariat provided statistical and administrative support. Deborah Fernandez helped prepare this document for publication.

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Summary of assessment and policy pointers

Background

This OECD Strength through Diversity Spotlight Report for Chile focuses on the inclusion of immigrant students in school education, a policy area of growing importance due to the large influx of immigrants and the country's limited experience in responding to the phenomenon of immigration. Drawing on international and national evidence, this Spotlight Report provides country-specific analysis that aims to address key areas where Chile could improve the inclusion of immigrant children in schools. The findings in this report may also support Chile's broader efforts to pursue sustainable and inclusive growth, foster social cohesion and ensure the well-being of all people who reside within the country's borders. This section summarises the key conclusions of the Spotlight Report and offers policy pointers for actions that Chile could consider to foster better academic and well-being outcomes for immigrant students.

School choice and segregation

Aim: Promote diverse distributions of students and ensure that immigrant families are able to navigate the Chilean education system

Chile is one of the countries that participated in PISA 2015 where socio-economic background strongly influences student performance. Until recently, Chile's unregulated school choice policy contributed to high levels of segregation based on student socio-economic background and academic ability. In this context, immigrant students, many of whom come from disadvantaged backgrounds, are now concentrated in Chile's public municipal schools. At the same time, government-dependent (subsidised) private schools attract growing numbers of native Chilean students and government-independent schools cater to students from high-income families.

In an effort to improve educational equity, Chile is implementing significant structural education reforms. Today, the 2015 Inclusion Law forbids schools from operating as for profit organisations and eliminates selection and admission processes based on student social, economic, academic and cultural background. There are early indications that these regulations are already starting to improve educational opportunities both for native and immigrant students. However, navigating Chile's complex and changing educational landscape can be especially challenging for immigrant parents and guardians who are unfamiliar with the Chilean education system and who may lack the networks or language skills to explore the alternative school choices.

Another factor that affects the distribution of students in Chile is the amount of resources schools have to address the individual needs of diverse students. A recent OECD study on school resources in Chile found that while the country has a transparent and concrete basis for school funding, the complexity and strict criteria used to allocate additional resources might limit the ability of schools to address emerging needs (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). This presents a challenge in regards to the inclusion of immigrant students who

may have higher instructional costs related to language learning or socio-economic disadvantage, for example. The fact that immigrant students in Chile are largely concentrated in specific regions and types of schools, combined with the inability of some schools to access additional resources to meet the needs of these students, may exasperate inequities in terms of the opportunities and services provided among schools. While some concentration can help facilitate the delivery of specialised education services for immigrant students, this may thwart efforts to promote diverse distributions of students and limit Chile's system-wide capacity to manage large inflows of immigrant students in the future.

Finally, despite efforts to include immigrant students in Chile's education data and information systems, disaggregated data about student background and learning outcomes is still very limited. This makes it difficult to understand the different challenges immigrant students face as they progress through the school system in Chile. For example, there is little information available in regards to the learning and well-being outcomes of these students and their subjective hopes and aspirations. Lack of data presents a challenge in terms of making informed policy decisions. To promote diverse distributions of students and support families in navigating the education system, Chile might consider:

Policy Pointer 1.1: Provide opportunities to accommodate parents and guardians who are unfamiliar with the Chilean education system

Local education services and schools should help families who are new to Chile or who do not speak Spanish to navigate the complex and changing educational system. Specifically, they could provide information about the schools in their area and the resources available in particular schools. The Ministry of Education's school admissions portal, which allows users to compare schools online, is a helpful tool that can make information about schools more accessible for all families. However, the portal is only available in Spanish and does not yet include schools in the Santiago Metropolitan area. To better support families in accessing information and interpreting it to select the most appropriate school for their child, Chile could encourage local education services and schools to create spaces for parents and guardians to ask questions about the resources available to children in a particular school and when necessary, offer interpretation or translation of materials.

Policy Pointer 1.2: Identify characteristics to provide additional resources to schools serving immigrant students and non-native Spanish speakers

In order to develop a better understanding of the additional resource needs of schools serving large concentrations of immigrant students, Chile should analyse the costs associated with educating immigrant students. Evaluating how the Ministry of Education defines vulnerability and considering factors such as how long a student has lived in Chile, age of arrival and the number of immigrant students or non-native Spanish speakers in a particular school are various ways school funding formulas could become more responsive to the rising immigrant population.

Policy Pointer 1.3: Collect disaggregated data to monitor the progress of immigrant students and inform interventions

Access to reliable, regular and updated data can help provide a "big picture" of the learning needs of this rapidly growing student population (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]; OECD, 2017_[5]). It can also help monitor their progress over time and inform (and later evaluate) targeted interventions to substantially improve the educational opportunities and outcomes of immigrant students. Collecting data, providing guidance on how to use it and being transparent about its limitations could help lead a system wide effort to make all schools a good choice for immigrant families. These efforts need to be accompanied by ethical guidelines and measures to ensure the privacy and security of student data.

Language training

Aim: Provide adequate language support to children and youth with limited Spanish and literacy skills

Despite the generally low share of non-Spanish speaking immigrant students, language training is considered an emerging challenge in Chile due to the recent influx of immigrants from countries where Spanish is not the official language, such as China, Haiti and Syria. In recent years, efforts around language teaching and learning in Chile have been primarily been focused on the revitalisation and promotion of Indigenous languages and culture through the Bilingual Intercultural Education Programme (Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, PEIB), which was introduced in 1996. However, the provision of Spanish language instruction for non-native speakers is undeveloped. For example, there are no guidelines for teachers or schools on how to diagnose the language abilities of new students nor how to support Spanish language learning once students are in school. Finally, it appears that language is not only a challenge for non-Spanish speaking immigrant students but also for those from other Spanish speaking countries who may be unfamiliar with the colloquialisms used in Chilean Spanish.

Some schools have introduced initiatives to address this challenge, for example, by using technology or language facilitators to support immigrant students and families who are not proficient in Spanish. However, these practices usually depend on the will and efforts of individual social and institutional actors and are not systematically available to all students with language needs. When the individual learning needs of students who struggle with Spanish go unmet, this could have a negative impact on their academic achievement and overall experience in school. It could also reinforce the feeling among native Chilean families that schools serving large numbers of non-native Spanish speakers may neglect the learning needs of their native children since language learners might demand more attention from teachers.

Developing an offer of Spanish as a second language, exploring the possibility of induction courses and promoting mother tongue education may only benefit a relatively small number of students in Chile today. However, developing these frameworks can help prepare for more linguistically diverse waves of immigration in the future. Efforts to address language and communication barriers in schools should align with broader initiatives to adopt inclusive pedagogies so that all immigrant students receive the support they need to learn and develop a sense of belonging in schools. To provide systematic language learning support, Chile might consider:

Policy Pointer 2.1: Strengthen initial integration and language assessment processes

Chile could develop a uniform welcome protocol for newly arrived students that schools can adapt and use. This might include guidance on how to consider a variety of factors, including the student's age, previous school experience, information from parents or guardians and the results of diagnostic assessments when determining what class would be most appropriate for a student. In particular, diagnostic assessments of language and other competencies could provide teachers with information about children's previous knowledge and distinguish between the student's cognitive competencies and language skills (i.e., will language barriers prevent a student from fully participating in a mainstream classroom or are there other academic needs beyond language). Moreover, Chile could consider developing a diagnostic language assessment in the early years to benefit the growing share of immigrant students enrolled in the country's preschools.

Policy Pointer 2.2: Introduce targeted language supports so that students can develop the Spanish language skills needed to participate in mainstream classes

Chile could develop a strategy for Spanish language learners and establish more structured language support services. Support might include offering Spanish as a second language courses, providing a special curriculum for Spanish language learners in mainstream classes that is appropriate for the student's age and grade level, or leveraging innovative practices such as dual language or online programmes to support the language development of students with an immigrant background. The latter might also include materials or interventions to support Spanish-speaking immigrant students become familiar with Chilean Spanish. When feasible, Chile could also offer short induction classes for Spanish language learners to help newly arrived students with little or no knowledge of Spanish develop the language skills they need to access mainstream curriculum content. If the concentration of students who could benefit from these services is too small within some schools, Chile might consider introducing after-school modules that draw students from multiple schools to support language learning.

Policy Pointer 2.3: Expand mother tongue education beyond Indigenous languages so that immigrant students can benefit from mother tongue support

Chile could develop more institutionalised approaches to promote mother tongue language instruction for immigrant students. However, facilitating the recognition of foreign qualifications or offering flexible pathways for immigrants who speak foreign languages to gain the qualifications needed to work in schools is an important part of hiring education professionals who are able to provide mother tongue language support.

Capacity building

Aim: Develop and strengthen the capacity of education professionals who work in diverse schools

Recently, Chile has taken steps to improve the financial incentives and working conditions of teachers. In 2016, the System for Teacher Education and Professional Development introduced a number of important changes including a multistage career structure, efforts to raise salaries, and a new induction process that sets high expectations for beginning teachers. The reform also aims to attract well-prepared teachers to vulnerable schools and give teachers in these schools more time for non-classroom activities, in particular for professional development opportunities. Although, Chilean teachers can benefit from a number of professional development providers and training exists in a variety of forms including courses, seminars, workshops, internship projects and postgraduate studies. Evidence suggests that teachers need more opportunities to develop strategies to manage diversity in their classrooms.

In regards to Spanish language teaching, there are currently no specialised courses to provide teachers with strategies for Spanish language development in initial teacher education programmes nor in professional development. As the share of immigrant students who are non-native Spanish speakers is currently quite small, now is an opportune moment to develop a small cohort of specialist teachers in Spanish as a second language and incorporate second language pedagogies into initial teacher education programmes (across content areas). This will help ensure that all future teachers in Chile are prepared to teach in linguistically diverse classrooms.

Giving teachers opportunities for professional exchange and mentorship, and establishing a platform to collect and disseminate evidence-based policies and practices can also help build capacity to support immigrant students and diverse groups of learners. Chile already has some established professional learning networks for teachers. For example, collaborative learning and exchange opportunities are available for teachers working in rural multi-grade schools and for English language teachers. Mentorship arrangements have also been incorporated for new teachers through the National Induction System for Beginning Teachers (Sistema Nacional de Inducción para Docentes Principiantes), and between traditional Indigenous teachers and classroom teachers to integrate Indigenous language and culture into curriculum. These examples can serve as a foundation for developing mentorship and exchange opportunities for teachers working with large shares of immigrant students.

The rapid increase of immigrants in Chile has left many teachers and schools unprepared for growing diversity. While some Chilean schools can access additional resources for support measures, there are no guidelines for how such measures can be used to help immigrant students perform on grade level, learn Spanish as a second language or support their integration and overall inclusion. The Ministry of Education encourages schools to use their improvement plans (Plan de Mejoramiento Educativo) as an opportunity to reflect on the type of technical and pedagogical support they need to respond to high concentrations of immigrant students and diverse learning needs within their specific contexts. However, articulating needs this way appears to be more of a bureaucratic requirement and accountability measure rather than a way to adequately address challenges and build capacity. To strength capacity for including immigrant students, Chile might consider:

Policy Pointer 3.1: Incorporate diversity training into initial teacher preparation and professional development

All teachers will encounter some form of diversity during their career and stand to benefit from initial teacher education programmes that incorporate inclusive approaches and how to foster respect for diversity. However, current teachers also need relevant professional development opportunities to improve their knowledge and learn strategies about how to respond to diversity in their classrooms.

Policy Pointer 3.2: Develop a small cohort of specialised Spanish language teachers

The share of immigrant students in Chile who are non-native Spanish speakers is currently small. This makes now an opportune moment for Chile to consider developing a small cohort of specialised teachers to support Spanish language learners. For example, teacher education programmes could introduce a "Spanish as a second language" specialisation to establish a cohort of teachers who can use a range of language learning methodologies to facilitate the transition and full academic and social inclusion of non-native Spanish speaking students. However, this should be part of a broader effort to introduce all teachers to language acquisition pedagogies (see policy pointer 3.3).

Policy Pointer 3.3: Provide all teachers with training opportunities to integrate language acquisition pedagogies into mainstream classrooms

Introducing all teachers to language acquisition pedagogies that can be used in mainstream classrooms across subject areas can help support students who struggle with the Spanish language but attend mainstream classes. Such pedagogies can be integrated into initial teacher education or professional development programmes to help raise awareness about language learning among all teachers. This could help promote a learning community that supports and recognises the diverse heritage and language that immigrant students bring into the classroom (Della Chiesa, Scott and Hinton, 2012_{[61}). Combined with developing a cohort of specialist Spanish language teachers, integrating language acquisition pedagogies into mainstream teaching practices could strengthen the system's capacity to respond to linguistically diverse students and reduce segregation.

Policy Pointer 3.4: Foster opportunities for professional exchange and mentorship

Chile could consider developing mentorship arrangements for teachers with an immigrant background who are new to the Chilean education system but should develop guidelines, incentives and allow teachers to allocate time to mentorship activities. Supporting professional networks for teachers working in schools with high concentrations of immigrant students could also help scale up individual efforts to include diverse groups of students in Chilean classrooms and school communities.

Policy Pointer 3.5: Develop support systems for diverse classrooms

Chile could encourage schools to articulate the specific types of technical and pedagogical support they need to address large concentrations of immigrant students and diverse learners. Guidelines and support mechanisms could help build capacity around issues such as helping immigrant students perform on grade level, learning Spanish as a second language or supporting the integration and trajectory of immigrant students. It will be important to consider financial and human resource implications for providing additional support.

Inclusive schools

Aim: Promote social cohesion in the context of increasing diversity through supportive and engaging school communities

Chile is a diverse country. While Spanish is the official administrative language, there is an important share of Indigenous peoples who speak several languages including Mapudungun, Aymara, Quechua and Rapa Nui (MINEDUC, n.d.[7]). Some of these languages, such as Mapudungun, also have various territorial dialects. The recent influx of immigrants represents even greater diversity with new language and cultures. This may present new challenges to social cohesion if the attitudes, dispositions and perceptions of both immigrants and native Chileans are ignored.

The Chilean government has introduced a range of policies that demonstrate its commitment to promoting equity. For example, diversity, integration and inter-culturalism are among the guiding principles included in the Chilean General Education Law (20.370) and Chile's national curriculum also aims to promote inclusion and integration, be representative of diverse social demands and prevent any form of discrimination that may hinder student learning.

However, some parents and guardians still feel isolated when it comes to engaging with the school communities of their children. The uneven distribution of immigrant students across schools, the lack of systematic support for students who struggle with the Spanish language and the absence of tools and guidance for teachers and schools with high concentrations of immigrant students suggests that more could be done to build on the experience of inter-cultural education in a way that can benefit immigrant students and strengthen the overall inclusiveness of school communities.

Policy Pointer 4.1: Broaden the concept of inter-cultural education in curriculum and provide flexibility to link with the migration phenomenon

At the school level, there are efforts to address the tensions between the curriculum and the realities of a diverse classroom. However, there are no institutional mechanisms available to foster the socio-cultural inclusion of immigrant students in Chilean schools. It is necessary to adapt the contents of the Chilean national curriculum to allow for more inclusive and intercultural approaches to teaching and learning. While the importance of improving outcomes for Chile's Indigenous people should not be undermined, programmes to promote Indigenous culture need to effectively engage the majority population. In the context of increasing migration and diversity, a broader conception of inter-cultural education that engages all students could help immigrant students feel included in the Chilean education system and promote greater social cohesion.

Policy Pointer 4.2: Reinforce a whole school approach towards establishing an inclusive school climate

It is the responsibility of the entire school community and its members to manage diversity and promote an inclusive school climate. Intercultural events that allow students to exchange food, dance, music and other elements of their culture can provide positive learning opportunities; however, care must be taken to avoid reducing culture to folklore. Recognising the value of diversity beyond the individual school level can provide a foundation for broader discussions about diversity. A safe and supportive learning environment is also important. Chile could reinforce efforts to reduce bullying and improve the school disciplinary climate so that all students have the best possible chance to succeed.

Policy Pointer 4.3: Engage parents and guardians in the school community and in their child's learning

When taking a whole-school approach to managing diversity, it is important to incorporate families. Immigrant parents and guardians may not be aware of how to engage in the school community or may face language barriers that prevent them from doing so. Chile could consider providing greater support to parents and caregivers on how to become involved in the school community and help schools build stronger relationships with immigrant families. Establishing parent associations, offering language instruction for non-Spanish speaking parents and guardians in schools and establishing community liaisons could be ways to achieve this.

1. Context and overview

This section provides an overview of the Strength through Diversity Spotlight Report and the immigration context in Chile, with a particular focus on immigrant children. The information will be used to contextualise the subsequent analysis and provides a broad account of recent efforts to address the educational needs of immigrant students in Chile.

1.1. A Strength through Diversity Spotlight Report

The OECD and the Chilean Ministry of Education collaborated to complete this Strength through Diversity Spotlight Report. The three goals of this report are: to identify efforts Chile has taken to include immigrant and refugee students in the education system, to highlight examples of how peer-countries have addressed similar challenges related to this issue and to provide insights on policies and practices that Chile could consider in the future. Based on discussions with the Ministry of Education and other stakeholders, the OECD identified four key priorities facing the Chilean education system in regards to the inclusion of immigrant and refugee children. These are:

- 1. School choice and segregation;
- 2. Language training;
- 3. Capacity building; and
- 4. Inclusive education.

The following report builds on findings from recent OECD work on education policy in Chile (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]; OECD, 2017_[5]); thematic research on integrating immigrants into education systems; international and national data sources; and a questionnaire completed by the Ministry of Education of Chile (MINEDUC) on the range of policies and practices (following the period after school enrolment) that are being used to support the educational achievement and socio-emotional well-being of immigrant children. The report was also informed by interviews conducted by the OECD Strength through Diversity team during a review mission and outcomes from a stakeholder workshop that took place in June 2018 (see Box 1.1).

Examples of policies and practices from peer-learner countries and regions are also featured in the report. In particular, examples from Australia; North America (Canada and the United States); the Netherlands and Sweden are referenced. These peer-learners were identified as having range of experiences relevant for Chile's reflection on how to address education challenges in the context of the migration phenomenon. Examples from other countries are included on the basis of their relevance to the challenge being addressed.

Box 1.1. Strength through Diversity Stakeholder Workshop in Santiago

The OECD Strength through Diversity team and the Research Centre of the Chilean Ministry of Education organised a stakeholder workshop in Santiago on 14 June 2018 to discuss the four key areas examined in this Spotlight report. The workshop was attended by more than 80 stakeholders (representing teachers, teacher educators, civil society, researchers, policy-makers and students) and officials from the Ministry of Education. Former Education Minister, Gerardo Varela, opened the workshop with a speech focused on the increasing diversity of immigration flows in Chile. The workshop was designed not only to validate the four thematic areas addressed in this report but also to seek feedback through small group activities on what resource gaps they face and what additional policies or supports could help them promote the full inclusion of immigrant students. The small group sessions were moderated by the Ministry of Education and a selection of the comments made by participants during the workshop are included at the beginning of each section of this report.

1.1.1. Key challenges

The OECD, in consultation with the Chilean Ministry of Education and other stakeholders, identified four priority areas that appear to be of particular relevance for Chile. They are:

School choice and segregation

How can Chile promote diverse distributions of students and ensure that immigrant families are able to navigate an education system characterised by school choice and high levels of inequality? Chile has implemented a number of education reforms in recent years that regulate school choice policy with the goal of curbing segregation and promoting inclusion (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]; OECD, 2017_[5]). Moreover, the government has taken steps to ensure that all children who reside in Chile can access education, regardless of their immigration status. Despite this, immigrant students are disproportionately concentrated in public municipal schools and immigrant families may not fully benefit from the variety of school offers available due to a lack social networks or understanding of the Chilean education system. Providing immigrant families with information about school offers, ensuring that schools have adequate resources to support immigrant children and using data to identify and monitor the educational progress of these students, are keys to promoting more diverse distributions of students and improving overall educational equity in Chile.

Language training

How can Chile provide adequate language support to children and youth who arrive in the country with limited Spanish skills? Most immigrants come to Chile from other Spanish-speaking countries; however, growing numbers of immigrant children are arriving from Haiti, China and Syria (among other countries). Language training is therefore a relatively new challenge for Chile and as a result, the country lacks structured language support services to meet the educational needs of non-Spanish speaking students. In areas where there is a high demand for language support, schools have hired teachers and/or support staff who speak the native language of immigrant students, but these responses are not systematic and there appear to be concerns around process for initial student integration, especially for those who are not native Spanish speakers. Furthermore, efforts to provide targeted language support while avoiding the segregation of immigrant students presents a challenge for service delivery since it would be costly to support a small number of students spread across different schools. Improving initial integration processes, developing Spanish language support services in schools and promoting the use of mother tongue instruction could help support the language acquisition of children and youth with limited Spanish skills.

Capacity building

How can the capacity of educational professionals be developed and strengthened to meet the needs of diverse schools? The rapid increase of immigrants in Chile has left several teachers and school leaders unprepared for growing diversity. In many cases, schools must address this challenge without guidance or support. Moreover, good practices are not sufficiently recognised, evaluated and disseminated across school networks. To address this challenge, teachers and other education professionals need training opportunities related to incorporating inter-cultural education into their practice, supporting students with limited Spanish language proficiency and creating inclusive learning environments that treat diversity "as an asset, not a liability" (OECD, 2010, p. 171_[8]). Building the capacity of teachers and schools to respond to migration-induced diversity, even if they currently serve few immigrant students - can help prepare Chile's education system for the immigration inflows expected in the future.

Inclusive education

How can Chile promote social cohesion through supportive and engaging school communities? Despite a relatively low share of immigrants as a share of the overall population, Chile is a diverse country with several spoken languages and a considerable (12.8%) share of Indigenous peoples as a percent of the total population (INE, 2018[1]). The recent influx of immigrants represents even greater diversity with more languages and cultures that may present a challenge to social cohesion. Building fair, cohesive societies that promote inclusive growth cannot be done if attitudes, dispositions and perceptions of both new arrivals and native Chileans are ignored. Inclusive education has an important role to play in managing the increasing diversity in Chile and developing policies that effectively address the migration phenomenon.

1.1.2. Peer-learner examples

The choice of peer-learners for Chile was driven by the similarities of challenges the selected countries face integrating immigrant and refugee students, but also due to their more developed approaches and experience in addressing these challenges. Examples of research and policy interventions from peer-learners and other countries were integrated on the basis of their relevance to the challenge being addressed.

Australia

Immigration in Australia has been shaped by a selection policy focused on reuniting families and admitting immigrants with high levels of in-demand skills. According to PISA 2015, immigrant students account for 25% of the Australia's total 15-year-old student population, a proportion which is among the highest in the OECD (OECD average: 12.5%). Results from PISA also show that there was no significant performance gap between immigrant and non-immigrant students in science. While Australia's selection policy can partly explain the high learning outcomes of immigrant students, the country's sophisticated settlement and integration services, which are provided to all non-temporary immigrants upon their arrival, are also important to the successful integration of immigrants (Liebig, 2007[9]).

Australia has adopted a range of supports for immigrant students, parents and communities in the area of education and is considered a world leader in recognising the opportunities immigrant students bring to the classroom (MIPEX, 2015_[10]). For example, some states provide information about their education system in immigrants' native languages or offer intensive English language courses. The capacity of teachers to address the challenges of having an increasingly diverse classroom is also being addressed through professional teacher standards which explicitly require all beginning teachers to have "knowledge of teaching strategies that are responsive to the learning strengths and needs of students from diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and socio-economic backgrounds," (AITSL, 2011[11]).

In addition to providing linguistic support and building the capacity of teachers, Australia has introduced targeted measures to support Indigenous students through the National Indigenous Reform Agreement. In the area of education, the targets include measures around early childhood education enrolment; school attendance; reading and numeracy proficiency; and the number of Indigenous students needed to close the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in achieving Year 12 Certification (Australian Government Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017_[12]). This helped regions visualise the objectives and raise awareness of the importance of change among school leaders and regional staff (OECD, 2018[13]). Indigenous students in Chile have benefited from initiatives to revitalise Indigenous cultures and languages through education in recent years. However, indigenous families still tend to be more vulnerable than non-indigenous families and students from Indigenous communities continue to have significantly lower test scores than their non-Indigenous peers (as measured by SIMCE results). While the context and situations of immigrant and Indigenous populations in Chile and Australia are considerably different, examples from Australia's targeted approaches to supporting vulnerable populations and managing diversity can offer helpful reflections for Chile.

North America (Canada and the United States)

Canada and the United States both have decentralised education systems, long traditions of immigration and a range of experiences related to inclusive education and diversity. According to PISA 2015, around 41% of 15-year-old students in Canada and 32% in the United States were either foreign-born or had at least one foreign-born parent, compared to 23% on average across the OECD. Furthermore, both countries have Indigenous populations that have historically suffered from colonisation processes that undermined their sense of identity, language and culture, contributing to lower learning and well-being outcomes (OECD, 2017_[14]; Martinez, 2014_[15]).

As of 2016, over 37% of Canadian children under the age of 15 had an immigrant background, a share that is expected to increase around ten percentage points by 2036 (Statistics Canada, 2016_[16]). Many of these children have roots from countries with markedly different cultures: only 25% have a heritage from a European country or the United States. Moreover, the various histories, cultures and languages of Canada's First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples, which account for around 4.3% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2016[17]), adds other important dimensions to Canadian diversity. Efforts to improve the learning outcomes and well-being of Indigenous students in Canada, while promoting an inclusive school climate for students with an immigrant background, can serve as an example for Chile's reflections on how to foster an education system that values diversity.

In the United States, immigrant children (first- and second-generation immigrants below age 18) represent 27% of the total population of children as of 2017 (Child Trends, 2017_[18]). In 2017, 16% of immigrant youth were white, non-Hispanic (the majority group in the overall population), 54% were of Hispanic origin, 9% were black non-Hispanic and about 17% were non-Hispanic Asian (Child Trends, 2017_[18]). While there are differences across the country, the United States government still plays an important role to ensure that states and localities take the necessary measures to provide targeted learning support to immigrant children, as stated by first the No Child Left Behind law from 2011 and the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) from 2015 (McHugh, 2018_[19]; MIPEX, 2015_[20]).

Through ESSA, the government provides funding and opportunities to make Indigenous languages and cultures an integral part of schools serving these students. For instance, ESSA supports language immersion programmes and offers federal grants for the professional development of teachers and other school staff to adapt and improve teaching materials, activities and assessment methods to better include Indigenous languages and cultures (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2016_[21]; Hayes, 2016_[22]). The initiative also encourages community engagement by including Tribal Elders and families in the educational planning (Hayes, 2016_[22]). Finally, in order to evaluate Indigenous language skills and level of expertise of the teaching staff, ESSA authorises the Secretary of Education to perform evaluations that assesses the academic proficiency and outcomes of students, as well as how schools utilise indigenous languages across different subjects (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2016[21]).

Language is another major issue that has been addressed in both Canada and the United States. Data from PISA 2015 reveal that 50% of immigrant students (first- and second-generation) and 60% of first-generation immigrant students in Canada were non-native speakers (they reported that the language they most often use at home is different from the one of the PISA assessment). In the United States, the shares were higher: 67% of immigrant students and 81% of first-generation immigrant students were non-native speakers (OECD, 2018_[3]). While these shares are much larger than the proportion of non-native speakers in Chile, both countries can offer examples with regards to the various language supports and monitoring systems that can facilitate second language acquisition in schools.

The Netherlands

The Netherlands has a long tradition of immigration (Ersanilli, 2007_[23]). Due to its history as a colonising power, the country saw a large influx of immigrants from its former colonies in the decades after the Second World War. These immigrants came from very diverse backgrounds; however, the majority were already Dutch citizens before arrival (Bosma, 2012_[24]). Post-colonial immigration to the Netherlands changed the country's demography and estimates suggest that 6.3% of the Dutch population are firstor second-generation immigrants from former colonies (ibid.). In the beginning, the Dutch had a relatively open immigration policy towards its former colonies, encouraging multiculturalism and facilitating services in their mother tongues. Over time however, immigration policies have become stricter with a larger focus on assimilation (Ersanilli, $2007_{[23]}$).

Since 2000, the Netherlands has seen a 40% increase in the number of foreign-born individuals with may new arrivals coming from Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq and Syria (Seiffert and Wörmann, 2017_[25]). Like Chile, the Netherlands is working to balance school choice policies in the context of increasing immigration. School choice policies in the Netherlands share many parallels with Chile; however, it is important to note that there are also substantial differences between the two cases. In the early 20th century, the Netherlands introduced school choice to provide "freedom of education" and equal state support for both public and private schools. To make school choice more equitable, publically funded private schools are not allowed to impose mandatory tuition fees (although schools can supplement their funding with voluntary contributions from parents or businesses). Moreover, a weighted student funding formula is used that considers the socio-economic status and education needs of each student, making vulnerable students more attractive to schools competing for enrolment (OECD, 2017_[26]). Chile recently introduced similar regulations to promote more equitable school choice as part of the 2015 Inclusion Law.

Nevertheless, immigrant parents in the Netherlands, face difficulties in sending their child to the best school because of language barriers, lack of knowledge of the Dutch school system, and financial constraints (Shewbridge et al., 2010[27]). Additionally, the Netherlands is experiencing rising levels of segregation, especially in urban areas that exacerbates disparities between native and immigrant students. Data from PISA suggests that the current concentration of immigrant students in Dutch schools is approximately 10% (meaning that to have an equal ratio of percentage of foreign and native-born students, 10% of the entire student body would need to be reallocated to a different school) (OECD, 2018[31]). Unfortunately, similar data is currently unavailable for Chile due to the small sample size of students with an immigrant background; however, national data suggests that segregation may be an emerging issue in Chile as immigrant students tend to be concentrated in the country's public municipal schools. Considering the analogous challenges the two countries face in accommodating growing number of new arrivals in the context of school choice policies, the Netherlands can offer examples aimed at improving student outcomes and reducing segregation.

Sweden

Starting shortly before World War II and continuing in waves since then, immigrants arriving in Sweden have mainly come from neighbouring European countries. Despite this, the recent refugee crisis has changed the composition of new arrivals in Sweden, many of which are asylum seekers from Afghanistan, Eritrea, Somalia and Syria. Furthermore, the number of foreign-born individuals in Sweden has increased more than 75% since 2000. This context implies significant challenges for the Swedish education system not only in terms of accommodating the large numbers of new students, but also in managing diversity in the classroom and responding to the individual needs of students.

The share of Sweden's foreign-born population as a percent of the total population (around 18%) was much higher than that of Chile's (2.6%) as of 2017 (OECD, 2018_[28]). Despite the differences in scale, both countries are working to integrate immigrant and refugee students into education systems characterised by school choice policy. While there is ongoing debate on the relationship between school choice and educational segregation, it appears that segregation by migrant background has become more severe since the introduction of the reform in 1992 (Böhlmark, Holmlund and Lindahl, 2016_[29]). Calculations using data from PISA suggest that to have an equal ratio of percentage of native and immigrant students, 14% of the entire student body would need to be reallocated to a different school; a more severe difference than what was calculated for the Netherlands (OECD, 2018[3]). Sweden has introduced several policies and practices to address its own challenges with school choice, segregation and immigration. The strengths and weaknesses of these initiatives can provide useful considerations as Chile navigates ways to ensure immigrant families can fully exercise their right to choose a school for their child and that schools which serve immigrant students have the resources and capacity needed to support the initial integration and inclusion of diverse groups of students.

1.1.3. Plan for the report and methodological approach

The following sections of the Spotlight Report focus on four priority areas: school choice and segregation; capacity building; language training and inclusive education. Section 2 examines school choice and segregation, exploring ways in which Chile could go beyond ensuring access to education for immigrant and refugee students towards fully including them and supporting their school trajectory. Section 3 examines language training for immigrant and refugee students, as the influx of immigrant students from non-Spanish speaking countries presents a relatively new demand for language learning support. Section 4 considers capacity building in the Chilean education system, in particular preparing and supporting teachers to work in diverse classrooms and disseminating successful practices across school networks. Finally, Section 5 examines inclusive school education and how factors like curriculum and school climate can help Chile's education system respond to increasing diversity.

The policy issues addressed in each area were identified in consultation with the Ministry of Education and other stakeholders. The OECD team drew on outcomes of the stakeholder workshop in Santiago (see Box 1.1), the review mission and desk based research to explore each of the key policy areas and make comparisons with relevant policies and practices found in peer-learner countries. Each section of the report includes an analysis of the situation in Chile and a description of the policies and practices currently in place.

Examples from peer-learner countries are also provided at different levels of the education system: classroom, school, community, municipality, and system. This structure highlights the shared responsibility of integrating immigrant and refugee students and the challenges of implementing targeted interventions on a large scale. Examples from peer-learner countries were selected for specifically targeting students with an immigrant or refugee background, or for more broadly aiming to improve outcomes for all vulnerable students. In particular, examples of initiatives targeting Indigenous students are used throughout the report as this group also faces disparities in terms of educational opportunities and outcomes, compared to non-Indigenous students.

The report also offers policy pointers based on international evidence for each of the priority areas. These are not policy recommendations and should be contextualised and approached with caution. They are included in this Spotlight report in order to highlight some of the ways that peer-learner countries have promoted the inclusion of immigrant and refugee students.

This Spotlight Report does not aim to provide an analysis on the immigration policies of the Chilean government. It does however take a holistic approach to the inclusion of immigrant students, considering their different needs, interests and expectations with the goal of understanding how education systems can better support their success. The rapid increase in Chile's immigrant population is a recent trend and therefore available data and literature that specifically addresses the education of immigrant students in the country is somewhat limited. Nevertheless, the topic of this report is not negligible, a number of researchers are currently reviewing Chile's educational response to immigration and more evidence will become available as this trend develops.

1.2. Introduction and context

Chile has experienced a large influx of immigrants in recent years. As these migration flows profoundly change the composition of Chilean classrooms, it is crucial that all children, regardless of their migration background, can enjoy the academic, social and emotional well-being benefits that a quality education provides. Ensuring that immigrant students are successfully included in the education system can not only help build the skilled workforce Chile needs to become an innovative and sustainable economy, but can also help reduce the country's high levels of social inequality. In the context of ongoing reforms to improve the quality and equity of the Chilean education system (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]; OECD, 2017_[5]), this report will examine Chile's efforts to include immigrant students in school education and address the needs of an increasingly diverse student population.

1.2.1. Immigration in Chile is rising

Relative to many of its neighbours, Chile's economic and political stability have made it an emerging destination country for immigrants (OAS, 2017_[2]). Today's migration inflows are mainly from other Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) countries, principally from Peru (25.2%); Colombia (14.1%); Venezuela (11.1%); Bolivia (9.9%); Argentina (8.9%); Haiti (8.4%); and, Ecuador (3.7%) (INE, 2018_[1]). According to international data, migration inflows to Chile rose by 50% between 2012 and 2015, one of the fastest growing rates in the region (OAS, 2017_[2]). National census data reveal a similar trend: as of 2017, 4.35% of the total population in Chile was born in another country (746 465 individuals), compared to only 1% of the total population in 2006 (see Figure 2.1) (INE, 2018_[1]). Despite the increase, Chile's immigrant population remains a much smaller share of the total population compared to the OECD average (which was around 13% in 2017 (OECD, 2018_[28]).

The number of individuals living in Chile with an irregular migratory status is also on the rise. This status refers to individuals who may have already entered the country and are now trying to regularise their residency. According to the Chilean government, as of 2018 approximately 300 000 individuals had an irregular migratory status (Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública [Ministry of the Interior and Public Security], 2018_[30]); however, this is difficult to estimate accurately since fear of being prosecuted and deported may cause individuals to avoid data collection processes (Willen, 2012_[31]). To facilitate and encourage the participation of all immigrants in the 2017 Census, the National Institute of Statistics (*Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas*) did not ask questions about legal immigration status and made efforts to accommodate non-Spanish speakers (INE, 2017_[32]). For example, a translated version of the survey was available as a reference in Creole, English, French, German and Portuguese to support individuals who were not comfortable responding in Spanish and in some cases (when feasible), bilingual census administrators helped translate the content.

Chile has also seen a rise in the number of asylum seekers and refugees in recent years. The Ministry of the Interior reports that in 2015, Chile received 629 official applications for asylum; which increased to 5 656 by 2017 (Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública [Ministry of the Interior and Public Security], 2018[30]). Many asylum seekers in Chile are Venezuelan, looking to escape the deteriorating economic and political situation in their home country (for more information see Box 2.1 of the OECD report Improving Resilience of Integration Systems for Refugees and other Vulnerable Migrants, 2018). Chile became the first South American country to launch an official resettlement programme in 1999 and established the rights and obligations of refugees and asylum seekers through the 2010 Refugee Law (Law 20.430) (White, 2012[33]). In 2014, Chile launched the Syrian Refugee Resettlement Program in partnership with the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), which aims to facilitate the full public integration of Syrian refugees into the Chilean society and economy. Integration efforts include housing support; health services (including mental health services); Spanish language classes; labour insertion; and, education. The government has committed to receiving 66 Syrian refugees from Lebanon (adults and children) over the period of 2017-19.

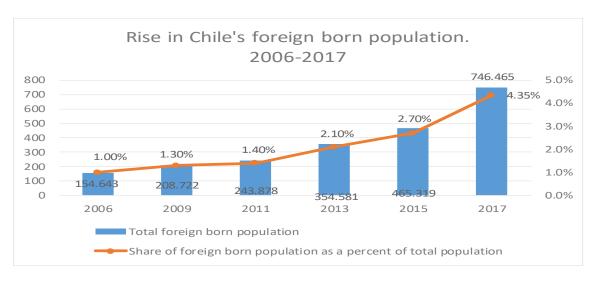


Figure 1.1. Rise in Chile's immigrant population, 2006-17

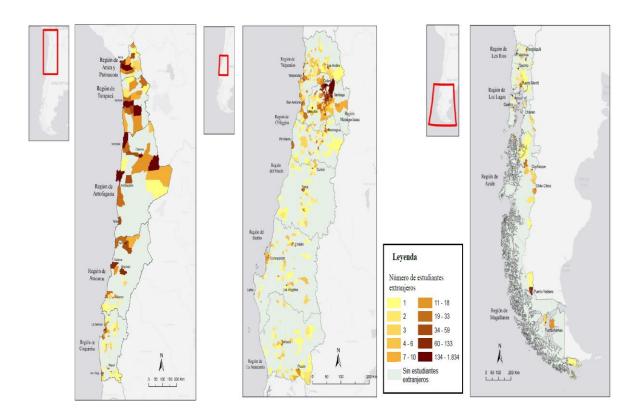
Note: Foreign-born population is understood as the total number of persons residing in private dwellings who reported their mother resided in another country at the time of their birth. Source: (INE, 2018[1])

Chile's recent experience with international migration is somewhat unique compared to other countries in the region that are mostly characterised by emigration. For example, in 2015 net migration (the total number of immigrants minus the total number of emigrants for a given year) in Peru and Colombia was roughly -79 000 and -83 000 respectively; in Chile, net migration was around 74 000 for the same year (OAS, 2017_[2]). Argentina's net migration (around 83 000) was similar to that of Chile; however, for both countries, this remains much smaller than high-income countries like Canada (219 000) or the United States (841 000) (OAS, $2017_{[2]}$). While the internationally comparable data on net migration is available from 2015, the rapid influx of immigrants has taken place in the last three years so it is possible that today's net migration in Chile is even higher.

Geographically, the majority of immigrants in Chile are concentrated in either the Santiago Metropolitan Region (65.2% of the total immigrant population) or the northern regions of Antofagasta (8.4%) and Tarapacá (5.9%) (INE, 2018[1]). However, there are important differences in this distribution; the regions with the highest percent of immigrants as a proportion of the total population of the region are Tarapacá (13.7%); Antofagasta (11%); Arica y Parinacota (8.2%); and the Santiago Metropolitan Region (7%) (ibid.). This means that while the Santiago Metropolitan Region has a higher number of immigrants, diversity in terms of immigrant background may be more prevalent in northern regions which have higher concentrations of immigrants.

The overall geographic distribution of immigrants in Chile is reflected in the high concentrations of foreign-born students in the north and Metropolitan regions, as seen in pre-census data from 2016 and illustrated by Figure 1.2. It is important to consider the distribution and composition of immigrant students as the challenges experienced by schools in the northern regions may be different from those experienced by schools in the Metropolitan region. For example, the north's proximity to Peru and Bolivia could make language training less of a priority since immigrants arriving from these neighbouring countries tend to be native Spanish speakers, whereas the Metropolitan region may attract more linguistically diverse immigrant groups.

Figure 1.2. Geographical distribution of the concentration of foreign students by census district (north, central, south)



Notes: 1. Maps were built with the census districts used in the 2016 Pre-census. 2. For the elaboration of the categories, a division was used from the deciles of the distribution of foreign students at the national level. 3. The spaces in grey represent census districts in which there is no presence of foreign students. Source: Fernández S., María Paz (2018), Map of Foreign Students in the Chilean School System (2015-2017).

National immigration policy is changing

Due to Chile's remote geographic location and its tradition of emigration until the early 1990s, immigration has not historically been a major policy concern. As a result, the current national policy on immigration dates to 1975 and has undergone a series of ad hoc changes in an effort to meet the needs of a more globalised and mobile world, (Box 1.2 provides an example of one change Chile has made to its immigration policy) (Dona-Reveco and Levinson, 2012[34]). Recently, the Piñera administration proposed a comprehensive immigration reform law in April 2018. The reform aims to regulate the entrance, stay, residency and exit of foreign individuals in the country, as well as the exercise of their rights and duties. In regards to education and children's rights, the reform maintains the commitments of previous administrations to guarantee "foreign minors, regardless of the immigration status of their parents, access to pre-school, primary and secondary education in the same conditions as any Chilean" (Gobierno de Chile, 2018_[35]). Ensuring these rights and considering the impact other provisions of this reform may have on immigrant children and their families will be an important part of successfully including them in the Chilean education system and wider society. The bill was passed by the Chamber of Deputies and sent to the Senate for approval in January 2019 (Cámara de Diputados de Chile [The Chamber of Deputies of Chile], 2019[36]).

Box 1.2. Chile Recognises (Chile Reconoce)

Chile's immigration policy dates to 1975. Until 2014, Chilean nationality was only granted to children born of immigrant parents who had regular migratory status at the time of the child's birth. If parents had irregular migratory status or failed to provide official documents from their own country (to pass on their nationality), the child was registered as a "child of transient foreigners" (hijos de extranjeros transeúntes, HET) for administrative purposes. Thousands of children born in Chile between 1995 and 2014 were denied Chilean nationality or born stateless as a result of this policy, limiting their access to health, education and other social services. The Chilean government formally acknowledged the problem in 2014 and started guaranteeing the right to nationality for all children born in Chile, regardless of the migratory status of their parents. The Minister of the Interior and Public Health launched the programme, Chile Reconoce, in 2016 to identify HET children and help them receive Chilean nationality. To date, the programme has helped roughly 100 people in the regions of Arica and Parinacota, Antofagasta, Tarapacá, and the Santiago Metropolitan Region attain Chilean nationality.

Source: Chile Reconoce website, https://chilereconoce.cl/, accessed 11 October 2018.

1.2.2. Children with an immigrant background

International data from the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) shows that similar to the overall immigrant population, the share of students with an immigrant background is rising. The proportion of 15-year-old first-generation immigrant students in Chile grew by over 17 percentage points between 2006 and 2015, whereas the OECD average decreased by nearly 2 percentage points during this time. However, immigrant students in Chile (5%) remain a much smaller proportion of the student population than the OECD average (23%). As the most recent PISA study was conducted in 2015, it does not include students from the latest wave of immigration and likely underestimates the prevalence of immigrant students in Chilean schools today.

The OECD report, The Resilience of Students with an Immigrant Background: Factors that Shape Well-Being (OECD, 2018_[3]), provides some insights on the profile of students with an immigrant background in Chile as of 2015 (see Box 1.3. for definitions of different profiles). For example, 45% of 15-year-old students with an immigrant background in Chile were native-born with one foreign-born and one native-born parent (native students of mixed heritage). Another 32% of students with an immigrant background were foreign-born from foreign-born parents (first-generation immigrant students). Finally, 12% were foreign-born with at least one native-born parent (returning foreign-born student); and 11% were native-born from two foreign-born parents (second-generation immigrant students). When students have at least one parent or family member who was born in Chile, this can help guide their integration as the student can rely on the institutional knowledge of the native-born parent (OECD, 2018_[3]).

According to national data, around 10.3% of foreign-born individuals living in Chile were under the age of 15 in 2017, corresponding to approximately 81 312 children (INE, 2018_[1]). Data from PISA 2015 suggests that more than half of first-generation immigrant students arrived in Chile at or after the age of 12, compared to about one third on average across OECD countries. These "late arrivals" may face greater challenges integrating into Chilean society than younger children because they will spend less time in the education system and may have had their studies disrupted when they changed countries (OECD, 2018[3]).

Foreign-born students and those who have acquired Chilean nationality (nacionalizados/as) accounted for around 2% of enrolments in all early childhood education programmes (educación parvularia) and 2.3% of all enrolments in basic education in 2017, an increase of around one percentage point in both levels compared to 2015 (Fernández S., 2018_[37]). At the secondary level, the share of foreign-born students and those who have acquired Chilean nationality also increased slightly, making up around 1.8% of total enrolments in the general (humanities and sciences) track (enseñanza media H-C), 2.3% of enrolments in the technical and professional track (enseñanza media T-P), and 6% of enrolments in the artistic track (enseñanza media artística) in 2017 (ibid.).

While immigrant students can be found in all types of Chilean schools, most are concentrated in public municipal schools (see section on School Choice). Stefoni et al., explain that immigrant parents and guardians with fewer resources tend to enrol their children in public municipal schools (which are free of cost), while more affluent immigrant families can afford to send their children to subsidised or non-subsidised private schools (which charge fees) (2010_[38]). Differences in the type of schools that immigrant students attend is linked to the differences in the work and social situations of their families.

Across OECD countries, immigrant students are generally more socio-economically disadvantaged compared to native students. A large share of immigrant students in Chile attend schools with a Preferential School Subvention (Subvención Escolar Preferencial, SEP) agreement (Martínez, 2018_[39]), which provides additional resources to schools based on the number of students in conditions of vulnerability. However, when a student's family does not have a national identity number or regular migration status, the government cannot formally determine their status of vulnerability to access social service benefits. As a result, some schools do not receive a preferential subsidy despite the reality that vulnerable immigrant students attend the school.

It is important to note that not all students with an immigrant background should automatically be considered vulnerable. In fact, some profiles of immigrant students, such as those with mixed heritage or returning foreign-born students, tend to be more socio-economically advantaged than their native peers, which is the case in most countries. For example, PISA 2015 reveals that the parents of returning foreign-born students and native students of mixed heritage were found to have completed more years of schooling, have higher occupational prestige and have a score on the PISA index of household possessions that was about one third of a standard deviation larger than the parents of native students on average across Chile (OECD, 2018[3]).

Chile is also experiencing more visible immigration, especially with the rise in Africandescent Haitian immigrants, many of which face the additional challenge of having to learn Spanish (Reveco, 2018[40]). Data from PISA 2015 shows that more than nine out of ten students with an immigrant background in Chile speak Spanish at home. However, language barriers are becoming more pronounced as immigrants from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds arrive in Chile. For example, the number of Haitian immigrants rose from 15 705 to 62 683 between 2013 and 2015 and the Ministry for Education (Ministerio de Educación, MINEDUC) reports that language support services for children from Haiti and other non-Spanish speaking countries is urgently needed in schools (INE, 2018[1]; MINEDUC, 2018[41]; Fernández S., 2018[37]).

The above context is significant: socio-economic disadvantage and language barriers are among the greatest obstacles to the successful integration of students with an immigrant background (OECD, 2018_[3]). Identifying and addressing the needs of immigrant students who may face various forms of vulnerability and supporting them to overcome adversity and become academically and emotionally resilient are crucial to ensuring that increasing numbers of immigrant students does not lead to increasing gaps in academic and social outcomes.

Learning outcomes

International and regional assessments reveal that Chile is one of the highest performers in the Latin American region, measured by PISA and UNESCO's Latin American Laboratory for Evaluation of Education Quality (OECD, 2016_[42]; UNESCO, 2015_[43]). However, most OECD countries continue to outperform Chile and large inequalities persist in terms of learning outcomes. While the influence of socio-economic status on student learning has decreased in Chile since PISA 2006, it still had one of the most significant impacts on science performance across the OECD in PISA 2015, explaining nearly 17% of the variance in performance (OECD average: 13%). Data from PISA also suggest large gender and geographic disparities in educational achievement in Chile compared to most OECD countries. Available international data on learning outcomes. such as PISA and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), do not allow for current comparison of the performance differences between students with an immigrant background and native students. This is because existing data does not include the latest wave of immigrants who arrived in Chile in 2018. It will be important to analysis new data in the upcoming rounds of international student assessments to monitor potential performance disparities of Chile's immigrant student population.

For the PISA data that is currently available, the performance disparities between students with an immigrant background and native Chilean students is similar to the OECD average. For an overview of the definitions used to describe the variety of profiles students with an immigrant background have and the different types of resilience referred to in this report, please see Box 1.3. Data from PISA 2015 reveals that 48% of students born in Chile with native-born parents achieved at least a Level 2 in the three core domains of PISA (math, reading and science), (OECD, 2018[3]). This is considered the baseline level of academic proficiency required to fully participate in society. Only 32% of first and second-generation immigrant students achieved this level (a difference of 16 percentage points, similar to the difference of the OECD average: 18 percentage points), (OECD, 2018_[31]). Further analysis of PISA data suggest other potential gaps in the performance of immigrant student across different profiles; however, these differences are not statistically significant due to small sample sizes (OECD, 2018_[3]).

Box 1.3. Note on definitions

Definitions of native and foreign-born students

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

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

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

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

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

Definitions of different dimensions of resilience

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

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

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

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

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

Source: OECD (2018), The Resilience of Students with an Immigrant Background: Factors that Shape Well-being, OECD reviews of Migrant Education, OECD Publishing, Paris.

Data from the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) 2015 also demonstrate some disparities in learning outcomes between immigrant and native students. In the Grade 4 science assessment, immigrant students scored 29 points lower than native students, a smaller gap than Canada and the United States and the equivalent of around one third of a standard deviation in scores across the full sample of participating countries (Mullis et al., 2016_[44]). An analysis of mathematics results reveals a smaller gap between immigrant and native students. This trend is seen in other countries that participated in TIMSS and could be the result of greater linguistic hurdles that migrants face when learning science compared to mathematics.

Around 81% of the Grade 4 students in Chile who participated in TIMSS 2015 reported always speaking the language of the test at home, compared to 73% of students in Australia, 67% of students in the United States, 65% of students in the Netherlands and in Sweden, and 58% of students in Canada. Chile had one of the highest shares of students who reported always speaking the test language at home among all participating countries (Mullis et al., 2016_[44]). When disaggregating the data by student profile, the share of immigrant students who report always speaking the language of the test at home also is relatively high (75%) and only around 11% of immigrant students in Chile reported never speaking Spanish at home (Mullis et al., 2016_[44]). Unfortunately, the sample size of students with an immigrant background in Chile was too small to examine the association between language and student performance. However, native Spanish speaking students scored 42 points higher in mathematics than students who report never speaking Spanish at home and 50 points higher in the science assessment (Mullis et al., 2016_[44]). The 2016 Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) does not collect data on the immigrant background of students; therefore, it is not possible to draw insights on the impact language has on student reading performance in international assessments.

At the national level, Chile's Education Quality Measurement System (Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación, SIMCE), suggest that learning outcomes among students in public municipal schools (where most immigrant students are concentrated), tend to be lower than those of students in both subsidised and independent private schools (OECD, 2017_[51]). While publicly available SIMCE data does not allow for student performance to be disaggregated by immigrant background, Elige Educar (2017_[45]) developed a scaled database using students' national identity number (Rol Único Nacional, RUN) and SIMCE 2015 results to compare performance differences between native and foreign-born students. However, this method does not consider immigrant students who do not have an official national identity number. The findings reveal that for the youngest group of students included in the study (Grade 4), there was no significant difference in reading comprehension but native students scored an average of 3.7 points more than foreign-born students in mathematics at this level, a significant difference (Educar, 2017_[45]).

The performance differences among older students (in Grade 8 and Year 2 of secondary school) were more pronounced in favour of native students. For example, in the reading comprehension assessment of year 2 secondary students, those born outside of Chile scored nearly 6 points lower on average than native students and in social science they scored around 8 points lower (Educar, 2017[45]). The finding that performance gaps appear larger among older students could suggest that learning gaps widen along the academic trajectory of immigrant students, as they may struggle to keep up with an unfamiliar curriculum or face language difficulties that become more consequential as they advance through the system. While the study does not distinguish between the different profiles children with an immigrant background may have, this finding could also suggest that age of arrival plays an important role in the academic achievement of immigrant students in Chile. It will be important to closely monitor the learning outcomes of immigrant students to identify the challenges they face and address emerging gaps.

Well-being outcomes

Evidence on the well-being outcomes of immigrant students is mixed. While 70% of native students in Chile report being satisfied with life in PISA 2015, only 58% of first-generation immigrant students did. Second-generation immigrant students, on the other hand, reported a similar life satisfaction to that of native students (71%) (OECD, 2018_[3]). This gap of around 12 percentage points between first-generation immigrant students and natives is double the OECD average and also well above the regional LAC average (see Figure 1.3). It seems that additional support for first-generation immigrant students could be beneficial in order to decrease this gap. While the average native student reports higher life satisfaction than the average immigrant student (except for second-generation students), they are less likely to feel a sense of belonging at school than returning foreign-born and second-generation students. As many as 75% of second-generation and returning foreign-born students reported having a sense of belonging at school but only around 69% of native students did (OECD, 2018[3]). First generation immigrants and students of mixed heritage reported having a sense of belonging at school on similar levels to native students. Given the small sample size of immigrant students that participated in PISA 2015, it is important to interpret these results with caution. Future editions of PISA are likely to reflect the growing share of immigrant students in Chile, enriching the available data on their well-being outcomes.

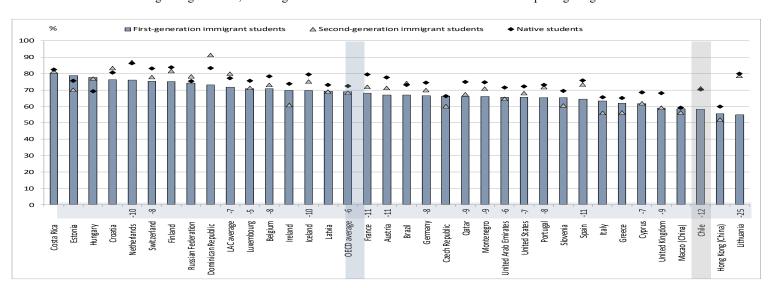


Figure 1.3. Reports of satisfaction with life by student immigrant profile, PISA 2015

Difference among first-generation, second-generation and native students in the likelihood of reporting a high satisfaction with life

Note: Only countries with valid values for first- and second-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 Latin American and Caribbean region (LAC) average, this number refers only to the subset of countries/economies with valid information on both groups of students. For the LAC average, these countries are Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica and Dominican Republic. 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.

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.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, https://www.oecd.org/pisa/data/2015database/ (accessed 3 December 2018).

1.2.3. Promoting the educational rights of immigrants

Chile has gradually taken a more rights-based approach to immigration policy and has adopted several frameworks at the international and regional level, which address migration and education. For example, Chile has ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families and the International Convention on the Rights of the Child; both consider education as a fundamental right.

At the regional level, the Andres Bello Convention on Educational, Scientific, Technological and Cultural Integration has developed a grade equivalency chart for all levels of education. The Convention aims to strengthen the integration process and establish a common Latin American cultural space to ensure that a person's primary, secondary or technical studies are recognised across all member countries (Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain and Venezuela). Argentina has requested membership to the Andres Bello Convention, which will facilitate greater mobility for Argentinian students and professionals who wish to study or work in other member countries. Bilaterally, Chile has agreements for the certification of studies carried out in Argentina, Brazil, Spain, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Paraguay and Uruguay. Conventions on the recognition of previous studies also exist with Germany, France and Israel, however these are primarily focused on validating the completion of secondary school and facilitating entrance into universities (MINEDUC, accessed 2018[46]).

At the national level, the Chilean Constitution does not specifically reference immigrants. However, it is based on the principle of universal human rights, which includes the right to education for all children and young people. In line with this, Chile's General Education Law (Ley General de Educación, 2009) highlights key principles such as equity, diversity, and inclusion (see Box 5.2). As of 2015, the Inclusion Law (Ley de Inclusión, 21.015) guarantees education as a right and aims to end systemic practices that have historically contributed to educational inequity in Chile, such as selective admission processes, charging fees in parallel with receiving public subsidies (financiamiento compartido), and for profit school ownership (Santiago et al., 2017[4]). It also encourages schools to serve as a "meeting place for students of different socio-economic, cultural, ethnic, gender, nationality or religion", (Inclusion Law, Article 1; para 1). By promoting the right to education and levelling the playing field between students from different backgrounds, these legal frameworks set the precedent that all immigrant students should be included in the Chilean education system.

The Ministry of Education has recognised the need for greater inter-sectoral collaboration within the government to advance the goal of ensuring the academic success and well-being of students with an immigrant background (MINEDUC, 2018[47]). In 2016, the Migration Co-ordination working group was created within the Ministry of Education (as a part of the Inclusion and Participation unit) to review and design policies that safeguard the educational rights of immigrant children and ensure their inclusion across all levels of the system (Fernández S., 2018_[37]). The working group prepared the National Policy on Foreign Students (Política Nacional de Estudiantes Extranjeros) 2018-22, which advocates for the right to education. Other inter-ministerial efforts that promote the educational rights of immigrant children includes the "We are all schools" programme (Escuela Somos Todos). This programme was established by the Ministry of the Interior and Public Safety and several municipalities in an effort to regularise the migration status of children and ensure their access to education and other benefits. This programme was

replaced by the "Chile Receives You" programme (Chile te Recibe) in 2017 (see below and Box 1.4).

Chile also has a number of civil society organisations working to support the educational rights of immigrant families and children, including (among others) the International Organisation for Migration (Organización Internacional para las Migraciones, OIM); Jesuit Migrant Service (Servicio Jesuita Migrante); American Solidarity (América Solidaria): the Foundation against Poverty (Fundación para la superación de la pobreza) and Collective without Boarders (Colectivo sin fronteras). In a documentary analysis of materials related to migration and school education, Jiménez et al. (2017_[48]) credit Chile's civil society organisations with promoting good practices for the inclusion of immigrant students at the school level. While these organisations play a crucial role in supporting the country's educational response to the influx of immigrants, their involvement should be seen as a complement to public support services, not a replacement.

1.2.4. Education policy responses that target immigrant children

In response to the growing number of immigrant children arriving in Chile, education policy efforts have been primarily focused on ensuring access. While there is no official data available, the Chilean government estimates that nearly one third of immigrant children inside the educational system are living in the country with irregular migratory status, meaning they do not have a visa or a national identity number (Rol Único *Nacional*, RUN) (MINEDUC, 2017_[49]). Previously, this prevented some immigrant children from enrolling in school. To address this challenge, the government introduced the Chile Receives You (Chile te Recibe) programme, an inter-ministerial effort which creates a special visa for children living with irregular migrant status, regardless of their parents' migratory situation. In regularising the visa status of immigrant children, the programme aims to facilitate access to social benefits such as education and health care (see Box 1.4).

The Ministry of Education also introduced the School Provisional Identifier (Identificador Provisorio Escolar, IPE) in January 2017, which guarantees all school aged children provisional access to education, despite not (yet) having a regular visa status. The IPE replaces the RUT 100 system that was previously used to enrol students in school and was conditional on their success in securing a visa or definitive RUN in order to qualify for school lunches, learning support and other educational benefits. In 2016, the RUT 100 was subject to a civil society campaign (#NoMoreRUT100, NoMásRut100), which argued that all immigrant children should be allowed to enrol in schools but also access educational benefits on equal terms with native Chilean students. While the IPE is a welcomed improvement to the RUT 100, the OECD review team was informed during the mission that access to education remains a challenge for students in irregular migrant situations as families and sometimes schools are not always aware that provisional enrolment with an IPE is possible for students with an irregular migrant status.

Box 1.4. Chile Receives You (Chile te recibe)

In 2017, an estimated 30 000 migrant children and adolescents in the Chilean school system had irregular migratory status and were unable to obtain a national identity number (RUN) to ensure their access to education and health benefits. In response, President Michelle Bachelet launched a migrant assistance plan, Chile Receives You (Chile te recibe) to protect migrant children and teenagers in irregular migratory situations by providing them with a special, free of cost residence visa. While the IPE allows students to enter the education system regardless of their visa status, the Chile Receives You programme helped migrant children to regularise their migrant status and gave them access the same rights as native Chilean children, including school meals; a national student card; a computer in seventh grade; free higher education; and insurance. The only requirement to obtain a visa through the programme was to be under the age of 18 and have a legal birth certificate. The programme is still functioning today; however, it has undergone some changes to its characteristics and content since its launch.

Source: MINEDUC (2017), "Government of Chile will regularise the situation of migrant children and adolescents with a special visa [Gobierno de Chile regularizará la situación de niños, niñas y adolescentes migrantes con una visa especial]" https://migrantes.mineduc.cl/2017/07/26/anuncio-regularizacion-ninosninas-adolescentes-migrantes-firma-decreto-los-exime-del-pago-visa/

When immigrant students enrol in school using an IPE, they are incorporated into the General Information System of Students (SIGE) which collects detailed information at the individual student level as reported by schools. This information monitors the student's school trajectory, certifies when they have completed a level of education and allows them to take university entrance exams (Prueba de Selección Universitaria, PSU). Families that wish to enrol their child this way must go to the Citizen Assistance Offices of MINEDUC Ayuda MINEDUC) to request an IPE. The IPE number then follows immigrant students if they change schools and allows them to access certain benefits, such as school lunches and textbooks (among other things), until their migrant status becomes regular and they are able to validate their education level (MINEDUC, 2017_[49]). Once this has been done, the student can be permanently enrolled in the education system. However, if the student's migratory status is regularised, the IPE must be replaced with the national identity number in the SIGE (Joiko and Vásquez, 2017_[50]).

According to preliminary enrolment data, 55 134 students were enrolled in Chilean schools with the IPE as of May 2018. That corresponds to 48.5% of all students with a foreign background (MINEDUC, 2018_[51]). However, there is no official data available on how many of these students have their studies validated if they are unable to prove their education level, how many go on to receive a RUN from the Ministry of Justice, nor how many vulnerable immigrant children are living in Chile, meaning they have neither an IPE nor a RUN and are not enrolled in school. Information on the latter is unavailable because the condition of vulnerability in Chile is measured through a Social Registry of Households (Registro Social de Hogares), which requires the possession of a RUN. The collection of this information is not the sole responsibility of the Ministry of Education and requires an intergovernmental effort involving the Ministries of Social Development, Justice and Interior, among others.

The Ministry has also set forth some guidelines on how newly arrived immigrant students should be assigned to classes that are appropriate for their age and grade level. As stated in Ordinario N° 894 (2016_[52]), if a student arrives in Chile without documentation about their level of studies and their home country does not have an agreement with Chile on the recognition of studies (see above), the school must give the student a placement test within 90 days of their enrolment to determine the most appropriate grade level assignment. If a student does not speak Spanish, schools are encouraged to test the student in his or her native language or wait until the last quarter of the school year to give the student a placement test when they will have had more exposure to the Spanish language (MINEDUC, 2017_[49]). While this guidance is important, the OECD review team was informed that not all schools are aware of these policies nor are they implemented regularly. This can have potentially negative consequences for immigrant students entering the Chilean school system since they could miss valuable learning time if they are not placed in an appropriate classroom.

Chile lacks a comprehensive strategy to ensure the full educational inclusion of students with an immigrant background (Castillo, 2016_[53]). The policies described above reflect the progress made to fulfil the country's legislative mandate of guaranteeing access to education for all immigrant children; however, more could be done to promote inclusive education among school communities. In an effort to achieve this, the Ministry published "Guidelines for the construction of inclusive education communities" (Orientaciones para la construcción de comunidades educativas inclusivas) in 2016. This document provides strategies to support schools in their gradual transition towards becoming more inclusive by using the management and improvement instruments already at their disposal (MINEDUC, 2016_[54]). A subsequent guideline was produced with a migration focus in 2017. The "Technical Guidelines for the Educational Inclusion of Foreign Students", (Orientaciones técnicas para la inclusión educativa de estudiantes extranjeros) goes beyond the broader concept of inclusion to specifically support school communities in advancing inter-cultural approaches to education (MINEDUC, 2017_[49]). Both guiding documents identify and highlight examples at the school level that can help create a school environment that is inclusive towards immigrant students. For example, the Ministry encourages schools to establish "Welcome Protocols" for immigrant students and families that can help facilitate their initial integration. Markedly, there are no evaluations of practices to include immigrant students nor suggestions on how inclusion efforts could become more systematic. This implies that promising initiatives often depend on the good will of specific teachers, school directors or other members of the education community (Gajardo et al., 2016_[55]).

There is also little information available about the well-being and aspirations of immigrant students in Chile, which "give meaning to their passage through the school system", (Gajardo et al., 2016, p. 9_[55]). While the current share of immigrant students in Chile represents a relatively small share of the overall student population, its rapid increase in recent years highlights the need to reflect on the policies that can reverse emerging disparities, advance the educational and long-term success of students with an immigrant background, and promote social cohesion.

2. School choice and segregation

Aim: Promote diverse distributions of students and ensure that immigrant families are able to navigate the Chilean education system

Box 2.1. Selection of comments made by workshop participants

- "(We need policies that) make access more transparent because there is a lot of paperwork but little time to understand what is being asked."
- "In general, they (immigrants) go to the Ministry of Education, which sends them to a school that is saturated with students. Here it is obvious that there is no concern or accompaniment to support migrants in this process, since they are subject to what the establishment tells them. If they are not accepted (by a school), they must return to the Ministry of Education and the vicious circle is repeated."
- "If there is a school with more facilities for Haitians, everyone will go to that school."
- "I have cases (where people) travel two hours to attend (school) only because there are intercultural facilitators there."

2.1. Context

School choice advocates believe that parents should have the right to choose where they send their child to school. They argue that choice is a social justice issue and when disadvantaged families do not have the opportunity to choose, their children may be trapped in low-performing schools, whereas more privileged families may have the means to move to a different neighbourhood or pay a fee to allow their children to attend better performing private schools (OECD, 2017_[26]). In theory, introducing market mechanisms in education allows equal access to high quality schooling since competition between schools could raise educational outcomes for all (OECD, 2012_[56]). However, even in the best circumstances whereby choice leads to increased efficiency, diversity within schools could be artificially lowered as families with similar views and profiles may choose the same schools and self-segregate, reducing diversity in the distribution of students. If not well designed, school choice policies can also lead to an increase in segregation and inequalities. Regulatory policies and incentives that enable disadvantaged students to attend high performing schools, in addition to supporting parents to make well-informed choices about their child's education can help balance school choice and equity (OECD, 2017_[26]).

Chile's market-oriented education reforms of the 1980s introduced a nationwide school voucher programme characterised by a flat per student public subsidy that allows families to apply for a place in a government-dependent (subsidised) school of their choice. To inform their decisions, information about the performance of individual schools is widely disseminated, as are the results of national standardised student assessments and of external school evaluations conducted by the Agency for Quality Education and the Education Superintendence (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). However, the Chilean voucher system was only lightly regulated until 2016 and research suggests that this model has led to some negative consequences, in particular a high level of segregation by socio-economic background and academic ability (Valenzuela and Montecinos, 2017_[57]; González, 2017_[58]; Guari, 1998_[59]; OECD, 2017_[5]).

Previously, government-dependent (subsidised) private schools were allowed to receive funds based on the number of students enrolled (using student vouchers) while simultaneously charging tuition fees without a corresponding reduction in public subsidies (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). This meant that only families who could afford to pay tuition could choose a school. The 2015 Inclusion Law is gradually abolishing the practice of shared funding (financiamiento compartido) and forbids schools from operating as for profit organisations. The Inclusion Law also eliminates the formerly common practice of selecting and admitting students to subsidised private schools based on their social, economic, academic and cultural backgrounds, which was done through parent interviews, entry tests and other tools (OECD, 2017_[26]). Full implementation of the Inclusion Law aims to harmonise policies of public and subsidised private providers in order to promote greater equity in the education system. These changes align with some of the school choice policies found in the Flemish Community of Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden.

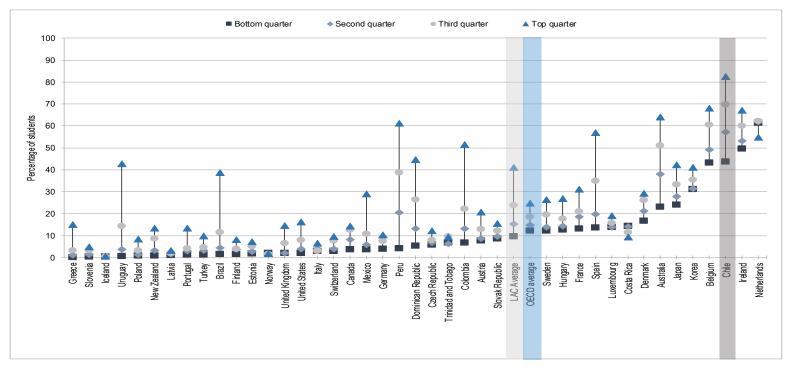
Chile's pre-reform voucher policy is considered an important factor for understanding the role socio-economic background plays on a family's decision and ability to enrol their child in privately managed schools. The effect of 'cream skimming' students from more advantaged backgrounds into private schools can be seen in Figure 2.1. This shows the stratification between advantaged and disadvantaged students in private school enrolment across OECD and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) countries using data from PISA 2015. While the large difference observed when considering socio-economic background in private school enrolments is a common trend throughout the LAC region (with the exception of Costa Rica and Trinidad and Tobago), segregation in Chile is more severe than the regional and OECD averages. Socio-economic status is also associated with differences in student performance: PISA 2015 revealed that social, economic, and cultural status explained nearly 17% of the variance in science performance in Chile (OECD average is 12.9%), one of the largest impacts experienced by an OECD country. This is consistent with national assessment (SIMCE) results.

While the relationship between Chile's school choice policy and educational equity has been studied from a range of perspectives, there is limited evidence about the impact that "nationality, race and ethnic origin," has on school choice decisions and outcomes, and how the process of choosing a school is experienced by immigrant families (Joiko, S; Vásquez, A, 2016, p. 142_[60]). Despite this, enrolment data reveals that there has been a sharp increase in the number of immigrant students enrolled in Chilean schools, mostly concentrated in the public sector (see below). This could suggest that immigrant students may not be fully exercising or benefiting from Chile's school choice policy.

Considering the general decline in Chile's school age population and the significant decrease in public municipal school enrolments in recent years as middle-class students have moved to private-subsidised schools, the influx in enrolments of immigrant students in the public sector is timely. For example, over 54% of all students were enrolled in Chilean public schools (primary to upper secondary) in 2000, compared to only around 36% in 2017 (MINEDUC, 2017_[61]). In the context of this declining enrolment, the rapid influx of immigrant students has prompted some researchers and schools to suggest that immigrants may be 'revitalising' Chile's public school sector (Joiko, S; Vásquez, A, 2016, p. 157_[60]). However, it is likely that this revitalisation is also due to the recent education reforms that aim to promote diverse distributions of students.

Figure 2.1. Stratification between public and private schools

Percentage of students attending privately managed schools by socio-economic background (2015)



Notes: This chart shows the percentage of students enrolled in privately managed schools by quarters of the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS). Countries are ranked in ascending order by the percentage of students from the bottom quarter ESCS attending private schools. Partner countries from Latin American and Caribbean region (LAC) are included for comparison. Only countries with valid data are shown in the figure. The regional average for LAC include both the OECD and partner countries from the region for which there are valid data: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay.

Source: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, https://www.oecd.org/pisa/data/2015database/ (accessed 3 December 2018).

2.1.1. Immigrant students are concentrated in public schools and in certain geographical areas

Chile has a mix of public, private and state-subsidised providers that are found across all levels of compulsory education. Generally, the most disadvantaged students are concentrated in municipal public schools, while government-dependent private (subsidised) schools attract a more diverse range of students and government-independent private schools tend to cater to students from high-income families (Ministry of Social Development, as cited in (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]; OECD, 2017_[5]). Evidence suggests that socio-economic factors, geographic location and academic ability have a large impact on the type of school a child attends, to a greater extent than immigrant background (Villalobos et al., 2018_[62]). Stefoni et al. also find that "for immigrant families from low socio-economic groups, the possibility of choosing a school is very restricted," (Stefoni et al., 2010, p. 88_[38]). It is therefore crucial to consider the intersections of student background when discussing educational segregation between native and immigrant students in Chilean schools.

Educational segregation by socio-economic background can partly be explained by residential segregation. The 2015 OECD Economic Survey of Chile found large differences in learning outcomes across neighbourhoods. The study revealed that students in poorer neighbourhoods with higher inequality had lower results on the national assessment (SIMCE) exam (OECD, 2015_[63]).

In 2015, around 30 625 foreign-born students were enrolled in Chilean schools across the country and by 2017, this number increased to roughly 77 608, making up around 3.5% of total public school enrolments (Fernández S., 2018_[37]). While native Chilean students still outnumber foreign-born students in most schools, the two groups are not evenly distributed by school type. Data from the Ministry of Education reveals that foreign-born students are largely concentrated in Chile's public municipal schools: around 57% of foreign-born students were enrolled in the public school sector in 2017, nearly double the share of native Chilean students (35%), as seen in Table 2.1 (Fernández S., 2018[37]). Inversely, native-born students tend to be concentrated in subsidised private schools as middle-class students have gradually moved to private-subsidised schools (Santiago et al., $2017_{[4]}$).

		1 0		V1 V1 (,
Type of student	Total enrolment	Distribution of enrolment by provider type (%)			
		Public municipal	Government- dependent private	Government- independent private	Delegated administration
Native Chilean	3 480 739	35.27	55.10	1.28	8.35
Foreign-born	77 608	57.46	33.13	1.49	7.91
Nationalised	47	55.32	23.40	6.38	14.89
Total	3558394	1272392	1943598	296801	45603

Table 2.1. Distribution of compulsory education enrolment by provider type (2017)

Note: Delegated administration schools are owned by the Ministry of Education with administration delegated to public or private non-profit organisations (mostly in technical-professional education). Source: Fernández S. (2018), "El Mapa de los estudiantes extranjeros en el sistema escolar Chileno (2015-2017)".

Foreign-born students are especially prevalent in certain geographical areas. The majority (87.1%) are concentrated in four of Chile's fifteen administrative regions: Arica and Parinacota, Tarapacá, and Antofagasta, which are located along the country's northern

borders; and the urban Santiago Metropolitan region (Fernández S., 2018_[37]). In the Greater Santiago area, around 78 educational establishments have a proportion of immigrant students that is larger or equal to 15% of their total student population and six have a proportion of more than 50% (Educar, 2017_[45]). In Chile's northern regions, the concentration of immigrant students can reach almost 20% of the total student population in some public municipal schools (Educar, 2017_[45]).

Concentrating students with similar needs in the same schools can facilitate service delivery by targeting interventions and resources. For example, the cost of hiring a language mediator may be easier to justify for a school whereby 20 students stand to benefit rather than only three. In fact, parents of immigrant students sometimes choose more segregated schools for their children precisely for those reasons and thus, providing quality service delivery for areas of high concentration of (immigrant) students is important (Cerna et al., 2019_[64]).

The concentration of immigrant students in certain geographical areas (mainly the urban capital and northern border regions) and types of schools (mainly public municipal schools) in Chile should be closely monitored to avoid further segregation between native and immigrant students. Monitoring the enrolment trends of immigrant students can also help identify schools with that may have additional resource needs. However, care should also be taken to avoid stigmatising immigrant students and the schools they attend.

2.1.2. Perceptions may implicitly contribute to segregation

Despite the lack of evidence that immigrant students affect the learning outcomes of native students, negative perceptions of immigrant students and the schools they attend could be an important contributing factor to educational segregation. For example, participant comments during the Strength through Diversity workshop in Santiago suggested that concentrations of non-native Spanish speaking immigrant students appear to be lowering the national assessment (SIMCE) results of some schools, which is an important indicator for measuring school quality. While the language proficiency and educational achievement of immigrant students may be different from native Chilean students, there is little evidence to explain what these differences are and how potential gaps in performance might be closed.

There are apparent performance differences between students who attend public municipal schools, which serve the highest proportions of students in conditions of vulnerability, and those who attend private schools (both subsidised and independent private schools). However, when comparing the SIMCE results of students with similar socio-economic backgrounds across different types of schools, the performance disparities are either small, non-existent or demonstrate better performance by students at public municipal schools (OECD, 2017_[5]). This suggests that school performance is more of a function of student socio-economic status rather than the quality of educational services delivered by schools (OECD, 2017_[5]). As such, schools and other social services may need to provide more holistic support to vulnerable students to improve their learning outcomes.

Data from SIMCE does not allow student performance to be disaggregated by immigrant background (or other vulnerable groups aside from socio-economic background). However, the Agency for Quality of Education plans to start allowing schools to identify students who are non-native Spanish speakers or those with permanent special education needs when they take the SIMCE exam (Agency for the Quality of Education, 2017_[65]). It is unclear if these changes are intended to facilitate the adjustment of school level results

or inform public policy around supporting students who are learning Spanish or have permanent special education needs.

Despite the lack of disaggregated data, estimates from a model developed by Elige Educar (2017_[45]) suggest that in Grade 4 of primary school there are no significant differences between schools with high concentrations of immigrant students and lower performance on SIMCE. In Grade 8 and Year 2 of secondary school, the model found that the correlation was too small to support the hypothesis that schools with a higher concentrations of immigrants contribute to lower school results (Educar, 2017_[45]). Future research could examine the role double disadvantage (of having an immigrant background and being socio-economically vulnerable) has on school performance. Furthermore, there is no evidence that large concentrations of immigrant students affect, let alone reduce, the learning outcomes of native Chilean students.

Negative perceptions about the academic ability of immigrant students and the quality of public municipal schools can discourage native Chilean parents and guardians from sending their children to schools with high concentrations of immigrant students. In Sweden for example, research has found that 'tipping points' or thresholds exist in which native Swedes will leave a neighbourhood or school once the minority or migrant population exceeds a certain percentage (Neuman, 2015_[66]). Research in Chile has come to similar conclusions: that high concentrations of immigrant students are perceived to 'scare-off' native Chilean families and lower the academic level of schools (Gajardo et al., 2016_[55]). Combatting negative stereotypes about immigrant students and helping them achieve their potential in school could help reduce segregation and promote greater social cohesion.

There is also some evidence that segregation is not only a result of the choices made by native Chilean parents but also immigrant families. For example, several studies have found evidence of discrimination and stigmatisation towards immigrant students in Chilean schools (Gajardo et al., 2016_[55]; Riedemann and Stefoni, 2015_[67]; Tijoux-Merino, 2013_[68]). Additionally, data from PISA 2015 reveals that first-generation immigrant students were 11 percentage points more likely than native Chilean students to report being frequently bullied; a difference almost four times larger than the OECD average (3 percentage points) (OECD, 2018[3]). Moreover, there is some evidence that immigrant parents, in choosing a school for their children, lean on the support from their social networks through the experiences of family, friends and close neighbours and that a multicultural conext of the schoos often times is highly valued (Joiko, S; Vásquez, A, 2016_[60]). Given that immigrant families tend to concentrate in certain geographical and uraban areas, this could also be contributing to segregation.

2.2. Migration-induced diversity: school choice and segregation in Chile

2.2.1. Immigrant families navigate a complex and unfamiliar school system

The lack of social networks and other stress factors associated with migration can make it difficult for immigrant families to obtain information on alternative schools and determine which establishment best meets the needs of their child (OECD, 2018_[31]). To support immigrant parents and guardians in navigating the complex and unfamiliar educational landscape, it is important to understand how they make decisions about school choice.

Based on interviews with various educational actors, especially immigrant parents, Joiko and Vásquez found that like native Chileans, immigrant parents report visiting schools

near their home, searching for information on the Internet and relying on information from relatives, friends and close neighbours when trying to understand the school options available to them (2016_[60]). However, their research also revealed that immigrant families tend to rely more on formal sources, such as their local municipality or the Ministry of Education, and that opportunities to introduce immigrant parents to the Chilean education system (explain grades, assessments, school subsidy, etc.), were limited (ibid). The Ministry recommends that schools develop brief introductory brochures with relevant information about the specific school and the Chilean education system as part of a welcome protocol (MINEDUC, 2017_[49]).

At the system level, Chile has recently taken important steps towards helping families compare and apply to different schools, which can benefit both native Chilean and immigrant families. The new online school admissions system (sistema de admisión escolar online) provides a range of transparent school level information and helps facilitate the process of applying for placement (see Box 2.2). The platform has been gradually implemented across the Chile's fifteen regions since 2016 but does not yet include establishments located in the Santiago Metropolitan region, the most complex school network in the country and home to one of the largest concentrations of immigrant students. The Ministry plans to implement the admissions system in the Metropolitan region starting in 2019.

Box 2.2. The online school admissions system (sistema de admisión escolar online)

The new online school admissions system (sistema de admisión escolar online) makes it easier for families to compare school options based on a number of criteria including geographic location and school type (public municipal or subsidised private schools). It also aims to reduce the time it takes to apply to schools, since parents and guardians can apply for a place online rather than in person.

For each school, the platform provides information about the educational project (*Provecto* educativo institucional, PEI), extra-curricular activities and available infrastructure, such as the presence of a library or technology in classrooms, among other things. Many schools in the platform display a performance rating (high, medium, medium-low, or insufficient), to give families a measure of school quality. The categories are based on a comprehensive evaluation of the school's national assessments (SIMCE) results, in addition to personal and social indicators of students attending the school (such as reported academic motivation, school climate, health habits, and civic participation and training opportunities). The ratings are adjusted according to the characteristics of the school's student population (MINEDUC).

Families rank their preferences of schools and if spaces are available, the school must accept all children who apply. In the event of oversubscription, students are randomly selected based on an algorithm created by experts with preferences given to applicants who: have a sibling already enrolled in the school; priority students (until the target of having 15% of enrolment comprised of priority students is reached); children of school employees; and, former students who wish to return to the school (who have not been expelled). Once the system has allocated all students to a school the Ministry of Education is informed and ensures that students are assigned to schools according to their highest preference. This type of controlled choice scheme for allocating students can help combine parental preference with equity and examples of similar schemes can be found in a number of OECD countries $(OECD, 2012_{[56]}).$

For more information see www.sistemadeadmisionescolar.cl/.

Parents and guardians of immigrant students who wish to enrol their child using an RUN or an IPE can use the online platform to review schools and apply for enrolment. However, families with an IPE must go to one of the MINEDUC Help (Ayuda) offices where they will be given a provisional adult identifier (identificador provisorio del adulto. IPA) which allows them to complete the admissions process online. The online platform is only available in Spanish and households in rural areas of Chile are much less likely to have Internet services (OECD, 2019_[69]). As a result, digital divides and language barriers could make it difficult for some parents and guardians to use the online platform and communicate with officials. MINEDUC Help offices already offer translators to families who do not speak Spanish to help them carry out the online enrolment procedure. Such accommodations can help accommodate families may struggle with the Spanish language.

While providing consolidated and transparent information about school offers and application processes is certainly an important part of helping parents and guardians navigate the Chilean education system, it does not provide a space where parents can ask and receive answers to questions related to particular schools or the education system in general. This can be a challenge as immigrant families may not understand the significance of terms such as Preferential School Subsidy (Subvención Escolar Preferencial, SEP) or Programme of School Integration (Programas de Integración Escolar, PIE), both of which have implications for the amount of resources a school can offer their child. Below is an example of how the Netherlands has addressed this challenge by organising group tours and school visits to support immigrant families navigate and exercising school choice.

Examples from peer-learner countries

The Netherlands has created spaces for immigrant families to ask and receive questions about school choice options by organising group tours of local schools. The tours are organised at the municipal level and finish with a facilitated discussion to address the pros and cons of each school (Walraven, 2013[70]). Parents reported feeling more comfortable visiting the schools in groups, which is especially important for migrant parents who are navigating the system for the first time (Brunello and De Paola, 2017_[71]). Such an intervention in Chile could complement existing efforts to disseminate knowledge and improve the equity of school admissions processes by giving immigrant parents and guardians the space to ask questions about the schools in their area.

2.2.2. Resource allocation does not consider migration background nor language proficiency

One of the key strengths of the Chilean education system is its transparent and concrete basis for school funding; however, the complexity and strict criteria used to allocate additional resources might limit the ability of schools to address specific needs (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). This could be a particular concern when it comes to emerging needs, such as the inclusion of immigrant students, who are concentrated in specific regions and types of schools. The fact that student populations in some schools are comprised of up to 64% of immigrant students highlights the need to reflect on the resources available to these schools could be more responsive (Fundación Superación de la Pobreza [Overcoming Poverty Foundation]; Instituto Chileno de Estudios Municaples [Chilean Institue of Municipal Studies], 2016_[72]). Furthermore, the availability of additional resources could influence the school choice decisions of immigrant parents and guardians since establishments that can better meet the needs of their child (for example, if the school is able to provide support services or linguistic facilitators) may be a more attractive option.

Many countries have developed targeted mechanisms to provide additional resources to schools with large concentrations of students with an immigrant background. For example, France and Germany provide in-kind contributions, such as additional teaching hours or support staff, whereas Canada and the United States provide discretionary funds that allow schools to decide how to allocate extra resources (Sugarman, Morris-Lange and Mchugh, 2016_[73]). Table 3.2 in the recent OECD Funding of School Education report $(2017_{[74]})$ provides an overview of how these countries use different mechanisms to target resources to migrant students. The criteria to determine how much and what type of additional resources schools receive varies by country but is usually based on characteristics such as immigrant background and language (based on proficiency tests or reports of language spoken at home). While immigrant students may benefit from targeted resources to facilitate their inclusion and develop their language skills, care should be taken to avoid stigmatising such students through monitoring and accountability processes because of their immigrant background (OECD, 2018[3]). Some countries have taken a more universal approach to resource allocation by intentionally focusing on factors such as the socio-economic background of students, which does not discriminate based on immigrant profile or language. More evidence on the enrolment and performance differences between immigrant and native students is needed to better understand whether targeted funding approaches would benefit Chilean schools serving large populations of immigrant students or if existing universal arrangements are sufficient.

In Chile, the main mechanism through which municipal and subsidised private schools receive public funding is through the school basic grant (Subvención de Escolaridad), which is adjusted by monthly average student attendance, by level and by type of education (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). Chile also has a range of formula-driven grants and subsidies that complement the basic school grant. For example, additional resources are available to support schools serving students with special education needs, Indigenous students, socio-economically disadvantaged students and schools located in rural and remote areas. A comprehensive overview of the country's various supplemental school grants is described in the OECD School Resources Review of Chile (2017_[4]). However, except for a salary allowance awarded to teachers and school leaders working in difficult conditions (including culturally diverse schools), none of the supplemental grants or allowances specifically target establishments with large concentrations of immigrant students.

Participants in the Strength through Diversity workshop in Santiago expressed frustration that despite the inclusion of immigrant students being associated with extra costs to schools, none of the existing funding formulas and grant programmes in Chile consider this need. In response, many Chilean schools rely on other programmes to supplement their resource needs, such as the Preferential School Subsidy (Subvención Escolar Preferencial, SEP), which is being expanded under the Inclusion Law and the School Integration Programme (Programas de Integración Escolar, PIE). These programmes respectively target socio-economically vulnerable students and those with special education needs (see Box 2.3). Immigrant students are more likely to attend schools that qualify for either SEP and PIE (or both) than native Chilean students (Joiko, S; Vásquez, A, 2016_[60]); however, as immigrant students are not target beneficiaries of these programmes, some establishments are left without additional resources to serve these students.

Box 2.3. Key programmes providing additional resources to Chilean schools

One of the most important programmes that channels additional resources to Chilean schools is the **Preferential School Subsidy** (Subvención Escolar Preferencial, SEP). Since 2008, the SEP has provided extra funds to education providers who serve socio-economically vulnerable students. To receive SEP funding, providers must sign the Equality of Opportunities and Educational Excellence Agreement (Convenio de Igualdad de Oportunidades y Excelencia Educativa), committing to use the additional resources to implement an Educational Improvement Plan (Plan de Mejoramiento Educativo, PME), aimed to support priority students and improve the achievement of low-performers. According to MINEDUC, as of 2017 around 94% of all municipal public schools and 54% of subsidised private schools met the requirements receive SEP funds (MINEDUC, 2017_[75]). Funding for the SEP is being expanded to under the 2015 Inclusion Law (Agency for the Quality of Education, n.d.[76]).

Another complementary source of funding is available to schools through the Programme of School Integration (Programas de Integración Escolar, PIE), which was created in 2009 to integrate students with special education needs into mainstream classrooms. The PIE provides direct funding to schools, allowing them to invest these resources in specialised human resources (psychologists, speech therapists, specialised teachers or special educators (educadoras diferenciales), teacher training or educational materials that directly respond to the needs of students with special needs. A study of the programme from 2013, found that the majority of schools that offer PIE are municipal schools (72% compared to 28% of the subsidised private schools). Furthermore, using SIMCE definitions for socio-economic status, the study found that schools with mid- and low- socio-economic status tended to be overrepresented, while schools with a high socio-economic status tended to be underrepresented (Fundación Chile [Chile Foundation], 2013_[77]). In 2018, nearly 53% of all municipal and subsidised private schools participate in the PIE. This corresponds to around 76% of all municipal public schools and only 32% of subsidised private schools (MINEDUC, 2018_[78]).

Immigrant students may have special learning needs related to their migration experience such as facing a gap in their education, not meeting the grade level expectations of the Chilean curriculum or having difficulties with the Spanish language. The OECD review team was informed that some schools are using PIE funding to support immigrant students; however, there appear to be challenges with this approach. For example, previous OECD reviews found that a lack of systematic procedures for diagnosing special education needs (SENs) in Chile creates a risk that students may be wrongly diagnosed and that transfers due to inadequate support for special learning needs seems to be common practice (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]; OECD, 2017_[5]). While this is a potential issue all students face, immigrant students may face an amplified risk of being wrongly diagnosed or having to change schools to receive the learning support they need.

The shortcomings of initial integration processes for immigrant students - especially around language assessment (see section on language training) – and potential differences in how SENs are identified across countries are some of the factors that could make it difficult for schools to accurately diagnose and respond to the learning needs of newly arrived immigrant students. Furthermore, the fact that the PIE is only granted for up to seven students with special needs per class presents another risk since schools may have a higher number of students in this group when immigrant students and non-native Spanish speaking students are included. The policy would prevent these schools for receiving a proportional amount of additional resources based on the number of students with special education needs. A more nuanced procedure for diagnosing special education needs that also considers needs related to migration experience could help ensure that schools are able to attend to a more diverse range of learners.

The criterion used to qualify for the SEP may also present challenges to schools serving immigrant students. While the programme was designed to support schools serving vulnerable students, the Ministry of Education defines vulnerability as "priority students, for whom the socio-economic situation of their homes may hinder their ability to face the educational process", (MINEDUC, 2017_[75]). Importantly, this definition considers children who are in social security programmes, the educational attainment of the parents, rurality of home and degree of poverty. However, it does not acknowledge the potential vulnerability of students in regard to their migration background. While research has found that migration alone is not inherently a form of vulnerability, for some immigrant students, the adverse circumstances of migration could lead them to struggle in adapting to a new school culture and learning a new language (OECD, 2018[3]). Financing measures that use a universal approach such as socio-economic background could leave some schools without the resources needed to address specific challenges related to migration.

Including criterion such as the proportion of students with an immigrant background, those who are new arrivals or the share of non-native Spanish speaking students in funding decisions could help ensure that schools serving these students have access to the resources they need. However, research suggests that a better understanding of the specific factors that make immigrant students vulnerable and providing guidance on how schools can use additional resources to meet their educational needs will be important to ensuring that targeted resources are used effectively (Sugarman, Morris-Lange and Mchugh, 2016_[73]). Below are some examples of how peer-learner countries have found a balance between targeted and universal financing measures to support immigrant students.

Examples from peer-learner countries

The Netherlands previously considered immigrant status in its school funding formula; however, more resources were needed for disadvantaged native Dutch students, so the country moved towards a more universal approach in 2006. School funding is now weighted based on the educational attainment of parents rather than on immigrant background (OECD, 2017_[26]). Research has shown that schools with a high proportion of weighted students have seen an increase in resources such as the number of teachers per student, assistant teachers, and administrators (Ladd and Fiske, 2011_[79]). Nevertheless, targeted funding still exists for schools that serve immigrant students through the "learning plus arrangement" which provides discretionary funds for schools with nonnative Dutch speakers and newly arrived immigrant students (Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis, 2017_[80]). Through this arrangement, disadvantaged immigrant students are able to benefit from allocations based on socio-economic factors alongside native students, while schools needing to provide language support and induction services can still access additional resources.

Several other countries use of targeted funding approaches that specifically address the resource needs of immigrant and refugee students either generally, for newly arrived children or based on language indicators. Examples of different approaches can be found in Belgium (Flemish Community), Estonia, Germany, Lithuania, Spain and the United States (OECD, 2017_[74]). While a supplemental grant could be an interesting model for Chile, the OECD School Resources Review (2017) recommend simplifying the school grants system by reducing the quantity or unifying them into one single grant that adjusts per student allocations using a small number of indicators to reflect differences in level of schooling and student body characteristics (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). In line with this recommendation, Chile could explore the costs associated with educating immigrant students and identify relevant characteristics to include in the funding formula.

In *Canada*, for example, schools in British Columbia primarily receive funding through formula-driven operating grants which provide supplemental per student funding to address the uniqueness of district enrolment and support additional programming (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2018[81]). English and French Language Learning are recognised as unique learning needs in this funding formula, in addition to factors such as special education needs and students with an Indigenous background. The formula also includes a supplemental funding measure for vulnerable students, which is defined by a range of economic, social, and demographic factors, including "recent immigrant" status (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2018_[81]).

2.2.3. Limited amount of data is disaggregated by student background

The Chilean Ministry of Education manages a range of centralised administrative systems to collect student- and school level data which can inform school choice decisions (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). The Ministry of Education and the Agency for Quality Education are also working to provide more comprehensive measures of school quality that compare schools serving students with similar socio-economic backgrounds and capture not only academic performance but also the personal and social development of students in a particular school (OECD, 2017_[5]).

At the student level, the Ministry of Education collects information on the country of origin of foreign-born students and through the Student General Information System (Sistema Información General de Estudiantes, SIGE), schools report information about individual students, such as learning supports they require and their grades. However, data about the nationality of foreign-born students is self-reported. As of 2017, students with an IPE who are not permanently enrolled in the school system can also be included in the SIGE. This allows the Ministry of Education to monitor the volume and location of immigrant students in the school system more effectively and ensures that the learning needs of individual students are well-documented so that supports can be transferred if the student changes schools. Not all of the information collected in the SIGE are publically available.

Despite recent efforts to include immigrant students in Chile's education data and information systems, disaggregated data is still very limited. This makes it difficult to understand the different challenges immigrant students face as they progress through the school system in Chile, in regards to how they develop, their learning outcomes and their subjective hopes and aspirations (Jiménez Vargas, 2014_[82]). For example, while foreign-born students can be identified, there is no information that distinguishes among the various types of immigrant profiles (such as first- and second-generation); no information about a student's mother tongue language (to identify dual or multiple language learners); and no information on the learning outcomes of immigrant students to monitor their academic achievement. A lack of such information presents a challenge in terms of making informed policy decisions.

Previously, the OECD found that Chile has no "clear diagnosis or knowledge at the national, regional, provincial or local level of the most pressing needs of schools that serve students from vulnerable communities" (Santiago et al., 2017, p. 140[4]). While this finding was in reference to socio-economically disadvantaged students, the implications can also be applied to students with an immigrant background. For example, diagnosing students who are not native Spanish speakers could help schools respond more systematically to language development needs and consider the impact non-native Spanish speakers have on the overall evaluation and assessment results of schools. A better understanding of immigrant students' educational experience in Chile could help lead a system wide effort to make all schools a good choice for immigrant families.

While information about the social and academic characteristics of individual students is sometimes use in Chile to develop appropriate pedagogical support, this seems to be dependent on individual schools (Julio Maturana, 2009[83]). Access to reliable, regular and updated data can provide a "big picture" of the learning needs of this rapidly growing student population. It can also help monitor their progress over time and inform (and later evaluate) targeted interventions to substantially improve the educational opportunities and outcomes of immigrant students. The OECD recognises that monitoring educational outcomes for specific student groups represents a significant resource investment, but recommends that this could "help shift attention from the average learning outcomes at the school level to the average learning outcomes of those most in need," (Santiago et al., 2017, p. 147_[4]). Chile might consider the below examples of countries that are learning from data to identify targets and build an evidence base that supports inclusion.

Examples from peer-learner countries

For example, official statistics in *Norway* shed light on immigrants' process throughout the education system and annually publishes indicators on their performance (OECD, 2018_[84]). The data is regulated by strict rules to protect the anonymity of participants and has allowed the government to identify important gaps between immigrant and non-immigrant students, such as the low completion rates of young immigrant men who are enrolled in vocational programmes (ibid.). In *France*, the Ministry of Education uses nationally representative panel surveys (panel d'élèves) to follow the first year of immigrant students' participation in French schools at the primary and secondary level. The panel surveys are designed as a longitudinal study, have relatively large sample sizes and draw on multiple source so of information including schools, parents and students (Ichou, 2018_[85]). The data creates a rich source of information on the performance and social background of immigrant students in the French education system.

In Sweden, the National Agency for Education and Sweden Statistics collect and publish descriptive statistics and reports on immigrant students' progress in both primary and upper secondary school. For instance, annual reports provide disaggregated data by immigrant background on students' average grade point scores in Year 6 and 9 and upper secondary school. This allows the National Agency to analyse whether there are significant differences in performance between native and students with an immigrant background (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), n.d.[86]). The National Agency also reports descriptive statistics on students with a foreign background who have participated in any of the language support programmes offered by the Swedish educational system (e.g. language introduction programmes and mother tongue education) and how successful their transition to upper secondary school has been (ibid.).

Another relevant example for Chile can be found in the case of Australia, which has used data to monitor the response of its education system in relation to Indigenous students. The annual "Closing the Gap report" produced by the Australian Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet is considered an effective way to establish system-level responsibility for the outcomes of Indigenous students (Australian Government Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017_[12]; OECD, 2017_[14]). The report uses a range of data to measure progress on the government's commitments towards improving the lives of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, not only in education but also employment, health and other areas. The education indicators used in the report include school attendance, literacy and numeracy proficiency, attaining Year 12 and enrolment and completion of higher education (Australian Government, 2018[87]).

2.3. Conclusion and policy pointers

Chile is in the process of implementing significant structural education reforms aimed at improving educational equity. While it may be too early to measure the impact of the 2015 Inclusion Law, there are early indications that its regulations around school choice policy are already starting to improve educational opportunities for both native and immigrant students. However, navigating this complex and changing educational landscape can be especially challenging to immigrant parents and guardians who are unfamiliar with the Chilean education system and who may lack the networks or language skills to ask questions about what schools best meet the needs of their child. The allocation of resources also presents a tension in how school choice works is practices as existing mechanisms used to allocate supplemental resources do not consider immigrant or language among potential factors that contribute to a child's vulnerability. Finally, the lack of data on the educational opportunities, learning needs, and outcomes of immigrant students as a group makes it difficult to inform policy decisions and develop a better understanding of the relationship between immigrant students, segregation and school choice. To address these issues, Chile could:

2.3.1. Provide opportunities to accommodate parents and guardians who are unfamiliar with the Chilean education system

Local education services and schools should help families who are new arrivals to Chile or who do not speak Spanish to navigate the complex and changing educational system. Specifically, they could provide information about the schools in their area and the resources available in particular schools. The Ministry of Education's school admissions portal is a helpful tool that can make information about schools more accessible for all families. However, continued efforts are needed to support families in accessing information and interpreting it to select the most appropriate school for their child. Chile could encourage local education services and schools to create spaces for parents and guardians to ask questions about the resources available to children in a school they are interested in and when necessary, offer interpretation or translation of materials.

2.3.2. Identify characteristics to provide additional resources to schools serving immigrant students and non-native Spanish speakers

In order to develop a better understanding of the additional resource needs of schools serving large concentrations of immigrant students, Chile should explore the costs associated with educating immigrant students. Evaluating how the Ministry of Education defines vulnerability and considering factors such as how long a student has lived in Chile, age of arrival and the amount of immigrant students or non-native Spanish speakers in a particular school are various ways school funding formulas could become more responsive to the rising immigrant population.

2.3.3. Collect disaggregated data to monitor the progress of immigrant students and inform interventions

Access to reliable, regular and updated data can help provide a "big picture" of the learning needs of this rapidly growing student population (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]; OECD, 2017_[5]). It can also help monitor their progress over time and inform (and later evaluate) targeted interventions to substantially improve the educational opportunities and outcomes of immigrant students. Collecting data, providing guidance on how to use it, and being transparent about its limitations could help lead a system wide effort to make all schools a good choice for immigrant families. These efforts need to be accompanied by ethical guidelines and measures to ensure the privacy and security of student data.

3. Language training

Aim: Provide adequate language support to children and youth with limited Spanish and literacy skills

Box 3.1. Selection of comments made by workshop participants

- "Part of a child's right is to learn the language."
- "Teachers are not prepared to teach Spanish as a second language and what exists is focused on adults. There are no resources and methodologies to teach children."
- "Lack of communication can cause desperation for children and the teacher. It is a powerful reality."
- "The linguistic barrier directly affects the student's education. But it also affects coexistence in schools... (student) groups are divided into sectors."
- "It depends a lot on the will of the teacher to overcome language barriers."

3.1. Context

Many factors can influence the language proficiency of immigrant students. Examples include the age they arrived in the host country; how long they have lived in there; their parents' level of education and background; and, how different the target language is from the language used in their country of origin (OECD, 2018_[3]). Proficiency in the host-country language can be one of the most important determinants of immigrant students' integration because it enables them to make the most of available learning opportunities and actively participate in the social life of their schools (OECD, $2018_{[3]}$). On the other hand, there can be negative consequences when immigrant students lack proficiency in the host-country. For instance, studies have found that immigrant students with language difficulties are more likely to be bullied, have emotional problems (such as depression and low self-esteem), or be discriminated against (Gil, Vega and Dimas, 1994_[88]; Padilla and Perez, 2003_[89]; Romero and Roberts, 2003_[90]).

In recent years, efforts around language learning in Chile have been primarily focused on the revitalisation and promotion of Indigenous languages and culture through the Bilingual Intercultural Education Programme (Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, PEIB), which was introduced in 1996. The programme's Indigenous language component (Subsector de Lengua Indígena, SLI), has been gradually incorporated and following a Ministerial directive (N280) from 2009, is compulsory in schools serving at least 20% of Indigenous students (Decreto N°280 [Ordinance 280], 2009[91]). The programme uses pedagogical teams of traditional teachers (who bring their knowledge of the language) and mentor teachers (who bring their pedagogical knowledge) to deliver the course content (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). The programme has been in place for more than 20 years; however, coverage remains low and there appear to be challenges in regards to teaching materials and human resources (Ibañez et al., 2013[92]; Santiago et al., 2017[4]; Sotomayor, 2013_[93]). Chile could learn from its experience of implementing the PEIB and SLI to promote mother tongue language instruction and develop more institutionalised approaches to teaching Spanish as a second language.

Compared to the SLI and general foreign language classes, the provision of Spanish language instruction for non-native speakers is underdeveloped. This is unsurprising since the majority of immigrant students in Chile come from other Spanish-speaking countries. National data on the number of immigrant students who are non-native Spanish speakers is not available. Moreover, international data sources, like PISA, do not yet account for the latest waves of immigration in Chile, which included students with more diverse linguistic backgrounds.

Available data from PISA suggests that less than 5% of students with an immigrant background in Chile were non-native speakers in 2015; the OECD average was nearly 50% (OECD, 2018_[3]). Students are considered non-native speakers if they report speaking a different language at home than the language used in the PISA assessment. The prevalence of immigrant students who are non-native Spanish speakers in Chile is similar to what is observed in Costa Rica but lower than other Latin America and the Caribbean countries that participated in PISA 2015, including Colombia (8%), Peru (15%), Brazil (15%), Trinidad and Tobago (19%), Mexico (21%), the Dominican Republic (28%) and Uruguay (29%) (OECD, 2018[3]). Given the overall small sample size of immigrant students in Chile and the even smaller share of non-native Spanish speakers, the OECD concludes that linguistic barriers were not among the factors that explained the academic and well-being disadvantages experienced by students with an immigrant background in PISA 2015 (OECD, 2018_[3]). However, this issue should be continue to be monitored.

Despite the generally low share of non-Spanish speaking immigrant students, language training is considered an emerging challenge in Chile due to the recent influx of immigrants from countries where Spanish is not the official language, such as China, Haiti and Syria. During the review mission and the Strength through Diversity workshop in Santiago, there were reports that schools were not always aware of the procedures to assess newly arrived immigrant students who lack Spanish language skills nor how to place these students in appropriate classes for their age and ability. Furthermore, there are no systematic resources or tools in place to support Spanish as a second language students once they are in school nor how to make use of mother tongue language support in the classroom. Officials from the Ministry of Education report that offering Spanish as a second language in schools is urgently needed to facilitate the integration of non-Spanish speaking immigrant students, especially those from Haiti who are mainly concentrated in the Santiago Metropolitan area (MINEDUC, 2018_[41]). Finally, it appears that language may not only be a challenge for non-Spanish speaking students but also for immigrant students from other Spanish speaking countries who may be unfamiliar with the colloquialisms used in Chilean Spanish.

3.1.1. Speaking Chileno: Communication barriers that go beyond language

Language is only one example of the communication barriers that immigrant students might face when starting school in a new country. While Spanish can be a major obstacle for students from countries like China and Haiti, many immigrant students, including native Spanish speakers, express difficulties with "Chilean Spanish". This refers to the Chilean accent and colloquial expressions which have their own social and cultural nuances and at times, even different meanings (Joiko, S; Vásquez, A, 2016_[60]; Chamizo, 2018_[94]). There is evidence that some Spanish-speaking immigrant students may be embarrassed to ask questions about words or concepts they are unsure about (Ramírez and Miranda, 2018_[95]) and that school teachers and administrators are adopting more neutral ways to give instructions and conveying messages (Chamizo, 2018_[94]). Immigrant students also have to adapt to a new curriculum and teaching strategies (Crul, 2016_{[961}). For example, writing can be a source of tension for some immigrant students who may be more familiar with block writing, whereas Chilean teachers tend to write in script. This may cause students to take more time than usual to copy texts from the board or delay the achievement of certain learning objectives that the curriculum addresses (Ramírez and Miranda, 2018[95]).

Even the different ways to learn mathematics can present a barrier as students may have learned different ways to carry out operations from their parents or previous teachers than their Chilean teacher (Martínez, 2018_[39]). This could make it more difficult for teachers to identify how a student made an error or explain how to correct it (Stefoni, Stang and Riedemann, 2016_[97]). However, different approaches to solving mathematics problems can also be an opportunity for immigrant students to share their strategy with teachers and peers so the class can learn new ways to solve operations (Chamizo, 2018_[94]). Bridging these differences implies raising awareness among teachers and other education professionals about how to communicate with students who are unfamiliar with Chilean colloquial expressions, norms and teaching strategies. Opportunities for professional development and peer-exchange could help scale the efforts of individual teachers and schools to make learning in Chile more inclusive towards immigrant students.

3.1.2. Innovative practices exist at the school level but are not widely used

To address language challenges, individual schools have introduced a range of initiatives to support immigrant students who are not proficient in the Spanish language. For example, a "Spanish buddies" strategy has been implemented in some schools whereby a bilingual Haitian student who has lived in Chile for several years helps translate content, school norms and codes for newly arrived Haitian students who are not yet proficient in Spanish (Fundación Superación de la Pobreza [Overcoming Poverty Foundation]; Instituto Chileno de Estudios Municaples [Chilean Institue of Municipal Studies], 2016_[72]). Other schools rely on technology, such as using translation applications on tablets to help teachers communicate with Chinese students (ibid). In fact, there are a number of ways technology can be used to support the learning process of immigrant students (see Box 3.2). Another increasing trend in Chile is the use of a language facilitator to support the inclusion of Creole (*Kreyòl*) speaking students and their families.

The above practices seem to be limited to specific schools and dependent on the will and effort of individual social and institutional actors. Unequal opportunities to benefit from language support risks reinforcing educational segregation since immigrant students may choose to attend schools where they have greater access to language support. Some concentration can aid service delivery and help reduce costs by grouping students who could benefit from similar types of support into the same school. However, considering the small overall share of non-Spanish speaking students, Chile might consider developing language support services beyond current needs in order to disseminate expertise and build capacity for the future.

There have been some efforts to acknowledge and systematise some of the practices used to support non-native Spanish speaking students. For instance, the Ministry introduced a Language Mediator Register in the Metropolitan Region in 2018 to identify how many schools employ linguistic facilitators. The goal in identifying these individuals was to provide training from the National Service of Training and Employment (Servicio Nacional de Capacitación y Empleo, SENCE) and offer tools for developing educational spaces (MINEDUC, 2018_[41]). While strengthening the competencies of language facilitators and the support they receive is important, there are no guidelines or tools available to help teachers and schools effectively use language facilitators or other pedagogical approaches to include non-native Spanish speakers in mainstream classrooms.

There are also significant evidence gaps that limit Chile's ability to identify non-native Spanish speakers and provide the resources needed to support these students. As a result, some participants in the OECD Strength through Diversity workshop in Santiago reported that some schools provide Spanish as a second language through the School Integration Programme (Programa de Integración Escolar, PIE). This programme is designed for students with special education needs (SENs). In addition to providing extra resources (as discussed above), features of the PIE include a more flexible curriculum, intensive learning support from a specialised teacher who works with students inside their regular classroom (or in resource rooms) and allocated time for the specialised teacher and the classroom teacher to collaborate on pedagogical strategies for SEN students (MINEDUC, 2016_[98]). While Spanish language learners stand to benefit from such arrangements, the fact that schools can only receive the PIE grant for up to seven SEN students per classroom (two with permanent disabilities; five with transitory disabilities) presents a risk that there may not be sufficient resources to support all students with special education needs. Furthermore, the test used to diagnose SENs is only available in Spanish, which can delay the time it takes for an immigrant student to qualify for the PIE grant and can make it difficult to establish if the student has wider educational needs beyond a language barrier.

Leaving schools without guidance and resources to address the individual learning needs of students who are non-native Spanish speakers could have a negative impact on the academic achievement and overall school experience of these students. It could also reinforce the feeling among native Chilean families that schools serving large numbers of non-native Spanish speakers may be unable to meet the learning needs of their native children because the needs of non-Spanish speakers are so large. While the PISA 2015 data did not allow for comparisons in Chile with regards to the impact language barriers have on student achievement and well-being; results from other countries show that on average across the OECD, non-native speakers tend to perform lower in reading than immigrant students who did not face a language barrier. The same was true in subjects that are less reliant on language. Results also revealed that non-native speaking immigrant students were five percentage points less likely than those who were native speakers to report a sense of belonging at school (OECD, 2018_[3]). When language barriers influence a student's experience in school both academically and socially, they may become disengaged with the learning process, increasing the risk of dropout or grade repetition.

Box 3.2. Using ICTs to support immigrant students

Information and communication technologies (ICTs) are widely considered important tools to enrich educational practices from a cognitive and motivational perspective, particularly for language learning. Incorporating technology into the classroom allows students to draw on resources from all over the world and provide insights into the lives of people from other cultures and countries (İlter, 2015_[99]; Masoumi, 2015_[100]). This can help teachers promote and increase students' intercultural understanding. Chile has a good track record of using technology in education which could be leveraged to support immigrant students. In recent years, Chile's large scale laptop acquisition programme has increased the amount of schoolwork done on computers (Brun, 2014[101]) and has made laptops available to all students enrolled in seventh grade public municipal schools, including immigrant students with an IPE (Subsecretaría de Educación, 2016[52]). However, more could be done to harness the potential of ICTs to support immigrant students and language learners. It is also important to note that these tools should supplement, not replace specialised language teachers who are critical to helping students develop Spanish language skills.

Australia is one of the highest users of technology in education across the OECD (2015_[102])and parts of the country are using ICTs to support the language acquisition of immigrant students who do not speak English. In Victoria, immigrant students who cannot access an English language school or who attend schools that are unable to provide language support services can enter into the Virtual English as Additional Language Programme, which is part of the New Arrivals Programme organised and funded by the Victorian government. Systems such as Skype and Moodle are used to develop the English language proficiency of newly arrived students so that they can access the mainstream curriculum. Furthermore, in the virtual classrooms, specialist English as Additional Language (EAL) teachers, based at the Victorian School of Language, deliver curriculum-related and individualised content to the students. Students receive one virtual conferencing session per week and lesson time ranges from 30 to 60 minutes depending on what school year the student is in. The programme is highly individualised and the student can participate in the programme for a maximum of four consecutive school terms (Victoria State Government, 2018[103]). An evaluation of the pilot project by the Language Testing Research Centre at the University of Melbourne found that eight of the ten participating students significantly improved their English language proficiency over the course of the project. They also reported being more confident in their mainstream classes. These positive results led to the expansion of the programme. In 2017, a total of 74 students participated in the programme from across the state of Victoria (Victoria State Government, 2017[104]).

3.2. Migration-induced diversity: language training in Chile

3.2.1. Initial integration and language assessment processes are weak

The arrival of an immigrant child and entry into a new education system involves making a number of informed decisions. What previous knowledge does this child have? What grade level would be most appropriate based on age, ability and language proficiency? What supports does this child need and how can he or she be included in a mainstream classroom? Schools make these decisions using a range of available information. For instance, they may have documentation about the student's previous studies, use information that parents or guardians provide or consider results from assessment administered in either the student's mother tongue or the language of instruction. Regardless of the approach, mapping a students' previous knowledge and planning for their success from the moment they enter the school system is an important part of the integration and inclusion process.

Many countries have developed initial assessments of language and other competencies that target students with an immigrant background (OECD, 2018_[3]). This can help ensure that newly arrived immigrant students who struggle with the language of the destination country are identified and receive the support they need. Results from language assessments can also be used as a basis for distributing additional funding to schools or as a formative tool to identify the type of language support individual children need along their educational trajectory. However, poorly designed assessments can have a detrimental impact as immigrant children are more likely to be allocated to special education classes and lower-ability tracks (OECD, 2018[3]).

Language assessments can be a valuable tool not only for first generation immigrant students but for all students with an immigrant profile because even native students born to immigrant parents may lack exposure to the language of instruction at home, which could have consequences for their school achievement. The OECD recommends that interventions to address the language proficiency gaps of immigrant students start early (OECD, 2018_[13]). As such, some countries use non-targeted initiatives to diagnose children with language difficulties at a young age. However, research from the United States suggests that early language assessments should be monitored to ensure they are psychometrically sound and combined with other strategies such as teacher observation or reports from parents or guardians to provide a more comprehensive evaluation of what young students know and can do (Ackerman, 2018[105]). It is important that any information about a young child's learning at the pre-primary is transmitted to primary school teachers to facilitate a smooth transition.

The Ministry of Education has set forth guidelines on how immigrant students who do not speak Spanish should be assigned grade levels when their country of origin does not have an agreement with Chile on the recognition of studies. Ordinario N° 894 (2016) encourages schools to provide a placement test for non-Spanish speaking students in his or her mother tongue language within 90 days of their enrolment. Alternatively, schools can wait to give the placement test in Spanish until the last quarter of the school year when the student will have had (in theory) more exposure to the Spanish language (MINEDUC, 2017_[49]). The OECD Strength through Diversity team found some reports that not all schools were aware of these guidelines and no uniform welcome protocol exists that provides practical steps on how schools can facilitate the integration of immigrant students. Critically, there are no mechanisms to ensure that students who are not native Spanish speakers have effective opportunities to learn Spanish between the time they start school and when they sit the placement test (if the Spanish version of the test is postponed until the end of the school year). This is related to the broader challenge of the lack of Spanish as a second language support, discussed below.

Only immigrant students without validated studies, those who arrive from countries that have no formal agreements with Chile on the process of grade equivalency, are subject to initial evaluations. This increases the risk for many students that any learning or curriculum gaps go undetected when they arrive in a Chilean school. This is a potential challenge for all immigrant students, regardless of their mother tongue language. Stefoni, Stang and Riedmann noted this issue during their research, explaining that many teachers

reported the need to know how far their immigrant students have learned by the time they arrive in Chile, what existing knowledge these students bring to the classroom and what teaching methodologies and curricula they likely experienced in their countries of origin (2016_[97]). While providing this information will require in-depth research into the education systems of sending countries, initial assessments can serve as an important first step towards better understanding the previous knowledge and learning needs of immigrant students. Chile could consider the below examples of different approaches countries have taken to facilitate the initial integration of immigrant students, in particular around how students with language support needs are identified.

Examples from peer-learner countries

Initiatives specifically targeting immigrant students

Ireland, like Chile, was mostly characterised by emigration until around 2000, when the country's economic growth started to attract an inflow of migrants. In response to a rapidly growing immigrant population with limited English language skills, the Irish government developed a range of policy initiatives, tools, and materials to provide language support in schools (Taguma et al., 2010_[106]). The materials included an English Language Assessment Kit that teachers could use to help identify the initial language proficiency of first-generation immigrant students in listening, speaking, reading and writing. The kit also included a plan with follow-up tests to help monitor student progress and identify where to focus appropriate supports; however, standardised tests were only used at the end of a student's participation in a language programme when a school wanted to extend language support beyond two years (Taguma et al., 2010[106]; MIPEX, 2015[107]). Schools and teachers were given the choice to either adopt the Language Assessment Kit or continue with the assessment tools they had previously been using. The Language Assessment Kit continues to be a resource for language teachers in primary and post-primary school today and are available on the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment's (NCCA) website, which also provides extensive guidelines for how to assess English language learners (NCCA, n.d.[108]; NCCA, n.d.[109]).

Several Nordic countries also have used language assessments as part of the initial integration and ongoing support services for immigrant students. For example, in Norway, an assessment tool with levels equivalent to those in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages was developed to provide a better assessment of children's language skills and enable more tailored and systematic second-language training (European Commission, 2018[110]). In Sweden, diagnostic tests provided through the Build Swedish (Bygga svenska) programme determine the language ability and level of academic knowledge. The initial tests are conducted within two months of the student's arrival at school and subsequent tests can be used to measure the student's competencies in different school subjects. Principals then decide on the student's grade placement in either introductory (separate) or regular class based on the student's accumulated academic knowledge and relevant social reasons, such as age (Bunar, $2017_{[111]}$).

Early language assessments that do not specifically target immigrant students

Other countries and economies use non-targeted initiatives to diagnose children with language difficulties. However, these polices are usually designed for young children whose brains are rapidly developing language and other social, emotional, and cognitive skills during the early years (OECD, 2017_[112]). Such examples are only relevant for second-generation immigrant children or first-generation children who arrive at a very young age. While total enrolments in pre-primary education (educación parvularia) in Chile declined slightly between 2015 and 2017 (from around 382 000 children to around 378 000), the share of foreign-born children at this level of education has increased from around 4% to nearly 8% (Fernández S., 2018_[37]). In this context, now could be an opportune moment for Chile to consider adopting early language assessments as a bold means to address the emerging linguistic diversity of its population.

In the *United States*, a study of kindergarten entry assessments revealed promising examples of how the states of California and Illinois are assessing young English language learners (Ackerman, 2018[105]). Both states use an observational rubric with item-specific examples that aims to measure (among other things) the "English Language Development" of children aged 36 months to kindergarten (ibid). Teachers then place students on a five step scale from discovering English to integrating English. Denmark also uses an assessment of language development for 3-year-olds, which was introduced in 2010. The assessment aims to diagnose possible language problems before they start school and is only administered if staff believe a child is lagging behind in language development. Children who are found to need support can receive additional language stimulation in their day care facility (OECD, 2017_[112]).

In the Netherlands, young children, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds, are entitled to language development support. These children can participate in early childhood and targeted education programmes (vooren vroegschoolse educaties) that provide support before and during the first years of a child's schooling. All toddlers (age 2.5 to 4 years old) in the programme receive 10 hours of language development per week. For the rest of the day, targeted toddlers attend the same early childhood and education programme as their non-targeted peers. Findings from a national cohort study show that this approach has been effective and that children who attend day care centres and preschools implementing these programmes show even more enhanced language and executive-function development than disadvantaged children who participated in other centres and preschools (OECD, 2017[113]; Akgunduz and Heijnen, 2016[114]; Leseman et al., 2017_[115]).

3.2.2. Lack of Spanish language support programmes in schools

When immigrant students arrive without knowledge of their host country's language or have parents who do not speak the language of instruction, they may need language support in order to fully engage with curriculum content and interact with teachers and peers. Support can be provided in various ways. Some successful examples include: "offering sustained language support across grade levels; centrally developed curriculum documents; teachers specifically trained in second language teaching (see section on capacity building)...parental involvement in language stimulation; a focus on academic language and integration of language and content learning," (OECD, 2010, p. 46[116]). The type of language support offered depends on a number of factors such as the amount of resources available, the age a student enters the school system and the student's existing language skills. For example, bilingual or multilingual students may find it easier to develop an additional language than monolingual students and while students may develop communicative language skills rather quickly, they might take several years to become academically proficient in the target language. Regardless of which approach or combination of approaches are used, an explicit language policy with clear guidelines can help create systematic and ongoing language support for students as they progress through the school system (Grubb, 2008[117]).

While the diversity of Chile's population is increasing, the share of immigrant students remains relatively small compared to other OECD countries and the majority of these students still come from other Spanish speaking countries. In this context, it can be assumed that a small number of current students stand to benefit from specialised Spanish language support; however, there is no data or classification of non-native Spanish speakers to confirm how many students could potentially benefit from such efforts. To disseminate expertise and build capacity for the future, Chile might consider developing language support services beyond current needs. For now, there are few specialised language programmes or support systems in schools and most Spanish language courses for immigrants are available through civil society actors; universities; local institutions; and non-profit and religious organisations. This means that children who are non-native Spanish speakers generally attend mainstream classes.

Research has found that immersion can be more effective than "pull-out" second language programmes, which are generally unsuccessful both in developing strong language skills and in supporting transitions into mainstream classes (OECD, 2015[118]). This is because pull-out programmes tend to reduce the amount of teaching time devoted to the main curriculum (ibid). However, not all students will be successful in a sink-or-swim learning environment and there is a risk that students who lack support or do not learn Spanish fast enough could become disengaged with school, which may lead to dropout or grade repetition.

To better facilitate the inclusion of Spanish language learners, Chile could consider establishing more structured language support services for students in mainstream classes and when appropriate, offer induction classes for Spanish as a second language or for Spanish speakers who are unfamiliar with Chilean Spanish. These classes can also be tailored for students who have age-appropriate literacy skills in their first language or for those who have had inconsistent, disrupted or no access to education and face significant gaps in their learning (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2008[119]). Importantly, decisions about the delivery model for providing language support should be responsive to learners' changing needs and to local circumstances (ibid).

Models of how other countries have addressed this issue are included below. Of course, any efforts to develop Spanish as a second language in Chilean schools should be flexible and based on student needs. This will also require training opportunities for new and existing teachers to become more familiar with effective language teaching practices both for teachers of mainstream content classes and those providing specialised language support (see section on capacity building).

Recently, the Chilean Ministry of Education, together with the University of Chile (Universidad de Chile), introduced a project for teaching Spanish as a second language to adults. The project targets teachers as well as other types of instructors and take place in two parts. During the first part, which began in January 2019, participants develop knowledge about language learning pedagogies. In the second part, they apply this knowledge by teaching Spanish to a group of Haitian adults. This initiative currently benefits 50 teachers and instructors (MINEDUC, n.d.[120]). It could provide a basis for developing similar programmes to prepare education for teaching Spanish to children.

Examples from peer-learner countries

In Portugal, when schools identify at least 10 students as having beginning or intermediate proficiency in Portuguese (based on a diagnostic evaluation that includes an assessment and teacher observation), they create a Portuguese as a second language course to help students master the language and integrate into mainstream classes (Directorate-General for Education, n.d.[121]). Additional teachers are allocated using defined criteria based on the needs of each school. When schools fail to meet the necessary conditions for the formation of second language groups, students can attend mainstream Portuguese courses but follow a special curriculum that is appropriate for the student's age and grade level. Chile should consider what an appropriate minimum threshold would be for establishing Spanish as a second language programmes in different schools. For example, having at least 10 students in a school before offering language support may not be suitable considering the low number of non-Spanish speaking immigrant students currently in Chile. This limitation may also prevent Chile from promoting centres of excellence in language learning that can better prepare the country for diverse migration flows in the future.

The Portuguese Ministry of Education, in collaboration with the Portuguese Language Cyberschool and other partners, also developed distance courses in Portuguese as a second language that are available to students who need to develop their Portuguese language skills. Like the Australian example in Box 3.2, distance learning can be a solution for schools with only a few second-language learners that may be unable to develop more comprehensive support programmes. However, these programmes should be complemented with other individualised interventions such as using an adapted curriculum to support students in mainstream classrooms.

In Sweden, immigrant students (aged 7-18) who arrive with little or no knowledge the Swedish language are considered "new arrivals" for up to four years starting from the time they enrol in school. Within two months of starting school in Sweden, new arrivals are assessed on their level of literacy and numeracy skills and placed in an appropriate class. Newly arrived students can also benefit from separate introductory classes but are included in mainstream classes to the extent that their language proficiency allows. Placements in introductory classes should be terminated after a maximum of two years. The government recommends that introductory and mainstream classes are located near one another to promote social integration; however, this is not mandatory (Government of Sweden, 2014_[122]). Establishing separate introductory classes in Chile may only be feasible within the Santiago Metropolitan area due to the high cost of such programmes and the small number of non-Spanish speaking immigrant students (assumed to be concentrated in this region). If Chile determines that Spanish induction classes are a feasible policy option, the explicit goal of these programmes should be to mainstream students as soon as possible to avoid exacerbating segregation.

Slovenia provides both induction classes to newly arrived immigrant and refugee children and continuing or advanced classes to support their language development during the school year. The continuing classes consist of an individual programme or plan of activities that may include remedial or supplementary classes in Slovenian either before or after school so that students can be integrated into mainstream classes with their native-born peers (OECD, 2018[13]).

3.2.3. Learning in mother tongue language is not supported

There are a number of benefits associated with providing opportunities for students to learn in their mother tongue language. For instance, when a host community welcomes a child's mother tongue language in the school, this can help build the child's self-esteem, preserve their sense of identity and promote cultural awareness (European Commission, 2015_[123]; Eurydice, 2009_[124]). There are also potential academic benefits. For instance, mother tongue education can have a positive impact on cognitive development and metalinguistic awareness (UNESCO, 2008[125]; Dahm and De Angelis, 2018[126]). Some countries have recognised the benefits of mother tongue education by offering classes in the mother tongue language when a minimum number of students speak the same minority language. Other arrangements for incorporating mother tongue education include hiring bilingual classroom assistants, offering elective subjects in the language, or proposing the language as a foreign language offer in the official curriculum (OECD, $2010_{[127]}$).

Chilean education law calls for the respect of an individual's origins, cultural background and language. Furthermore, the Bilingual Intercultural Education Programme (PEIB) and the Indigenous language education (SLI) aim to promote and revitalise Indigenous languages through education. Despite the recognition and value placed on native languages, there are no systemised efforts to provide immigrant students with mother tongue instruction, even when a minimum number of students who speak the same minority language attend the same school to make such courses worthwhile. Some Chilean schools are using language facilitators to provide mother tongue language support in mainstream classrooms and to facilitate relationships between schools and immigrant parents and guardians who may not speak Spanish. For instance, many language facilitators in the Santiago Metropolitan Region speak Creole (Kreyòl) due to the growing number of immigrant students and families from Haiti.

The Ministry's new Language Mediator Register is working to certify language facilitators in the Metropolitan Region. In 2018, at the request of the Ministry, the National Service of Training and Employment (Servicio Nacional de Capacitación v Empleo, SENCE) organised a course for 25 language facilitators, 20 which were able to successfully validate their competencies (Fundación CADES [CADES Foundation], 2018_[128]). Despite this, there appear to be challenges in hiring immigrants in these roles. This is partly due to the way Chile recognises foreign qualifications, as this poses a problem for not only immigrant teachers and educators but also a wide range of other professionals who arrive in the country and are unable to work in their respective fields.

Another challenge around support for mother tongue instruction is the lack of materials, guidelines or training opportunities to help teachers and school leaders make effective use of language facilitators in their classrooms and schools. Issues around the professional status of support staff (including language facilitators) and their role in making classrooms and schools more inclusive for immigrant students is discussed in the section on capacity building. Examples of the arrangements that peer-learner countries have used to incorporate and promote mother tongue education in schools are discussed below. Chile could also reflect on its own experience including Indigenous languages in schools to inform similar arrangements for immigrant students.

Examples from peer-learner countries

Providing opportunities for students to learn in their mother tongue language

In response to the need to better integrate immigrant and refugee children, Finland introduced preparatory classes to facilitate students' entry into basic and secondary education. The preparatory classes are available in either Finnish, Swedish, or the child's native language. Finland's Ministry of Education and Culture on immigrant issues recognises the importance of aiding the development of immigrant students' mother tongues and in 2014, more than 16 000 students participated in courses taught in their own mother language. This has resulted in 53 different languages being taught (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016) (OECD, 2018[13]). While the language diversity among immigrant students in Chilean schools is much more limited than in Finland, this can serve as an example of what is possible when mother tongue education is seen as an asset to student learning and development.

The United States has also used mother tongue education to support students with an immigrant background. In order to better integrate schools and enhance learning for English language learners, some public schools offer dual or transitional language programs, in which students are taught both in English and in their native language. Dual language programmes follow the standard curriculum in both languages, while transitional programmes aim to gradually reduce the use of the native language (Glendale Unified School District, n.d.[129]). In California, the Glendale Unified School District offers dual language programmes in various languages, including Spanish. Starting in kindergarten, the dual language Spanish programme follows a 90:10 model, which means that the students receive instruction in Spanish for 90% of the day and in English for the remaining 10% (ibid.). By the time students reach 6th grade, instruction is split equally between the two languages. A recent study examined the effects of dual-language immersion programmes on student achievement in a large urban school district in Portland, Oregon, which found that students who had been randomly assigned to dual-language programmes achieved better reading results than those who did not participate in the program. The students in the dual-language programme scored 13% of a standard deviation higher than their peers in state reading tests in 5th grade and 22% of standard deviation higher in 8th grade, independently of the students' native language, reflecting 7 to 9 months of learning (Steele et al., 2017_[130]). While dual language programmes can promote foreign language fluency among native students, they can also support students with an immigrant background who speak a minority language. For example, Boston Public Schools started the city's first dual language programme in Haitian Creole in the 2017/18 school year (Boston Public Schools, n.d.[131]). The programme follows a 70:30 model across subjects at the elementary level and parents have reported hope that the programme will "bring kids closer to their culture and family," (García Mathewson, 2017[132]).

Hiring immigrants to support mother tongue education

In many countries, the recognition of foreign diplomas can be a barrier to hiring immigrants to work as teachers or in specific roles, such as mother tongue language support or intercultural mediators (Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, 2016[133]). While Chile has several regional and bilateral agreements to recognise foreign qualifications generally, these do not specifically provide flexible pathways for immigrants to work in schools, which makes it difficult for some schools to hire teachers and support staff who speak foreign languages. Sweden has addressed this challenge by offering bridging courses to individuals with foreign teaching qualifications to help them fulfil the requirements to work as a teacher in Sweden (Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, 2016[133]). Individuals with an immigrant background can also benefit from accelerated programmes to enter the teaching profession. In 2015, the Fast Track for Migrant Teachers (Snabbspår) programme was established in collaboration with the teacher unions, employment services and various higher education institutions in 2015. The programme takes place in small cohorts across the country and consists of a 26-week course incorporating Swedish language learning with a condensed teacher education programme. Although participants are required to have a background in teaching, the

extent varies considerably and the programme focuses on equipping future teachers with the pedagogical philosophy found in Swedish classrooms, such as student-centred teaching and high levels of student engagement. From January 2016 to March 2017, more than 750 new arrivals have participated in the Fast Track for Migrant Teachers (Hajer and Economou, 2017_[134]). While the Fast Track programme was not designed to specifically target teachers and support staff for mother tongue language instruction, it can implicitly help achieve this goal by helping more immigrants find employment in the education system.

3.3. Conclusion and policy pointers

Despite the generally low share of non-Spanish speaking immigrant students, language training is considered an emerging challenge in Chile due to the influx of immigrants from countries where Spanish is not the official language, such as China, Haiti and Syria. While some schools have made accommodations for immigrant students who lack Spanish language skills, there appear to be challenges around the implementation of initial integration processes. Furthermore, there is no strategy or policy for Spanish language learners and interventions appear to be limited to individual teachers and schools, making consistent support across education levels a challenge. While developing Spanish as a second language, exploring the possibility of induction courses and promoting mother tongue education may only benefit a small number of students today, it can help prepare Chile for more linguistically diverse waves of immigration in the future. Efforts to address language and communication barriers in schools should align with broader initiatives to adopt inclusive pedagogies so that all immigrant students are supported to learn and feel a sense of belonging in schools. To address issues related to communication and language barriers, Chile could:

3.3.1. Strengthen initial integration and language assessment processes

It appears that only immigrant students without validated studies are subject to initial evaluations, increasing the risk that any learning gaps between the student's country of origin and the Chilean curriculum go undetected. Assessments of language and other competencies could help provide teachers with a better understanding of children's previous knowledge and identify students who may need targeted language or learning supports. Chile could also adopt a uniform welcome protocol for newly arrived students that is easy for schools to adapt and use. While such policies stand to benefit newly arrived first-generation students, Chile might also consider developing early language assessments that could benefit the growing share of immigrant students enrolled in Chilean preschools. These programmes could target language-minority children or use a universal approach to identify children with language difficulties early on. The introduction of any assessments would need to include guidance for teachers on how to administer and make use of the results.

3.3.2. Introduce targeted language supports so that students can develop the Spanish language skills needed to participate in mainstream classes

Chile could develop a strategy for Spanish language learners and establish more structured language support services. Support might include offering Spanish as a second language courses, providing a special curriculum for Spanish language learners in mainstream classes that is appropriate for the student's age and grade level, or leveraging innovative practices such as dual language learning or online programmes to support the

language development of students with an immigrant background. The latter could be used when there are only a small number of non-Spanish speaking students in a particular school. When appropriate and feasible, Chile could also offer induction classes for Spanish language learners to help newly arrived students with little or no knowledge of Spanish develop the language skills they need to access mainstream curriculum content. However, the goal induction or preparatory classes should be to mainstream students as soon as possible to avoid segregating them from native Spanish-speaking peers and facilitate inclusion.

3.3.3. Expand mother tongue education beyond Indigenous languages so that immigrant students can benefit from mother tongue support

Efforts around mother tongue language learning in Chile have been primarily focused on the revitalisation and promotion of Indigenous languages through the Bilingual Intercultural Education Programme (PEIB) and the Indigenous language component (Subsector de Lengua Indígena, SLI). In line with the benefits of promoting mother tongue language instruction, Chile could develop more institutionalised approaches to promoting mother tongue language instruction for immigrant students who would stand to benefit from learning in their mother tongue, in addition to learning Spanish. However, facilitating the recognition of foreign qualifications or offering flexible pathways for immigrants who speak foreign languages to gain the qualifications needed to work in schools is an important part of hiring education professionals who are able to provide mother tongue language support.

4. Capacity building

Aim: Develop and strengthen the capacity of education professionals who work in diverse schools

Box 4.1. Selection of comments made by workshop participants

- "Schools have had to self-manage in terms of facing the challenges that the arrival of migrants has caused in the school community."
- "From the doorman to the kiosk lady, everyone should be trained in inclusive culture."
- "Today, teachers are trained according to the incentives of the teaching career; therefore, the (teaching) portfolio should have a connection with inter-culturalism."

4.1. Context

The reality of diverse schools and classrooms requires a strong capacity on behalf of teachers, education assistants, principals, and other school staff to adapt policies and practices to the academic and socio-emotional needs of all students. It also requires reflection on addressing stereotypes and understanding how expectations can affect student performance so that all students believe they can succeed. Teacher education, professional learning communities and partnerships with foundations or NGOs can play an important role in supporting teaching and learning in diverse classrooms (Severiens, 2014_[135]). Education systems can also hire educational professionals that better reflect the diversity in their student populations, for example through targeted recruitment efforts, recognising qualifications from other countries or establishing pathways for immigrants to work in schools (OECD, 2010[116]). This section will discuss some of the capacities related to the inclusion of immigrant children in Chilean schools. Specifically, preparing and supporting teachers to work in diverse classrooms; developing specialised Spanish language teachers and providing tools for teachers across all content areas to support Spanish language learners; increasing opportunities for exchange of good practice examples; and, ways non-teaching education professionals can help support the diverse needs of students.

4.1.1. Large class sizes and heavy workloads can be detrimental to teacher motivation

Several factors may affect a teacher's ability and motivation to do their jobs, including working conditions and salaries. Teacher salaries in Chile are among the lowest in the OECD; both in the beginning of their careers as well as at the top of the scale. However, there is generally good salary progression during the course of the teaching career and a range of special allowances are available to teachers working in municipal and subsidised private schools (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). Chilean teachers also tend to have relatively large class sizes: the average student-teacher ratio in Chile (30 students per class) is well above the OECD average (21-23 students per class) at the primary and secondary level (OECD, 2018[136]). However, class sizes have been steadily decreasing due to the overall decline in students and increase in teachers. Average class sizes fell by 5% and 10% at primary and lower secondary education respectively between 2005 and 2016 (ibid.). There is mixed evidence on the impact of class size on student learning, but a substantive body of literature has shown that smaller class sizes can have a significant effect on disadvantaged students, including those from ethnic minority groups and low-income families, especially at younger ages (Rothstein et al., 2002[137]). Teachers in Chile also spend relatively more time teaching than teachers in other OECD countries, especially at the primary and secondary level (OECD, 2018_[136]). This means they have less time for other tasks such as lesson preparation, grading student work, and professional development opportunities (OECD, 2014[138]). Large class sizes and heavy workloads can be detrimental to the professional growth and motivation of Chilean teachers (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]).

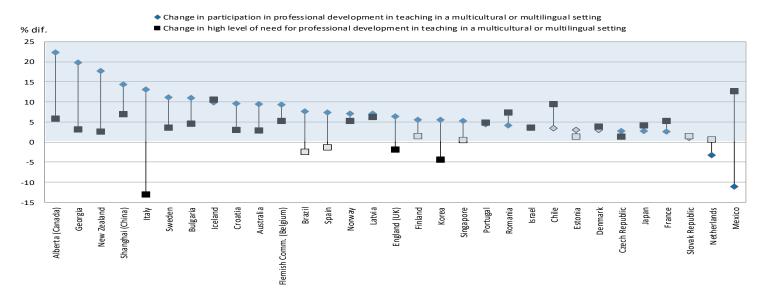
4.1.2. Diverse classrooms present a challenge for teachers

Due to the recent influx of immigrants, Chilean classrooms are expected to become more diverse, which creates a challenge for teachers on how to best support their students. Data from PISA 2015 also reveals that as many as 57% of first-generation immigrant students report being frequently treated unfairly by their teachers but also 10 percentage points more likely to report receiving frequent feedback from their science teachers, after accounting for their science performance (OECD, $2018_{[3]}$). This could imply that while teachers want to help immigrant students succeed in school (by giving them frequent feedback on their work), they may lack the strategies to do so in a way that is effective and well received by immigrant students. With more diverse student body, teachers might also need additional support in order to address the specific needs of the students. Although the General Education Law points out the rights and duties of some learning support staff (e.g. education assistants), not enough attention is given to the quality of these type of professionals in Chilean schools (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]).

In the 2018 OECD Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS), Chilean principals in lower secondary schools reported that a shortage of teachers with competence in teaching students in a multicultural or multilingual setting was one of the main resource issues impeding their school's capacity to provide quality instruction (OECD, 2019[139]). Other main resource issues were a shortage of teachers with competencies in teaching students with special needs, insufficient Internet access and inadequate time for instructional leadership. Chilean teachers themselves reported having a high level of need for professional development in teaching in a multicultural or multilingual setting. The share of teachers who reported a need for professional development in this area rose between TALIS 2013 and 2018 by 9.5 percentage points to nearly 34% (OECD, 2019_[139]). This was one of the highest increases among TALIS participants across the two cycles, only smaller than Mexico and Iceland (see Figure 4.1), and above the OECD average of countries that participated in TALIS 2018 (15%). While TALIS data reveals that around 87% of Chilean lower secondary teachers had participated in at least one professional development activity in the 12-month period prior to the survey, this was relatively lower than the TALIS average (94.5%). Among the factors explaining the low levels of participation are lack of incentives for participating in professional development, costly courses, lack of relevant activities and conflicts with the work schedule (Santiago et al., 2017[4]).

Figure 4.1. Change in participation in and need for professional development in teaching in multicultural or multilingual settings from 2013 to 2018

Percentage point differences between 2018 and 2013 in the share of teachers (i) having participated in and (ii) reporting a high level of need for professional development in teaching in multicultural or multilingual settings



1. Refers to professional development activities in which teachers participated in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Notes: Values over zero reflect an increase in participation or need between 2013 and 2018 while values below zero reflect a decrease in participation or need between 2013 and 2018.

Statistically significant values are marked in a darker tone. Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the change in the percentage of teachers reporting that teaching in multicultural or multilingual settings was included in their professional development activities (TALIS 2018 - TALIS 2013).

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. Source: OECD, TALIS 2018 Database, Tables I.5.27 and I.5.28 (accessed 3 December 2018).

Good examples of policies and practices for including immigrant students can be found throughout Chile. For instance, some schools have introduced committees of social workers, psychologists and teachers to address inter-cultural issues or display flags of all the countries represented in the student body (Chamizo, 2018_{[941}). Others have hired language facilitators to support students and help schools communicate with parents and guardians who do not speak Spanish. However, many of these initiatives emerge as reactive, bottom-up efforts that depend on individual establishments and there is no co-ordinated initiative to promote, monitor or evaluate these efforts (Riedemann and Stefoni, 2015_[67]; Castillo, 2016_[53]). Chile has taken important steps to protect the right of all students to access education; however, more can be done to strengthen the capacity of school communities and support them to help immigrant children achieve their academic potential, ensure their social and emotional well-being and promote social cohesion.

4.2. Migration-induced diversity: capacity building in Chile

4.2.1. Teachers do not feel prepared to work in vulnerable schools and diverse classrooms

Teachers play a central role in establishing inclusive learning environments that support immigrant students without stigmatising them. When teachers have access to diversity and intercultural training, it can help them "to become more aware of diverse student needs, to focus on potential and opportunities rather than deficits, and to develop didactic skills to support second language learners," (OECD, 2010, p. 57[116]). However, not all teachers in Chile receive training in diversity or second language pedagogies and some face difficult working conditions. This can leave them feeling unprepared and unmotivated to address the diverse learning needs of their students. As one participant of the Strength through Diversity workshop in Santiago explained: "teachers (in municipal public schools) end up thinking it does not matter if the child learns or not because the environment is very demotivating." Preparing and supporting teachers to work in increasingly diverse classrooms is key to delivering a good quality education for all students, especially those with an immigrant background.

Financial incentives to attract teachers to vulnerable schools

Recently, Chile has taken steps to improve the financial incentives and working conditions of teachers. In 2016, the System for Teacher Education and Professional Development (Ley 20.903) introduced a number of important changes including a multistage career structure, efforts to raise salaries, and a new induction process that sets high expectations for beginning teachers. The reform also aims to attract well prepared teachers to vulnerable schools and give teachers in these schools more time for non-classroom activities, in particular for professional development opportunities (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). Ensuring the successful implementation of the System for Teacher Education and Professional Development will be key to raising the status of teachers and strengthening the teaching profession to the benefit of all students in Chile (ibid).

Another example of motivating teachers to work in disadvantaged schools is the allowance for working in difficult conditions (Asignación de reconocimiento por docencia en establecimientos de alta concentración de alumnos prioritarios). This allowance provides additional resources to teachers working in schools that serve vulnerable students. Vulnerability is defined here (among other factors) as having culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (MINEDUC, 2016[98]).

Diversity training in initial teacher education

While evidence is limited, some research suggests that intercultural competences can be learned in initial teacher education by systematically exposing student teachers to diversity-related content and engaging them in self-reflection linked to the new knowledge and experience gained in multicultural settings (Egby, 2012[140]; Gambhir, $2015_{[141]}$; Sharma, $2013_{[142]}$; Whitehead, $2007_{[143]}$). As all teachers will encounter some form of diversity during their career, they stand to benefit when initial teacher education programmes incorporate elements of inclusive and intercultural education into mainstream teacher training subjects (Sokal and Sharma, 2017_[144]; OECD, 2010_[116]).

Countries differ in how they prepare teachers for growing diversity. In some OECD countries, such as the Netherlands, New Zealand and Norway, diversity or inter-cultural training is a mandatory part of pre- or in-service teacher education (OECD, 2017_[145]). In other countries, it is either extensively offered but not compulsory (e.g. Germany, Portugal, Sweden, the United Kingdom); varies across provinces and states (e.g. Australia, Canada, the United States); or is limited to training on an ad hoc basis (e.g. France and Spain) (OECD, 2017[145]).

In Chile, there have been some initiatives for specific teacher training on inter-culturalism. One example is the joint effort between the Ministry of Education and two universities (Catholic University of Temuco and Arturo Prat University), which resulted in a teacher training programme for basic intercultural and bilingual education. Due to the different geographical location of the universities, the programmes were respectively designed to teach Mapuche students or students in a Mapuche context (Catholic University of Temuco) and Aymara, Licanantai and Quechua students (Arturo Prat University). The Ministry has also tried to strengthen intercultural teacher training by offering a postgraduate degree for teachers in municipal and privately subsidised schools through the Centre for Perfection, Experimentation and Pedagogical Research (Centro de Perfeccionamiento, Experimentación e Investigaciones Pedagógicas, CPEIP). A workshop for traditional Indigenous teachers was also developed by the Ministry that aims to provide pedagogical, linguistic and cultural tools to facilitate the work of this group of teachers wishing the schools (MINEDUC, n.d.[146]).

At the same time, Chilean teachers report feeling more effective than the average teacher who participated in the TALIS 2018 survey in adapting their practice to the cultural diversity of students; ensuring that students with and without a migrant background work together; raise awareness of cultural differences and reduce ethnic stereotyping (OECD, 2019[139]). This might be related to the finding that some 42% of teachers report that elements of teaching in multicultural or multilingual settings were included in their formal educating or training, above the TALIS 2018 average of 39%. However, Chile has a smaller share of teachers who feel prepared to cope with the challenges of a multicultural classroom (57%), compared to the TALIS average (68%) (OECD, 2019_[139]). This suggests that while initial teacher education programmes in Chile seem to be addressing this issue to a certain extent, more could be done to build on existing efforts so that teachers feel more prepared to work in culturally diverse classrooms and schools.

Continuous professional development to meet the needs of diverse learners

When it comes to including immigrant students in classrooms and communities, some literature suggests that Chilean teachers are largely "self-taught" (Joiko and Vásquez, 2017_[50]). Furthermore, Ramírez and Miranda interviewed Chilean teachers who reported feeling "overwhelmed by their own ignorance of foreign cultures or the communication barriers that arise due to linguistic or cultural differences between themselves and immigrant parents or students," (2018, p. 28_[147]). PISA data also revealed immigrant students reporting being treated unfairly and less likely to receive feedback more frequently than their native peers (OECD, 2018_[3]), implying that while teachers want to help students succeed, they may lack the proper strategies to do so.

While integrating diversity and inter-cultural topics into initial teacher education programmes can help prepare future teachers to teach in diverse classrooms, continuous professional development is needed to support existing teachers facing this reality. Chilean teachers can benefit from a number of professional development providers and training exists in a variety of forms including courses, seminars, workshops, internship projects and postgraduate studies (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). However, there are several reports that teachers need more opportunities to develop strategies to manage diversity in their classrooms (Riedemann and Stefoni, 2015_[67]; Castillo, 2016_[53]; MINEDUC, 2018_[41]). In this context, Chile could consider expanding professional development offers in the areas of inter-cultural education and diversity as part of the System for Teacher Education and Professional Development (2016). The Centre for Pedagogical Training, Experimentation and Research (Centro de Perfeccionamiento, Experimentación e Investigaciones Pedagógicas, hereby the Pedagogical Centre), which defines priority areas for teacher professional development in Chile and co-ordinates the supply of key offerings, is starting to address the need for professional development in these areas. Currently, the CPEIP has a programme for strengthening, updating and teaching specialisation in topics related to intercultural education, inclusion and human rights (MINEDUC, 2017_[49]). However, evaluations are needed to ensure that this type of opportunity is relevant and effectively meets the needs of teachers. The below examples highlight some of the ways that peer-learner countries have prepared and supported teachers to work in diverse classrooms.

Examples from peer-learner countries

Australia has introduced programmes to promote a greater understanding of other cultures among pre-service teachers. The eTutor programme, introduced by the RMIT School of Education in Melbourne, uses technology to create an online environment where pre-service teachers can interact with students from different countries on a virtual teaching platform and communicate through blog posts, comments and videos. The programme aims to increase the inter-cultural and technological capacities of teachers by allowing them to explore different cultures in ways that are safe, supportive, inclusive, challenging, and engaging (Carr, 2016_[148]). The experience of interacting with diverse groups of children through the online platform resulted in a positive attitudinal shift for the majority of participants; the pre-service teachers, many of whom had started with an ethnocentric view, finished with an ethno-relative view, demonstrating empathy and caring for children of different cultures (Carr, 2016[148]). Overall, the programme left participants with a more positive and optimistic view of teaching in diverse classrooms.

In Sweden, the National Agency is responsible for offering professional development courses in collaboration with various Swedish universities. The courses allow teachers to become certified for teaching additional subjects, including (among other things) teaching Swedish as a second language. There is also a professional development course called "The Global Classroom", which is designed for all teachers regardless of subject matter. The Global Classroom course serves as an introduction to the subject of Swedish as a Second Language and the objective is to strengthen teaching methods in multilingual classrooms and interactions with newly arrived students (Skolverket (National Agency for Education), 2018[149]).

In the United States, the Indiana University School of Education offers a cultural immersion experience to its student teachers through the "Global Gateway for Teachers" programme. The programme aims to provide pre-service teachers with opportunities to prepare for teaching diverse groups of students by placing them in schools located in the Navajo Nation American Indian Reservation, urban settings in Indianapolis and Chicago, and multiple international locations in South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Since the inception in 1970, the programme has had positive results: many studies have highlighted the positive impact of the programme on pre-service teachers' professional and personal development, a shift in consciousness and perspective, and empathetic understanding of the world and its people, an appreciation for other cultures and an awareness of both global and domestic diversity (Kirkwood-Tucker, 2009[150]).

4.2.2. Lack of specialised language teachers and broader language components across content areas

As discussed, there is an emerging need for language training in Chile due to the influx of immigrants who are non-native Spanish speakers. The previous section addressed Chile's capacity for diagnosing linguistic preconditions and ways to support student language learning more systematically. However, these efforts require both specialised Spanish as a second language teachers and raising awareness among teachers across all content areas about language acquisition pedagogies that can help them accommodate Spanish language learners into mainstream classrooms. Currently, there are no specialised courses to provide teachers with strategies for Spanish language development in initial teacher education programmes nor in the CPEIP training catalogue. As the share of immigrant students who are non-native Spanish speakers is currently quite small, now is an opportune moment for Chile to develop a small cohort of specialist teachers in Spanish as a second language and incorporate second language pedagogies into initial teacher education programmes (across content areas) so that future teachers are prepared for teaching in linguistically diverse classrooms. Professional development programmes could also offer training for current teachers to incorporate language development pedagogies into their practice. This could benefit teachers who are already working with large shares of non-native Spanish speaking students and help raise awareness about language development.

Examples from peer-learner countries

In the *United States*. California has introduced several initiatives to ensure that teachers have the essential skills and knowledge to support English language learners and are better prepared for linguistically diverse classrooms. For example, all Californian teachers with at least one English Learner (EL) student are required to have an EL Authorisation to provide English language development and specialised instruction (California Department of Education, 2018[151]). Teachers can obtain EL Authorisation by either completing coursework for the Cross-cultural Language and Academic Development (CLAD) Certificate or passing the California Teachers of English Learners (CTEL) examination. The United States has a number of online certificate programmes in teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and several universities have developed English as a Second language programmes (at both undergraduate and graduate levels) to help teachers access and address the needs of English language learners.

4.2.3. Networks for exchange and mentorship could benefit teachers working with immigrant students

Collaboration and exchange of good practice are important parts of teacher professional development and can have positive effects on capacity building (Burns, Köster and Fuster, 2016_[152]). Chile already has some established professional learning networks for teachers. For example, the "Maestros" Teacher Network allows teachers accredited with "pedagogical excellence" to share experiences on an exclusive Internet platform. Collaborative learning and exchange opportunities are also available for teachers working in rural multi-grade schools and English language teachers (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). Beyond these examples, the 2017 OECD policy review of Chile found few "communities of practice where teachers could share strategies, reflect and collaborate on projects," (Santiago et al., 2017, p. 261[4]). Establishing and supporting a professional network for teachers working in schools with high concentrations of students with an immigrant background or other vulnerable student groups could help scale up efforts to include these students in Chilean classrooms and school communities.

In addition to professional networks, there is evidence that benefits can be gained both from mentoring and being mentored (OECD, 2005[153]). The new National Induction System for Beginning Teachers (Sistema Nacional de Inducción para Docentes Principiantes) includes mandatory mentoring for beginning teachers by a more experienced teacher in either the 1st or 2nd year of teaching (Santiago et al., 2017, p. 261_[41]). This is an important step towards making mentorship a norm in the Chilean education system, but such arrangements could also be considered beyond initial teacher induction (OECD, 2017_[5]). For example, mentorship opportunities that extended to teachers with an immigrant background can be helpful for immigrant teachers who need to adapt and integrate into the teaching profession in a new country (Niyubahwe, Mukamurera and Jutras, 2013_[154]).

Chile already has a mentorship arrangement between traditional Indigenous teachers and classroom teachers to incorporate the Indigenous language and culture subject into the curriculum. This allows traditional teachers to provide language and cultural knowledge while mentor teachers provide pedagogical support (Sotomayor, 2013_{[931}). The arrangement encourages a mutual learning; however, evaluations have found that the model of this pedagogical team is not always implemented and mentor teachers seem to receive no training or guidance on how to transmit their teaching practice to develop the teaching skills of traditional teachers (OECD, 2017_[5]; Sotomayor, 2013_[93]; Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). Building from this experience, Chile might consider developing mentorship arrangements for teachers or support staff with an immigrant background who are new to the Chilean education system; however, developing guidelines, providing incentives and allocating time to engage in mentorship activities could help ensure such arrangements are useful. Some examples that Chile could consider as a means to promote networks for exchange and mentoring are discussed below.

Examples from peer- learner countries

Similar to Chile, New Zealand has induction and mentorship arrangements for new teachers. The mentorship arrangement has clearly established guidelines and regulations on the role of the mentor, mentee, and the school for the new teacher's first two years. In addition to the general guidelines, there is also detailed information for teachers serving New Zealand's Indigenous population. The Induction and Mentoring in Māori-medium Settings (Te Hāpai \bar{O} – Ko te Whakangungu me te Arataki i ngā wāhi Mātauranga

Māori), aims to help teachers support Māori students, a historically disadvantaged group in New Zealand (Marie, Fergusson and Boden, 2008[155]). Importantly, the induction and mentoring programme in New Zealand is built into the schedule of all new teachers. In addition to reducing total teaching time for all teachers in 2015/16, the 'Teachers Collective Agreement' affords first and second year beginning teachers an extra 5 and 2.5 hours of time, respectively, to be used for induction and mentoring (MINEDUC, 2016_[156]; MINEDUC, 2015_[157]; OECD, 2012_[56]). Through this time allotment, which is highly valued, new teachers are given more of an opportunity to learn from their mentor. However, steps will need to be taken to address the regulation as researchers have found that many teachers use the extra time for daily teaching tasks such as lesson planning rather than professional development activities (Anthony et al., 2007_[158]).

Another example is from the University of Paderborn in North-Rhine Westphalia in Germany, which established a network for teachers interested in learning how to teach in diverse classrooms in 2011. The Life is Diversity (Leben ist Viefalt) group initially aimed to support student teachers with a migrant background but quickly expanded to include all student teachers and current educators. The group regularly meets to share intercultural experiences and organise workshops, seminars and activities on practical intercultural classroom management, dealing with multilingualism, unconscious bias training and religion (PPMI, 2017_[159]; Universität Paderborn (Paderborn University), 2016_[160]). The network also hosts diversity days or evenings that are dedicated to learning about different cultures and serve as a culture exchange to learn about differences and similarities (PPMI, 2017_[159]). Participant feedback suggests that the programme has endowed members with intercultural sensitivity and increased their self-confidence to teach in diverse classrooms (PPMI, 2017_[159]). Outcomes from the network are providing more content for diversity training in initial teacher education programmes and the group is currently working to create partnerships with other universities as well as expand its membership to a wider range of subject content (most of the current members are either German or social studies teachers) (Universität Paderborn (Paderborn University), $2016_{[160]}$).

North-Rhine Westphalia also has a long history of hiring teachers with a migrant background. To break down stereotypes about migrant teachers and highlight the potential contributions they can make to teaching in diverse classrooms, the state introduced the **Teachers** with immigration history (Lehrkräfte Zuwanderungsgeschichte) project. The initiative creates local networks of teachers and offering certification courses to become 'Intercultural coordinators' who then promote diversity and inclusion in their respective schools (Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, $2016_{[133]}$).

4.2.4. There is some support for diverse classrooms

Immigrant students have different sets of vulnerabilities that accompany the displacement of being foreign-born or having foreign-born parents, facing possible language barriers and having to forge a new identity. (OECD, 2018_[3]). Some may even have experienced situations of violence or loss of a family member on their journey to Chile and may require psychological support (UNHCR and City of the Child Foundation, 2017[161]). To address the individual needs of these students, teachers may need extra support from teams of social workers, psychologists, language aides or other professionals who work with children and families. Extra support can allow teachers to focus more on their teaching practice; however, it is important to give attention to the rights and duties of these staff members who often receive fixed term contracts, making the continuity of support a challenge for schools.

While some Chilean schools can access additional resources for support measures – mainly through the SEP and the PIE- there are no guidelines for how such measures can be used to help immigrant students perform on grade level, learn Spanish as a second language or support their integration and overall inclusion. There also seems to be limited attention to the quality of other professionals and learning support staff in Chilean schools, e.g. through staff regulations, although the General Education Law points out the rights and duties of some learning support staff (education assistants) (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). The Ministry of Education encourages schools to use their improvement plans (Plan de Mejoramiento Educativo) as an opportunity to reflect on the type of technical and pedagogical support they need to respond to high concentrations of immigrant students and diverse learning needs within their specific contexts. However, articulating these needs should be a way to address challenges and build capacity rather strictly as an accountability measure.

Examples from peer-learner countries

Since April 2016, Austria has deployed Mobile Intercultural Teams (mobile interkulturelle Teams, MIT) to support teachers and administrators working in schools with high percentages of immigrant students. The teams often include a qualified psychologist to aid in teaching children who have experienced trauma or difficulty in their lives (Scholten et al., 2017[162]) and teams are trained in topics such as asylum and migration movements, school law and administration, trauma and trauma coping with children and adolescents (Felder-Puig, Maier and Teutsch, 2016[163]). The support provided by the mobile intercultural teams varies and can include advice for teachers, individual casework with immigrant students, and workshops to improve class climate. Importantly, the MITs interact with parents of immigrant students to integrate them into the school community (Felder-Puig, Maier and Teutsch, 2016[163]) and often act as a language bridge between students, parents, and the school (teachers, administrators etc.) (Eurydice, 2018[164]).

A study of the programme's effectiveness found that it was generally successful: around 30% of schools reported improvements in overcoming communication and cultural barriers, informing migrant families about school operations, recognising socio-emotional problems of individual students and approximately 80% of school expressed a desire to continue receiving MIT support (Felder-Puig, Maier and Teutsch, 2016[163]). However, the programme faces challenges in regards to securing permanent funding and establishing a standardised protocol. In addition, there are logistic concerns with the length of time spent on public transport, lack of payment during transport time, and no insurance coverage for MIT employees who, similar to support staff in Chile, are hired with fixed term contracts. Additionally, MIT employees have expressed a desire for feedback as there is no current external supervision outside of the team (Felder-Puig, Maier and Teutsch, 2016_[163]). Chile could reflect on these lessons from Austria in developing support mechanisms for schools and teachers to address the needs of diverse classrooms; however, care should be taken to consider the resource implications of new policies and programmes.

4.2.5. Exchange of practices could be supported by collecting and disseminating evidence-based policies

The body of evidence around the integration and inclusion of immigrant students is growing. Considering this is an emerging policy area in Chile, it could be beneficial to develop an evidence base for what works in terms of managing school and classroom diversity. An evidence-based policy platform could help disseminate promising practices at the school level by serving as a resource guide for educators and community stakeholders who are interested in sharing and reviewing approaches used to supporting vulnerable students, rather than continuously reinventing the wheel. The evidence generated by the platform could also be used to inform future policies and practices. An example of how the United States has collected and disseminated evidence-based policies is discussed below. The information from these platforms is often presented in a format that is easy to navigate and accessible to a range of stakeholders.

Examples from peer-learner countries

In the United States, the independent research and statistics arm of the Department of Education has set up a web portal called the "What Works Clearinghouse (WWC)" to help educators, policy-makers, and researchers find programmes and interventions across a range of areas that have demonstrated a positive impact on student outcomes (IES, n.d. [165]). The WWC has an interactive portal that allows users to filter by type of intervention then classifies results by level of effectiveness based on a rigorous systematic review methodology. Users can also compare and search for interventions by specific grade levels and/or type of population (including English Learners or students with disabilities). The WWC platform also provides practice guides that users can download and adapt for their own use.

Another example of a portal that aims to disseminate promising classroom practices and policies is the "Teachers for Migrants' and Refugees' Rights" portal, created by Education International (EI). Through sharing evidence, local experiences, and resources from around the world, the portal intends to support unions and teachers in their efforts to promote the educational rights of migrants and refugees. It includes a toolkit for teachers with information, such as a list of reviewed training programmes and a collection of teaching resources. Moreover, it is also possible to find different examples of mobilisation initiatives, such as work with families, social campaigns and alliances on the portal (Forghani-Arani, Cerna and Bannon, 209[166]).

4.3. Conclusion and policy pointers

Chile is implementing a number of reforms introduced by the System for Teacher Professional Development (2016) to raise the status of teachers and strengthen the teaching profession. Changes to initial teacher education and induction, along with the reduction in teaching hours aim to better prepare new teachers and foster more professional development opportunities for existing teachers. However, it will be important to incorporate diversity and intercultural training as an integral part of the teacher preparation and professional development. Giving teachers opportunities for professional exchange and mentorship and establishing a platform to collect and disseminate evidence-based policies and practices can also help build capacity to support immigrant students and diverse groups of learners. Finally, Chile could build capacity around supporting and including immigrant students by providing relevant support for diverse classrooms and encouraging schools to articulate their needs through school improvement plans. More specifically, Chile could consider the following actions:

4.3.1. Incorporate diversity training into initial teacher preparation and professional development

All teachers will encounter some form of diversity during their career and stand to benefit from initial teacher education programmes that incorporate inclusive and inter-cultural approaches (Sokal and Sharma, 2017_[144]; OECD, 2010_[116]). This could help better prepare Chilean teachers for the realities they will face in the classroom. However, current teachers also need relevant professional development opportunities on diversity and inter-cultural education to develop knowledge and strategies on how to respond to diverse classrooms.

4.3.2. Develop a small cohort of specialised Spanish language teachers

While the share of immigrant students who are non-native Spanish speakers is currently small, Chile should consider developing a small cohort of specialised teachers to support Spanish language learners. For example, teacher education programmes could introduce a "Spanish as a second language" specialisation or offer credits in teaching Spanish as a second language to establish specialist teachers who can use a range of language learning methodologies to facilitate the transition into mainstream classes and support the full academic and social inclusion of non-native Spanish speaking students. However, developing a cohort of specialised language teachers should be part of a broader effort to introduce all teachers to language acquisition pedagogies that can be applied in mainstream classrooms across subject areas (see policy pointer 5.1.8).

4.3.3. Provide all teachers with training opportunities to become familiar with using language acquisition pedagogies in mainstream classrooms

Specialised language teachers alone cannot ensure the full inclusion of students who are not proficient in Spanish. These students will eventually participate in classes with native Spanish speakers and face the double challenge of learning subject material and the Spanish language simultaneously. Introducing all teachers to language acquisition pedagogies that can be used in mainstream classrooms across subject areas can help support these students. For example, these pedagogical approaches could be integrated into initial teacher education and professional development programmes. Raising awareness about language learning among all teachers could help promote a learning community that supports and recognises the diverse heritage and language that immigrant students bring into the classroom (Della Chiesa, Scott and Hinton, 2012_[6]). Combined with developing a cohort of specialist Spanish language teachers, integrating language acquisition pedagogies into mainstream teaching practices could strengthen the system's capacity to respond to linguistically diverse students.

4.3.4. Foster opportunities for professional exchange and mentorship

Chile could consider developing mentorship arrangements for teachers with an immigrant background who are new to the Chilean education system but should develop guidelines, incentives and allow teachers to allocate time to mentorship activities. Supporting professional networks for teachers working in schools with high concentrations of immigrant students could also help scale up individual efforts to include diverse groups of students in Chilean classrooms and school communities.

4.3.5. Develop support systems for diverse classrooms.

Chile could encourage schools to articulate the specific types of technical and pedagogical support they need to address large concentrations of immigrant students and diverse learners. Guidelines and support mechanisms could help build capacity around issues such as helping immigrant students perform on grade level, learning Spanish as a second language or supporting their integration and trajectory. It will be important to consider implications for funding and the conditions of staff members who provide support.

5. Inclusive school communities

Aim: Promote social cohesion in the context of increasing diversity through supportive and engaging school communities

Box 5.1. Selection of comments on this challenge made by workshop participants

- "The key concept is tolerance; the challenge is how to teach it."
- "Venezuelans do not understand the social segregation of Chile, the economic segregation."
- "Even the younger Chilean students are strongly influenced by the negative opinions of their parents and families (towards immigrants)."
- "(We) need to incorporate inter-culturalism and diversity into the national curriculum."

5.1. Context

This Spotlight Report has mainly focused on students with an immigrant background and the policy levers that can help facilitate their inclusion in the Chilean education system. However, migration background is only one dimension of the diversity found in classrooms. Others forms of diversity might include socio-economic background; culture; religion; gender; sexual orientation; and physical and mental abilities. The amount of attention each dimension receives in the public discourse is a choice and part of the political decision-making process (OECD, 2010_[8]). However, they can sometimes be associated with inequalities in terms of privilege and access to power, leading to harmful stereotypes and discrimination (MINEDUC, 2017[49]). Managing diversity is key to helping mitigate these risks. This involves both examining the role schools play in the production and reproduction of injustices and supporting all students and families, regardless of their background or personal characteristics, to help build fair and cohesive societies.

In today's increasing complex and diverse world, people need the skills to engage with others and take responsible action towards collective well-being (OECD, 2018[167]). Inclusive education can help manage diversity by listening to and empowering unfamiliar voices, and "celebrating difference" in dignified ways without leaving anyone out (Barton, 1997, p. 233_[168]). This section of the Spotlight Report maintains the focus on students with an immigrant background but also examines diversity more broadly, looking at some of the steps Chile has taken to foster a more inclusive approach to school education. Particular emphasis will be given to the case of students with an Indigenous background in Chile, who often face disparities in terms of educational opportunities and outcomes compared to their peers without an Indigenous background. As Chile's population becomes more diverse, now is an opportune moment for the country to reflect on its experience with inter-cultural education, which was adopted to recognise and support Indigenous students, in order to accommodate a wider range of student diversity.

5.1.1. Indigenous students struggle to be fully included in education

Throughout history, indigenous peoples in Latin America and in other parts of the world have been subject to exclusion and marginalisation (Treviño et al., 2012[169]). They are often obliged to set aside their own culture, language and identity in order to assimilate to the dominating one (Figueroa Huencho, 2012_[170]). At the same time, the educational opportunities of Indigenous children and young people are often undermined, limiting the improvement of outcomes in education and beyond. Chile is no exception to these circumstances.

After gaining independence from Spain in the beginning of the 19th century, Chile established a unified nation-state based on cultural and ethnic homogeneity that largely denied the Indigenous presence in the country (ibid.). This idea of the Chilean nation-state was reflected in educational models based on an "assimilationist, mono-cultural and mono-lingual perspective" (Ortiz, 2009, p. 93[171]). While some inter-cultural and bilingual education programmes were introduced during the 1970s and 1980s by NGOs, universities and international development agencies, assimilation remained the leading model for Indigenous education in Chile until the return of democracy in 1990 when Indigenous peoples were included on the political agenda and demanded recognition for their civil and territorial rights (Agar Concha, 2017[172]; Figueroa Huencho, 2012[170]; Ortiz, 2009[171]).

As a result, the concept of inter-culturalism, or recognising the unique origins and cultural backgrounds of individuals, gained importance in Chile and led to key educational interventions (Treviño et al., 2012_[169]). Notably, the Programme for Intercultural Bilingual Education (Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, PEIB) was introduced to fully include and preserve Indigenous culture and languages in the Chilean educational system (Ortiz, 2009[171]). While initiatives to include Indigenous cultures in Chile (such as the PEIB) have existed for more than 20 years, Indigenous students, and Indigenous communities as a whole, continue to be marginalised and excluded (OECD, 2017[5]).

According to the 2017 Census, 12.8% of the Chilean population, or 2.19 million people, identify themselves as belonging to an Indigenous community (INE, 2018[1]). However, Indigenous people are more likely to live in poverty than those who are not Indigenous (14.5% compared to 8%) and almost twice as likely to live in extreme poverty (4.0% compared to 2.1%). Moreover, they are more likely to have a household head with low educational attainment (10.3 years compared to 11.2 years) and to have a family member aged 15 or older who is illiterate (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]; Ministerio de Desarrollo Social [Ministry for Social Development], 2018[173]).

At the school level, national data suggests that Indigenous children have an equal chance of attending school as their non-Indigenous peers. There are no significant differences in the net enrolment rates between Indigenous and non-Indigenous children at the pre-primary and primary level and enrolment rates in secondary school among 14-17 year olds were actually higher for Indigenous youth as of 2017 (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social [Ministry for Social Development], 2018[1731]. However, Indigenous students still face disparities at the tertiary education level. Enrolment in tertiary education is lower among Indigenous peoples and the share of Indigenous adults (age 18+) who have completed this level of education (12.3%) is significantly lower than among non-Indigenous adults (20.5%) (ibid). One of the underlying factors that could help to explain this trend is socio-economic segregation since Indigenous students historically come from low-income backgrounds and families with lower educational levels (Webb, Canales and Becerra, 2016[174]).

Despite similar enrolment rates at the school level, evidence suggests there are gaps in the performance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. According to SIMCE results for students in Year 2, Mapuche students (who constitute the largest Indigenous community in Chile) score on average 10 points less in reading, 13 points less in mathematics and 12 points less in science than non-Indigenous students. Chile's second largest Indigenous group, the Aymara, score 12 points less in reading, 4 points less in mathematics and 13 points less in science (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]).

It is unlikely that Indigenous background alone explains the differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous student outcomes. A study of SIMCE scores over a four-year period found an achievement gap in test scores of 0.2-0.3 standard deviations on average for Indigenous students but suggested that student socio-economic background can help explain this difference (Canales and Webb, 2018_[175]). Other research suggests that a negative correlation between ethnic composition and test scores in math and science might be explained by "teachers' lower expectations in ethnically concentrated classrooms" (Canales and Webb, 2018[175]). Moreover, school context, meaning fewer financial resources and poor learning conditions in schools with large concentrations of Indigenous students might be contributing to this achievement gap (ibid).

Nevertheless, standardised assessments are only one way to assess the motivation, confidence and achievement of students. Ensuring that all children and young people have a chance to demonstrate their strengths and interests is important for student motivation and using a broad approach to assessment can help build a more enduring sense of efficacy and achievement (OECD, 2017[14]).

Research also suggests that Indigenous students may be subject to violence at school because of their ethnicity. Becarra et al. (2015[176]) conducted a study among upper secondary schools in the Araucanía Region, where a large share of Chile's Indigenous population reside. They found that Mapuche students not only faced more physical and psychological violence than non-Indigenous students face but that the different forms of school violence were correlated with negative perceptions and prejudice that non-Indigenous students had about their Indigenous peers (ibid).

These issues around student socio-economic background, low teacher expectations, and lack of resources for schools with high concentrations of vulnerable students mirror some of the challenges Chile faces in terms of including students with an immigrant background. These issues are addressed earlier in this Spotlight Report. However, the case of Chile's Indigenous students highlights the need for policies that go beyond improving access towards fully including diverse students in the education system.

5.1.2. Educational programmes that target Indigenous students

Bilingual Intercultural Education Programme (PEIB)

Chile's efforts to improve outcomes for Indigenous students focus on improving access to education and developing and maintaining Indigenous languages and culture. To accomplish these goals, the Ministry of Education worked with the National Corporation for Indigenous Development (Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena, CONADI) to develop the PEIB, Chile's flagship education policy that aims to make learning more relevant for Indigenous children and youth by contextualising the curriculum (MINEDUC, 2017_[177]). The programme has developed resource materials such as bilingual intercultural textbooks and computer programmes for students to learn about Indigenous cultures and languages. It has also helped increase the participation of Indigenous authorities in pedagogical activities, trained specialists in interculturality and prepared traditional teachers who are bilingual in Mapuche and Aymara to promote Indigenous languages in the classroom (ibid).

In 2009, intercultural education was recognised in the Chilean General Education Law (see Box 5.2), solidifying the place of Indigenous languages and culture in the country's education system (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). Since then, the programme has worked to incorporate Indigenous language subjects (SLI) into the curriculum in primary schools that serve Indigenous students. It also provides funding for bilingual projects in areas where Mapudungun, Aymará, Rapa Nui are spoken and for projects that revitalise endangered languages (for instance Licanantai, Colla, Diaguita, Kawésqar and Yagán). The programme also supports broader goals of developing intercultural competencies among students, teachers and school leaders (ibid.).

The SLI has expanded gradually since 2010 to strengthen the cultural and linguistic knowledge of the four Indigenous cultures that still maintain their vernacular language today. Students who participate in SLI receive four hours of Indigenous language instruction per week. The programmes also take into consideration the different ways through which students may have access to Indigenous languages, for instance having an Indigenous mother tongue, hearing it in their community, or only hearing it in the classroom. In 2016, about 24.5% (29 371 students) of Indigenous students enrolled in primary school took SLI. The programme was available in 1 391 Chilean schools, with Mapudugun as the most popular language offered (1 295 schools) (MINEDUC, 2017[177]). On the one hand, SLI been positively perceived by teachers, who have welcomed the study programmes and consider that the contents adequately fulfil the purposes of SLI (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). On the other hand, SLI has been criticised for not contributing to the revitalisation of the Indigenous languages in Chile, mainly due to the limited amount of teaching hours and the low social value of Indigenous language knowledge. Another concern is that the way SLI is designed today prevents Indigenous language from being a transversal element in the teaching of different subjects, thus losing opportunities to generate a real inter-culturality in the education (Cisternas Irrázabal, 2018[178]).

Despite the ambitious goals of the PEIB programme, its implementation is limited. As of 2016, Indigenous students were enrolled in around 9 335 Chilean educational establishments, representing 78.7% of all schools. However, only 1 891 establishments are reported to have developed intercultural activities and 1 391 have incorporated the Indigenous language subject. With regards to intercultural educational activities, the majority take place in spaces outside of the classroom and are related to language workshops, cultural celebrations, events and displays (MINEDUC, 2017_[177]). The programme has also been criticised for not sufficiently adapting to the special needs and traditions of Indigenous communities (Santiago et al., 2017[4]). Importantly, there are no evaluations of the programme's effectiveness on the learning outcomes or well-being of Indigenous students. Evidence from other countries with Indigenous populations, such as Australia and Canada, points to a positive correlation between Indigenous languages and the well-being, sense of identity and self-esteem of individuals (Kaleimamoowahinekapu Galla, 2015_[179]; Marmion, Obata and Troy, 2014_[180]). It is important that Chile consider these benefits when evaluating the effectiveness of SLI and the PEIB programme.

Indigenous Scholarship Programme (Programa de Becas Indígenas)

Another policy measure used to reduce disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students is the Indigenous Scholarship Programme (Programa de Becas *Indígenas*). Introduced in 1993 as a means to reduce educational inequality, this programme provides monetary grants for socio-economically disadvantaged Indigenous students to help cover expenses associated with attending compulsory and upper secondary education (Webb, 2015[181]). To be eligible for the grant, students have to belong to an Indigenous community, show outstanding academic performance by achieving a minimum grade average of 5.0 and demonstrate socio-economic disadvantage (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]). As the majority of Chile's Indigenous peoples are concentrated in the Araucanía and Metropolitan Regions, most of the programme grants are distributed in these regions, as well as in the most northern regions. Chile also offers scholarships for Indigenous students aged 18-24 who wish to attend university. These students can receive a grant for boarding facilities in Indigenous homes (becas hogares indigenas) or financial assistance to rent housing in proximity to the university (beca residencia indígena) (Webb, 2015[181]).

While Indigenous students still lag behind their non-Indigenous peers in terms of tertiary attainment, in compulsory and secondary school the Indigenous Scholarship Programme has significantly increased attendance rates and helped reduced dropout among the target population (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]; Webb, 2015_[181]). This suggests the programme may be helping to increase social mobility among Chile's Indigenous communities. Studies conducted among Mapuche students in the Araucanía Region also suggest that these scholarship programmes are motivating students to self-identify as Mapuche by "removing some of the shame that was previously associated with this group" (Webb, 2015, p. 437_[181]). Nevertheless, Webb (2015, p. 430_[181]) argues that the increased social mobility "encourage some Mapuche youth to differentiate themselves from previous generations whose poverty and lack of education prevent emancipation". This might have negative effects on family and community relations within the Mapuche community and contribute to exclusionary attitudes and internalised racism. Moreover, although access to the education system has improved, the educational system itself still has deficiencies regarding the recognition and integration of multicultural values (ibid.).

5.1.3. Learning from inter-cultural education to make inclusion a reality for all

Inter-culturalism is defined as recognising the different identities, knowledge and cultures that students have and creating conditions of equality by fostering respect, mutual validation, and ensuring the right to quality education for all (MINEDUC, 2017_[49]; Giménez, 2005_[182]). This concept is one of the guiding principles of the Chilean education system (see Box 5.2); however, the term "inter-culturalism" in Chile, as well as in many other parts of the world, is traditionally used to reference Indigenous culture rather than serve as a broader form of cultural and linguistic inclusion, or "inter-culturalism for all" (Mateos and Dietz, 2014, p. 67[183]). While the importance of addressing the learning needs of Chile's Indigenous students and reflecting the cultures and values of Indigenous peoples in the education system should not be diminished, general awareness about inter-culturalism seems low and although there are recent efforts to engage the general population in inter-culturalism, they appear to be limited (Santiago et al., 2017_[4]).

Unlike inter-culturalism, inclusive education refers to an ongoing process aimed at offering quality education for all while respecting diversity and the different needs and abilities, characteristics and learning expectations of the students and communities, eliminating all forms of discrimination (UNESCO, 2009[184]). More than a particular policy or practice related to a specific group of students/individuals, this definition shifts the focus of attention from the individual to the communal (Boscardin and Jacobson, 1997_[185]). This is an important part of improving outcomes for groups of vulnerable students and using education to support all individuals to engage with others in increasingly diverse and complex societies. In the context of international migration and greater heterogeneity among students in Chile, situating inter-cultural education within a broader discussion on inclusive education means considering diversity as something that "affects us all, not just indigenous or immigrant students," (Chamizo, 2018, p. 60[94]). Using a framework of inclusive education could help Chile manage diversity and foster more inclusive school communities for all students, regardless of their personal backgrounds and circumstances.

Researchers at Chile's Alberto Hurtado University and the Foundation for Overcoming Poverty (FUSUPO) have proposed some ideas of how a broader conception of inter-cultural education. Their "Pedagogical guide for an intercultural, anti-racist and gender perspective education" (Guía pedagógica para una educación intercultural, anti-racista y con perspectiva de género), provides suggestions for how Chilean schools and classrooms could become more inclusive (Stefoni et al., 2017_[186]). The Chilean government also has published a variety of plans and regulations aiming to promote equity and inclusiveness among diverse groups of students. These include the "school coexistence plan; the sexuality, affectivity and gender plan; the comprehensive school safety, self-care and prevention plan; the citizen training plan; and the inclusion support plan" (MINEDUC, 2017[49]).

While these materials demonstrate Chile's commitment to promoting inclusive education, the challenges discussed in this report suggest that more could be done to fully include students with an immigrant background in the education system. For example, immigrant students are unevenly distribution across schools, lack systematic support when they struggle with the Spanish language and teachers and schools with high concentrations of immigrant students are not provided with adequate tools and guidance to support these students. Furthermore, in the context of Chile's efforts to raise the learning outcomes of Indigenous students and make inter-culturalism an integral part of the country's narrative, the influx of immigrant students reinforces the need for a "coherent and evolving system-level strategy" to strengthen inclusiveness (OECD, 2017, p. 82_[5]).

This recommendation was presented in a recent OECD report on education policy in Chile and could help enhance pedagogical practice in classrooms and provide greater support to schools serving high proportions of students in conditions of vulnerability (ibid., p. 82). Such a strategy requires raising expectations and improving learning opportunities for all students, regardless of their gender, ethnicity, immigrant background or other personal characteristics or circumstances. It is also important to collect data and results to identify where gaps are that prevent Indigenous, immigrants and other diverse groups from accessing the same opportunities and outcomes. Although there have been some efforts to include immigrant students in Chile's education data and information systems, disaggregated data is still limited (Jiménez Vargas, 2014_[82]).

Box 5.2. Principles of the Chilean education system

The General Education Law (2009) identifies guiding principles for Chile's education system. Several are relevant to this report:

- An equitable education system: The education system should ensure that all students have the same opportunities to receive a high quality education, with special attention to persons and groups that require special support.
- Diversity: The education system should promote and respect diversity in educational institutions' processes and missions, as well as the cultural, religious and social diversity of the populations that the system serves.
- Participation: Members of the education community have the right to be informed and participate in the education process, in conformity with relevant norms.
- Flexibility: The education system should permit adaptation of education processes to the diversity of educational institutions' situations and mandates.
- Integration: The education system should promote the inclusion of students from diverse social, ethnic, religious, economic and cultural backgrounds.
- Inter-culturalism: The education system must recognise and value the individual in terms of their unique origins and cultural background, respecting their language, worldview and history.

Note: For a complete list of the guiding principles, see Article 3 of the Chilean General Education Law. Source: MINEDUC (2009), "Ley 20.370: Ley General de Educación" [Education Law 20.370: General Law of Education], Ministerio de Educación Pública, Santiago, http://bcn.cl/1m0i2 (accessed 27 September 2018).

5.2. Migration-induced diversity: inclusive school communities in Chile

5.2.1. Curriculum does not respond to migration-induced cultural diversity

Recognising diversity in school curriculum and classroom activities can be a powerful tool to promote principles of tolerance and inclusion (Suárez-Orozco, 2018[187]). It can also help minority students feel less marginalised (Nieto, 2016[188]) and has been found to lower levels of racial bias among all students (Schachner et al., 2016[189]). Diversity-conscious curricula can also be designed to reduce other biases found in society, such as those related to gender. In recent years, many countries, including Chile, have started to address gender stereotypes in school curricula by changing textbooks to embrace gender-inclusive language and encouraging teachers to use examples of women as scientists in classroom activities.

In line with the principles of the General Law of Education (Law 20.370), the national curriculum of Chile aims to develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes that people need to lead their lives fully, participate actively within their communities and contribute to the country's development. Chile's national curriculum also aims to promote inclusion and integration, be representative of diverse social demands and prevent any form of discrimination that may hinder student learning. Adherence to the national curriculum is compulsory and literature suggests that this rigidity could be one of the factors preventing Chile's inclusive and inter-cultural education agenda from linking with the new reality of international migration (Salas et al., 2016[190]; Hernández Yulcerán, 2016[191]; Martínez, 2018_[39]; Stefoni, Stang and Riedemann, 2016_[97]).

Chile has experienced responsive curriculum through its Programme for Intercultural Bilingual Education (PEIB), which incorporates Indigenous culture and language for schools serving Indigenous students. However, a recent OECD study on supporting the success of Indigenous students concluded that "successful schools mainstream local Indigenous values, history and cultural approaches as part of everyday school life, rather than add-on courses targeted only to Indigenous students," (OECD, 2017[14]) Stefoni et al. further argue that references to inter-culturalism in Chile's current curriculum are too narrowly focused on Indigenous populations and do not effectively engage the majority culture. This because the PEIB is only offered to indigenous students and not all the students in the school system, (Stefoni et al., 2017_[186]). Building fair, cohesive societies that promote social equity cannot be done if the attitudes, dispositions and perceptions of both marginalised groups and native Chileans are ignored. It is important that intercultural education includes all students so that everybody can build competencies about each other's cultures, history and experiences. All students stand to benefit from a curriculum that is responsive to local contexts, including students with an immigrant background.

One example of the tension between Chile's national curriculum and the immigration phenomenon can be seen in how the War of the Pacific is taught in schools. This lesson is traditionally presented with strong notions of heroism and nationalism, which can generate rivalries and disputes between Chilean students and their peers with Peruvian and Bolivian backgrounds (Fundación Superación de la Pobreza [Overcoming Poverty Foundation]; Instituto Chileno de Estudios Municaples [Chilean Institue of Municipal Studies], $2016_{[72]}$). In response to this, some teachers have taken a more inclusive inter-cultural approach to the way they teach the curriculum by shifting the focus of their lessons on the war towards values of collaboration, peaceful negotiation and studying the impact the war had in other countries during that period (ibid).

While efforts to address the tensions between the curriculum and the realities of a diverse classroom can be found at the school level, there are no institutional efforts or mechanisms to foster the socio-cultural inclusion of immigrant students in Chilean curriculum or learning materials (Mondaca et al., 2018[192]; Larraguibel Álvarez, 2017[193]; Castillo, 2016_[53]). Chile could reflect on the contents of it national curriculum and promote ways that it can be adapted to allow for more inclusive and intercultural approaches that engage all students (MINEDUC, 2018[41]). Below are some examples of how peer-learner countries have made curriculum more relevant to marginalised student groups. It is important to note that in some of these countries, diversity has served as a means to reinforce differences and inequalities, contributing to significantly lower well-being outcomes for marginalised groups. Nevertheless, there are also examples of policies and practices in these countries that support the engagement and success of diverse students in education, which is the focus of this section.

Examples from peer-countries

In the United States, African American students are often required to study using a white-centric curriculum, the default curriculum routinely taught in public school classrooms. As a result, many young African Americans may feel disengaged, alienated, and displaced from the school system (Prier, 2012_[194]). A culturally responsive strategy to address this disconnect is Hip-Hop Pedagogy, which uses hip-hop music to help students better relate to the curriculum. The programme is typically used for social science courses but innovative practitioners have started experimenting across subject areas (Milner, 2011[195]). Research demonstrates that the programme has helped students develop the skills to engage in critical dialogue, connect to large social and political issues and increase motivations to complete assignments (Aronson and Laughter, 2016[196]).

In Australia, there have been efforts to shift Indigenous perspectives from electives and the periphery to an integral part of the curriculum. There are also teacher standards that specify what teachers should know and can do in order to both teach Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and teach Indigenous languages, history and culture to all Australian students (OECD, 2017_[14]).

Some provinces in *Canada* use resources developed by and reflective of Indigenous culture as integrated parts of their curriculum. For example, the Show Me Your Math programme, developed by researchers at the Faculty of Education at Saint Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia, supports teachers and students to explore mathematics in their own community and cultural practices (OECD, 2017_[14]). Using aspects of counting, measuring, locating, designing, playing and explaining students discover how mathematics connects to the cultural practices in their own communities and can be used as a tool to help the world (ibid).

Ireland has prepared tools to support inter-cultural education in school curriculum. The Irish National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) distributes "Guidelines on Intercultural Education" for schools, which take a whole-school, cross-curricular approach to intercultural education that is based on equality and human rights (NCCA, n.d. (1971). The guidelines are tailored for primary and post-primary levels of education and offer information and advice about incorporating intercultural education into the curriculum, school and classroom planning, assessment and teaching practices. Ireland has also developed a "Toolkit for Diversity" that aims to assist schools with ensuring the creation of a welcoming and intercultural learning environment that is respectful of all students (OECD, 2010_[116]). The toolkit continues to be available for teachers in Irish schools today.

5.2.2. A whole-school approach for nurturing inclusive school climates

Managing diversity in education is not just about training teachers or making changes to curriculum and textbooks, it is also about how people are treated in administrative offices and school hallways (Ryan, 2012_[198]). Supporting immigrant students and families requires "a whole-school approach (that) involves all members of the school community - school staff, students, parents and carers, agencies that engage with the school, and other community members" (Grant and Francis, 2016[199]). School climate refers to "the quality and character of school life," represented by the norms, values and relationships that characterise the social and learning environment of a school (Cohen et al., 2009, p. 182_[200]).

Research has found that positive school climates are associated with a range of desirable outcomes, such as better mental and physical health, higher graduation rates and motivation to learn, and lower aggression, violence and harassment (Thapa et al., 2013_[2011]). Supportive school climates can also play a role in raising the academic achievement of vulnerable student groups, such as those from low socio-economic backgrounds (Berkowitz et al., 2017_[202]) and help foster the development of democratic and civic attitudes (Wilkenfeld, 2009_[203]). These are important findings since perceptions of school climate are among the factors that parents and guardians use to select schools for their children (see section on school choice).

Chile has a national school climate policy (política nacional de convivencia escolar), established by the Ministry of Education and has implemented legislation against violence and discrimination in schools. School evaluation processes also recognise the importance of establishing a positive school climate as part of their efforts to provide a more comprehensive measurement of school quality. Additionally, Chile's new support framework for school improvement (Apoyo a la Mejora Educativa) seeks to build capacity in "school climate, participation, democracy, inclusion and diversity," as one of three focus areas (Santiago et al., 2017, p. 189_[4]). Finally, support for improving school climate is one of the domains typically covered by external public technical-pedagogical (ATE) consultants, highlighting the importance given not only to students' academic needs but also their social and emotional well-being (ibid, 192).

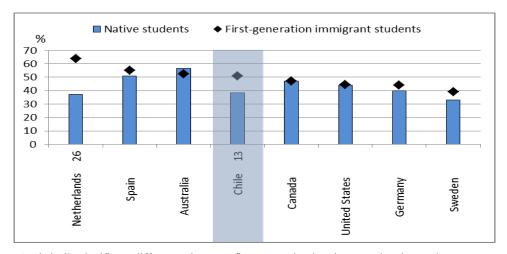
Data from international assessments reveal that bullying may be a challenge for the average immigrant. According to TIMSS 2015 results, over half of first-generation immigrant students in grade four report being the target of bullying on a monthly basis, 13 percentage points more than native students (see Figure 5.1). While this difference is smaller than what is observed in the Netherlands, it is larger than other peer-learner countries included in this Spotlight Report. Results from PISA 2015 are similar: first generation immigrant students at age 15 were 11 percentage points more likely to report frequent bullying than native peers were. This may have an impact on student learning and well-being: students who reported frequent bullying in Chile were about seven percentage points less likely to attain baseline academic proficiency; 22 percentage points less likely to report a sense of belonging at school; and, 16 percentage points less likely to report being satisfied with life.

School disciplinary climate is another factor that can impact student academic achievement and well-being. Evidence suggests that the disciplinary climate is relatively worse in schools attended by the average immigrant student than the average native Chilean student (OECD, 2018_[3]). While this is common in most OECD countries (see Figure 5.2), the difference (-0.13) is one of the largest and more than double the OECD average (-0.06) (OECD, 2018[3]). Disciplinary climate in PISA is based on an index of student perceptions their science class. It suggests that the average immigrant student attends schools whereby students report not listening to what the teacher says, having noisy and disorderly classrooms, and/or the teacher having to wait a long time for students to quiet down more frequently than schools attended by the average native student. For a complete list of the questions used to calculate the PISA disciplinary climate index, see Chapter 7 of the OECD Resilience of Students with an Immigrant Background report (2018).

The emerging disparities between native and immigrant students in terms of bullying and disciplinary climates suggest that Chilean schools should reinforce efforts to provide supportive and inclusive learning environments for students. This requires early identification and responses to safety and behavioural issues related to peer culture and bullying, school leaders who set high expectations for all students, and a whole-school approach to help school communities adapt to the changing mix of students and local circumstances (OECD, 2010_[116]). Examples of how peer-learner countries have developed informed approaches to improve the school climate for students are discussed below.

Figure 5.1. Victims of frequent bullying among 4th graders, by immigrant background

Percentage of students who report being bullied at least monthly



Note: Statistically significant differences between first-generation immigrant and native students are reported next to country names

Source: IEA, TIMSS 2015 Database (accessed 21 November 2018).

Examples from peer-countries

Canada uses surveys to increase knowledge about student experiences at school and inform policies to improve their outcomes, well-being and safety. The OurSCHOOL evaluation instrument (formerly called Tell Them from Me), was introduced in 2005 and is available at the provincial level. For example, the 2013/14 Manitoba Provincial Report, entitled Tell Them from Me: Bullying and School Safety, concluded that there was "an overall high prevalence in verbal, social, and physical bullying and lower prevalence in cyberbullying" (Manitoba Education and Advanced Learning, 2014). This finding shaped education policy and motivated the province to partner with various organisations and provide resources to address these trends (OECD, 2017[14]). Schools in Canada's Alberta province are also using well-being surveys to inform their approaches to Indigenous issues and students. Each year, Alberta Education produces report cards with 16 selected indicators for schools to use as a basis for an evaluative discussion (OECD, 2017_[14]).

To promote the inclusion of immigrants beyond efforts at the individual school level, the Australian Government introduced Harmony Day in 1999. The goal this day was to celebrate the benefits of cultural diversity for all Australians, within the broader aims of "national unity, community harmony and maintenance of their democratic values" (Australian Government, 2011_[204]; Singh and Rajan, 2015_[205]). Harmony Day is celebrated across Australia not only in childcare centres and schools but also community groups, churches, businesses and government agencies at various levels and aims to help people understand how Australians from diverse backgrounds can live together and belong to the same nation (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs, n.d.[206]). Activities organised for Harmony Day typically include sporting events, dance, art, film, music, storytelling and sharing cultural meals. It also encourages teamwork among students with different cultural backgrounds.

Index of school disciplinary climate ◆ Schools attended by the average immigrant student ■ Schools attended by the average native student 1.0 0.8 0.6 0.4 0.2 0.0 -0.2 -0.6 -0.15 -0.62 -0.13 -0.1 -0.07 0.09 -0.1 0.07 -0.12 Costa Rica Denmark Sweden Israel Estonia Hungary Finland Latvia Norway Peru Ireland United States Colombia lceland Canada Spain Jnited Kingdom Australia Austria Portugal Switzerland Germany Dominican Republic Luxembourg Turkey New Zealand Gre ece and Tobago Czech Republic

Figure 5.2. Disciplinary climate in schools attended by the average immigrant and native student

Note: Only countries with valid data on immigrant students from OECD and LAC partner countries are shown. The index of disciplinary climate was constructed based on students' responses about the frequency (i.e. "every lesson", "most lessons", "some lessons" and "never or hardly ever") with which "students don't listen to what the teacher says", "there is noise and disorder", "the teacher has to wait a long time for students to quiet down", "students cannot work well" and "students don't start working for a long time after the lesson begins" during their science lessons in school. The school score on the index was calculated as the average of the index values for students in the school. Statistically significant differences between immigrant and native students are shown next to country names. For the OECD average, this number refers only to the subset of countries with valid data on both groups of students. Countries are ranked in descending order of the average index of school disciplinary climate in schools attended by the average immigrant student.

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. *Source*: OECD, PISA 2015 Database, https://www.oecd.org/pisa/data/2015database/ (accessed 3 December 2018).

5.2.3. Incorporating families

Incorporating families, parents and guardians into the school community and engaging them in their child's learning is an important part of taking a whole-school approach to managing diversity. Most immigrant families come to Chile in search of better opportunities and understand the importance of education for their sons and daughters' futures. However, immigrant parents and guardians may struggle with language barriers, have limited education themselves, or lack the time and resources to provide a rich home learning environment and engage in their child's education (OECD, 2010_[116]). While disadvantaged Chilean parents may face similar challenges, such as having inflexible work hours that prevent them from being able to meet with teachers or school leaders during the day, these issues can be exasperated when the parent is unfamiliar with the cultural norms and rules around parenting and education in a host country (Castillo, 2016_[53]). Schools can play an important role in helping families support their child's learning and connect with other social services that may be relevant to their successful inclusion in education (Pont, Nusche and Moorman, 2008[207]).

Strong relationships between families and schools can also encourage schools to think about how to accept multiple identities and diverse families into their communities (Rojas Fabris, 2016_[208]). However, in studying the relationship between immigrant families and schools, Castillo reports that some parents and guardians in Chile feel isolated when it comes to engaging with the school communities of their children (2016_[53]). They suggest that a lack of organisation or reference to exchange and communicate with other parents and guardians makes it difficult for both immigrant and native families to build relationships and trust with other members of the school community (ibid).

School councils exist in Chile which allow stakeholders - including students and parents – to participate in the educational community (Santiago et al., 2017[4]). Evidence from PISA 2015 also suggests that parents are more likely to participate in school governance in Chile than other countries with available data: the parents of 26.6% of 15-year-olds reported that they had participated in local school government in the previous academic year (average of 12 OECD countries with available data was 15.7%) (OECD, 2016, Table II.3.30). However, a recent OECD (2017) report found that platforms for community participation, such as the student, parent, teacher and school councils, only function as a formality in some cases and that Chile should consider providing greater support on how parents can become involved. This is especially important for immigrant parents and caregivers who may not be aware such platforms exist nor their potential as a valuable source of information. The OECD also recommended providing schools with guidance on how to involve parents from all backgrounds, monitoring involvement in school governance platforms and implementing steps to help schools meet the needs of diverse social and cultural groups (Santiago et al., 2017, p. 213_[4]). Such initiatives could possibly be led by the new Local Education Services and the Agency for Quality Education. While these efforts cannot address the time constraints of parents and caregivers, they could help identify ways to build stronger relationships between schools and immigrant families.

Examples from peer-countries

In Ireland, the Home School Community Liaison (HSCL) scheme was introduced in 1990 and has since helped establish collaboration between parents and schools by providing support for families to become more engaged in their child's education. Support can include courses and training in parenting skills or home visits by HSCL

coordinators (in particular for severely disadvantaged families). The programme benefits from training for coordinators and other relevant stakeholders, cluster meetings for coordinators to exchange experiences and guidance from a National Steering Committee (Weir et al., 2018_[209]). The HSCL scheme targets schools in disadvantaged areas, not specifically immigrant families; however, some coordinators report that the programme has had a positive impact on migrant families. In 2017, 259 primary schools and 181 post-primary schools were included in the programme and evaluations suggest that it has been successful in increasing parental involvement among targeted disadvantaged parents (Weir et al., 2018_[209]). This example could be interesting for Chile as it will be important to support family engagement in the school community, especially in light of the new governance arrangement that will move the governance of public schools to a more centralised level thought the Local Education Services.

Providing language support to non-native Spanish speaking parents and caregivers can be another way to engage immigrant families in the school community. In cities across Germany, the programme Mommy learns German – Daddy too (Mama lernt Deutsch – Papa auch) is providing linguistic support to the parents of immigrant students. The programme allows immigrant parents to meet and share their migration experience through the German language. In Frankfurt, evaluations of the programme showed that children demonstrated a significant improvement in their language and vocabulary skills due to the increased use of German with their parents. Additionally, the improved language skills allowed the children to participate more easily in all aspects of their schooling, which then, in turn, aided social integration (OECD, 2009[210]). The programme is still in effect today, in many of the major German cities, including Frankfurt, Hannover, and Reutlingen (www.frankfurt.de; www.vhs-hannover.de; www.reutlingen.de), and it is also provided individually by select schools.

In Canada, schools use a variety of approaches to engage with Indigenous families. For example, some schools in Alberta hold family nights over the course of the school year, whereby families meet with school staff over a meal and generally listen to a guest speaker from the Indigenous (OECD, 2017_[14]). Others offer education programmes for parents in areas such as numeracy (ibid).

5.2.4. Citizenship and global competence education

Adolescence is a crucial age to develop support for democratic values, including tolerance, which is one of the central principles of democracy (Sherrod et al. 2002). Through civic education, schools are in a unique position to prepare students to become active citizens who are capable of thinking beyond their own context and are equipped with the competencies needed for success in an increasingly global and diverse world (Suárez-Orozco, 2007_[211]). While there are various conceptions of civic education, Carretero, Haste and Bermudez (2016[212]), group the main dimensions of civic learning into four areas:

- 1. Civic knowledge and understanding, factual knowledge about political institutions, processes and national history;
- 2. Civic skills, a combination of intellectual, participatory and socio-emotional skills that allow people to exercise their citizenship responsibly and respectfully (Bermudez and Barr (2007);
- 3. Civic values and identity, the individual and collective ideals and practices that define what it means to be a good citizen, such as democracy; and,

4. Civic action, the ways in which students integrate their knowledge, skills, values, attitudes and identities into behaviours.

While a range of factors, such as social networks or family background, play a role in shaping students' civic attitudes and knowledge, schools have a significant, albeit limited, power to nurture engagement among young people as they are a meeting point where diverse groups of students have the opportunity to interact with each other (Sandoval-Hernández, Isac and Miranda, 2018_[213]). Ensuring that these interactions are respectful of diversity is key to developing a generation of young people who are equipped to learn and live together.

Chile participates in several international studies to collect information about the perceptions and competencies youth have towards citizenship. The International Civic Citizenship Study (ICCS), for example provides a measure of students' civic knowledge and engagement. Results from ICCS 2016 revealed that the civic knowledge of Chilean students was 483, a decrease since the 2009 assessment and lower than the international average. However, Chile's score was higher than other Latin American and Caribbean countries participating in the study. Currently, Chile is participating in the OECD Global Competency domain of PISA 2018. This consists of a cognitive assessment and background questionnaire that aims to provide data on how well Chilean schools are preparing 15-year-olds to examine local, global and intercultural issues, engage in appropriate and effective interactions with people of different cultures and world views, and take action for collective well-being and sustainable development (OECD, 2018_[167]). Continuing to collect evidence on the citizenship and global competencies of students can help improve Chile's approach to managing diversity in schools.

The civic attitudes and behaviours of Chilean youth are likely influenced by the country's history. Following the transition to democracy during the 1990s, Chile adopted a curriculum focused on democracy and human rights, which celebrated diversity, pluralism and intercultural dialogue. Chileans, especially youth, have rather low participation rates in institutional political processes like voting but have been very active in mobilising to bring about reform, especially in the area of education. Student-led movements in 2006 (secondary students) and in 2011 (university students), which included street marches and occupations of schools, resulted in major structural changes to the policies and practices that have exacerbated educational inequality in Chile since the 1980s. While these experiences have been effective in creating change in the country, more can be done to develop trust in Chile's formal political processes. This cannot be the responsibility of education alone; however, equipping youth with the civic knowledge, skills, values and values to become active, responsible citizens is a good place to start.

Until recently, citizenship education in Chile was transversal, meaning there civic learning took place across subjects, often in social sciences, but not as a stand-alone content area. Cox and Garcia argue that this approach was insufficient in its "specific purposes and contents of citizenship education in the curriculum," (Cox and García, 2017, p. 18_[214]). In 2016, Chile introduced a law (Ley N° 20,911, 2016) to re-establish citizenship education as a dedicated subject at the secondary level (grades 11 and 12) and require schools to develop plans to strengthen learning in this area, through the existing institutional educational projects (PEI) and educational improvement plans (PME) of schools. The school plan for citizenship education is designed to encourage school communities to reflect on the context and needs for citizenship learning in their establishment. Chile could consider the below example as it reflects on how to further develop citizenship education, which plays an important role in meeting the needs of an increasingly diverse society and fostering social cohesion.

Examples from peer-countries

Civic and citizenship education has a long history in the Australian education system. Since the late 1980s, it has been generally agreed that "all students are entitled to develop the knowledge, skills and capacities to be active and informed citizens, capable of participating in their own communities, the nation and the wider world" (Tudball and Henderson, 2013_[215]). Two different citizenship curricula have been created, namely Discovering Democracy and The Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship. However, they found little success as it is difficult to create a country-wide citizenship curriculum and funding was short (Heggart, Arvanitakis and Matthews, 2018[216]). One successful example of a critical citizenship pedagogy comes from a small programme at the school level called Justice Citizens, implemented in Western Sydney. Through the citizenship class, students created short film on community issues and displayed their finished videos at a neighbourhood film festival. This programme was successful, in large part, because students were empowered to choose their own projects. Furthermore, because of their increased engagement, they learned a variety of ICT production skills such as blogging, and the shooting and editing of video (Kelly and Kamp, 2014_[217]). The teacher who implemented the programme, gradually reduced his involvement until the students were in control of their own learning, a key factor in the overall success of the programme. Through entrance and exit interviews, students expressed that they had become active citizens through the programme (Heggart, 2017_[218]; Rogers, 2016_[219]). Chile could learn from the examples of Australia, in particular that developing a national curriculum for citizenship education can be difficult and should be flexible enough to ensure its relevance for diverse local contexts. In addition, Chile could continue encouraging schools to develop innovative approaches to citizenship education in their school planning.

5.3. Conclusion and Policy Pointers

Chile is a diverse country with several spoken languages and a considerable share of Indigenous peoples. The recent influx of immigrants represents even greater diversity in Chile that is more visible and complex. Building fair, cohesive societies that promote social equity will remain a challenge if the attitudes, dispositions and perceptions of native Chileans, immigrants and other marginalised groups go ignored. Education systems have an important role to play in developing and implementing effective responses to increasing diversity. This is essential so that children, youth and adults, irrespective of their background or personal characteristics, can trust each other, trust public institutions, are mindful and open to diversity, and have the knowledge and skills needed to participate actively in today's complex and inter-connected world.

As Chilean schools and classrooms become more heterogeneous and visibly diverse, managing diversity is key to fostering more inclusive and intercultural approaches to education. Diversity, integration and inter-culturalism are among the guiding principles included in the Chilean General Education Law (20.370). However, the uneven distribution of immigrant students across schools, the lack of systematic support for students who struggle with the Spanish language and the absence of tools and guidance for teachers and schools with high concentrations of immigrant students suggest that more could be done to frame diversity as an asset. Greater attention to vulnerable groups,

including Indigenous peoples and immigrants, not only helps ensure better outcomes for individuals who risk being left behind, but also to society as a whole.

This requires a series of comprehensive efforts involving supportive and inclusive school climates that incorporate families, parents and guardians. It also requires adapting curriculum so that it is relevant to diverse groups of students and strengthening the citizenship and global competence of students so that all children who progress through the education system are well prepared to become responsible, active citizens. Many of the efforts to promote inclusive education for Chile's Indigenous students can help to include immigrant students. To build on the experience of inter-cultural education in a way that can also benefit immigrant students and strengthen the overall inclusiveness of school communities, Chile might:

5.3.1. Broaden the concept of inter-cultural education in curriculum and provide flexibility to link with the migration phenomenon

While efforts to address the tensions between the curriculum and the realities of a diverse classroom can be found at the school level, no institutional mechanisms are available to foster the socio-cultural inclusion of immigrant students in Chilean schools (Mondaca et al., 2018[192]; Larraguibel Álvarez, 2017[193]). This highlights the need for a reflection on the contents of the Chile's national curriculum and how it can be adapted to allow for more inclusive and intercultural approaches to teaching and learning (MINEDUC, 2018_[41]). The importance of improving outcomes for Chile's Indigenous people should not be undermined; however, programmes to promote Indigenous culture need to engage the majority population. In the context of increasing migration and diversity, a broader conception of inter-cultural education that engages all students and could help immigrant students feel included in the Chilean education system and promote greater social cohesion.

5.3.2. Reinforce a whole school approach towards establishing an inclusive school climate

Managing diversity and promoting an inclusive school climate is the responsibility of the entire school and involves all members of the school community. Intercultural events that highlight the visibility of student diversity, for example by including mother tongue or Indigenous languages in instruction or allowing students to exchange food, dance, music and other elements of their culture can provide positive learning opportunities. However, care must be taken to avoid reducing culture to folklore. Recognising the value of diversity beyond the individual school level can provide a foundation for broader discussions about diversity. A safe and supportive learning environment where all students feel respected, connected to their culture and valued for their heritage is also important (OECD, 2017_[14]). Chile could reinforce efforts to reduce bullying, improve the school disciplinary climate so that all students have the best possible chance to succeed.

5.3.3. Engage parents and guardians in the school community and in their child's learning

Incorporating families is an important part of taking a whole-school approach to managing diversity. Parents and guardians from marginalised groups may not be aware of how to engage in the school community or in the case of immigrant families, may face language barriers that prevent them from doing so. Chile could consider providing greater support to parents and caregivers on how to become involved in the school community

and help schools build stronger relationships with immigrant families. For example, establishing parent associations, offering language instruction for non-Spanish speaking parents and guardians in schools and establishing community liaisons could be ways to achieve this.

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