## IMPROVING EDUCATION FOR MIGRANT-BACKGROUND STUDENTS

## A Transatlantic Comparison of School Funding



By Julie Sugarman, Simon Morris-Lange, and Margie McHugh

# HMPI 

The Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration

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## Executive Summary

Rising numbers of immigrant and refugee children in Europe and North America have increased awareness of the capacities needed to ensure the successful integration of migrant-background students. ${ }^{1}$ Some national, regional, and local governments have well-designed systems of support for such students, while others are just beginning to establish targeted policies and practices to meet the needs of this growing and diverse population.

In the four countries that are the focus of this study-Canada, France, Germany, and the United Statesone key element of systems of support is the provision of supplementary funding by national, state, and local governments to meet the needs of migrant-background students in primary and secondary public schools. Such funding signals that their achievement is a priority and provides resources to pay for additional services these students need in order to succeed on par with their native peers. ${ }^{2}$ The policies associated with this type of funding are an important lever to influence how schools and school districts serve students from a migrant background, and can be seen as both reflecting and driving the larger goals and priorities of the education system.

The design of a supplementary funding mechanism begins with identification of specific disadvantages that lead to achievement gaps. National and international studies have demonstrated that migrantbackground students are likely to be at risk of educational difficulties due to their lack of proficiency in the language of instruction, limited or interrupted prior formal education, lack of cultural or systems knowledge, the effects of low socioeconomic status, and-among first-generation immigrant children-possible physical or emotional trauma experienced in countries of origin or while migrating. Supplementary funding can then be targeted to support remedies that address these disadvantages and improve student results. These remedies, which vary in intensity and length of support required, may include helping students develop academic proficiency in the language of instruction, close gaps in formal education resulting from conditions in countries of origin or the process of migrating, develop cultural and systems knowledge about schools and the wider society, address physical and mental health issues that impede school persistence or success, ${ }^{3}$ and close gaps in educational preparation due to low socioeconomic status.

# Policies associated with ... funding are an important lever to influence how schools and school districts serve students from a migrant background. 

The four countries profiled target funds to schools in a variety of ways based on community and student needs. When it comes to supplementary funding for migrant-background students, the U.S.-based Educational Commission of the States identified three types of mechanisms: a weighted formula, which increases the basic per-pupil funding level of qualifying students by a specified amount; categorical funding, which provides resources targeted to the needs of qualifying students outside of the primary funding formula; and state government reimbursement of schools for services to migrant-background students based on predetermined rules. Some supplementary mechanisms only disperse funds to schools or school districts with a minimum level or concentration of qualifying students.

[^0]As with any complex policy challenge, there is not a single, best design for supplementary funding. The appropriateness of the design depends on the needs of the student population and the educational context, including the capacities of schools and school systems to meet those needs. Likewise, supplementary funding can only be effective if the right remedies are targeted to the right schools and students, and the effectiveness of a mechanism can only be assessed if a system is able to measure relevant indicators of individual student or school progress. With student needs and system capacities varied and changing over time, the policy terrain is extremely challenging.

## As with any complex policy challenge, there is not a single, best design for supplementary funding.

Examination of the key provisions of supplementary funding mechanisms used in the four countries reveals a great deal of policy activity and innovation in three areas:

- Methods for identifying and counting target students. Education systems require a way to identify students to whom supplementary funds will be channeled. The four countries profiled use a variety of indicators, including tests to determine the level of student proficiency in the language of instruction (Canada and the United States), their citizenship or family country of origin (Germany), and the relative socioeconomic disadvantage of neighborhoods (France). The elaborate system that produces counts of English Learners (ELs) in the United States may be contrasted with the reliance on local school administrators' professional judgment to distribute supplementary funds in some German states. While this type of discretion can help address immediate and localized needs, some German states have been criticized for the lack of transparency associated with this strategy. In Canada and the United States, some provinces and states impose a cap on the number of years that a migrant-background student can qualify for supplementary funding, which signals to school districts how long policymakers expect students to take to become proficient in the language of instruction and to achieve other academic milestones. However, such caps may be counterproductive if, on average, students require longer periods of time to develop the skills indicated by academic standards.
- Purposes for which funding may be used. Examining provisions for what types of expenses or initiatives supplemental funds can finance sheds light on the services and strategies that education systems believe will best help migrant-background students succeed. Most supplementary funding is spent on instructional staff, which might support increased teacher salaries in order to attract and retain staff with special qualifications, lower class sizes, hire additional staff to work in classrooms with migrant-background students, or provide additional classroom time to allow these students to catch up with their language and academic work. The amount of teacher time needed to provide services can vary widely with different instructional models. Schools also purchase specialized materials and provide professional development to teachers, and invest in socioemotional and family supports to newcomer students, including translation and interpretation services, which can be costly. Systems may refine funding strategies over time with changes to pedagogical approaches or educational contexts, such as an increasing focus on integrating language learners into mainstream classes.
- Balance between flexibility and accountability in the use of funds. Schools and school districts receiving funds generally prefer to have maximum flexibility to consider the local context in setting spending priorities. Policymakers providing the resources, meanwhile, seek to ensure that public funds are spent efficiently and for their intended purpose. It can be challenging for policymakers to find the right balance of these forces. Budget rules that explicitly set the level of funding for meeting migrant-background student needs prevent school districts from diverting money intended for vulnerable populations toward balancing their general budget. Alternatively, instead of strictly monitoring the use of supplementary
funds for migrant-background students, some jurisdictions may allow greater flexibility and budget autonomy in exchange for more demanding accountability for student outcomes.

This four-country analysis illuminates some of the key challenges and strategies decisionmakers are wrestling with as they attempt to ensure that additional resources are used effectively. The study concludes that there are several top-line lessons and implications for policymakers:

- Identification of target needs and students plays a central role in system design and integrity. While it may appear obvious that defining target needs and students is a central element of a supplementary funding design, the diverse nature of student needs and the limitations of some existing data systems may leave policymakers with few straightforward options. It is therefore essential for policymakers to recognize and take steps to address system blind spots-for example, by creating robust formulas that rely on multiple indicators including migrant status, language-learning needs, recency of arrival, and gaps in formal education.
- Funding designs must manage the tension between flexibility and accountability. Efforts to create and maintain a productive tension between these two important goals are evident in the countries and subjurisdictions studied. They range, for example, from monitoring of basic input measures, such as student-teacher ratios, to entirely bypassing expense tracking and monitoring and relying instead on measures of migrant-background or language-learner student outcomes. The variety and ongoing evolution of approaches in this regard demonstrate the close attention policymakers and system leaders in many countries pay to the need for funding designs that allow for local judgment while also maintaining public confidence that funds are being used for their intended purpose and achieving the desired results.
- Creation and collection of robust data are necessary to understand student needs and effectively direct funds. The countries studied are perhaps most different in the strength of their education data systems, a factor which in turn aids or limits their ability to effectively design and monitor supplemental funds and their impacts. However, a range of data repositories and other data sources are available in all national and local contexts and can be tapped to inform formula designs-and supplementary funds themselves can be used to encourage or directly fund improvements in data capture and collection.
- Funding mechanisms should be subject to regular review in order to respond to changed circumstances, new information, and evolving needs. The changing nature of migrant flows and evolution of instructional designs in local school systems are just two of many factors that drive policymakers to actively review and adjust supplementary funding mechanisms. While pertinent, high-quality data play a central role in allowing some systems to engage in continuous review and improvement of their designs, additional inputs are also needed. Establishing consultation processes with practitioners and stakeholders across different levels of government can help ensure that funding mechanisms are able, for example, to mirror or reinforce desired changes in pedagogy, or respond to special capacity-building challenges that are not anticipated in existing per-pupil formulas.

Ensuring the successful integration of migrant-background youth into the economic and social mainstream of receiving societies requires that tens of thousands of local schools and school districts build and sustain the capacities needed to help these youth keep pace with their native peers. Supplementary funding mechanisms are an important policy lever that governments use to help elementary and secondary schools with this critical work. Given the volatile nature of migration flows, diversity of migrant-background students, and variation between local system capacities, it is essential for policymakers to consider critically the strengths of different supplementary funding mechanisms. Similarly, regular evaluation is needed to determine whether chosen mechanisms adequately support schools and school districts in meeting the specific needs of migrant-background students.

## I. Introduction

The educational needs of migrant-background students in primary and secondary schools pose a growing challenge for policymakers and educators around the world. Although most Western countries have long histories of immigration, recent events have heightened awareness of the capacities needed to ensure the successful integration of refugee and other immigrant-origin children into their new communities. In 2015, Europe received in excess of 1 million applications for asylum, many from Syria and other Middle Eastern and African countries; among them were more than 100,000 unaccompanied minors, and children more generally made up almost 30 percent of all asylum applicants. ${ }^{4}$ The upheaval in the Middle East has affected North America as well, with Canada welcoming more than 27,000 refugees from Syria between November 2015 and May 2016, ${ }^{5}$ and the United States working to meet its pledge to resettle 10,000 Syrians by the end of September 2016. ${ }^{6}$

## The educational needs of migrant-background students in primary and secondary schools pose a growing challenge for policymakers and educators around the world.

The United States has also experienced an unexpected increase in the number of unaccompanied minors from Central America crossing its southern border in recent years, with more than 141,000 of these youth arriving between October 2013 and April 2016. ${ }^{7}$ Many local school districts have reported that they lack the resources and capacities to meet the needs of these new students, particularly given that many have limited or interrupted formal education coupled with little or no proficiency in English. ${ }^{8}$ Additionally, in the United States and elsewhere, migrant families are increasingly settling outside of traditional immigrant-destination cities, meaning that a wider range of primary and secondary schools must be prepared to serve them.

While some national, regional, and local governments have well-designed systems to address these student needs, others are just beginning to develop targeted policies and practices. For policymakers, school funding designs are an important means of influencing how schools and school districts ${ }^{9}$ serve their migrant-background students. The rules guiding such funding designs usually both reflect and drive the larger goals and priorities of the education system. By providing supplementary funding for high-need groups, such as migrant-background students, policymakers signal that helping these students access the services they need to succeed on par with their peers is a priority. Examining these supplementary funding mechanisms-including specific aspects such as who qualifies and what funds may or may not be used for-illuminates different policy concerns and strategies decisionmakers grapple with in seeking to support the effective integration and education of these youth.

[^1]By shedding light on supplementary funding schemes in four major immigrant-receiving countriesCanada, France, Germany, and the United States-this report seeks to inform education policymakers about the opportunities and risks involved in such policy choices. It is concerned primarily with those supplementary funds targeted to migrant-background students, whether based on their immigration status, host-country language proficiency, socioeconomic disadvantage, or other characteristics (see Box 1). Having investigated funding designs at the national, regional (state, province, Land), and local levels (school district and school), this report focuses on the following key intersections within each country's educational system at which points supplementary funds are transferred to the level that spends them:

- Canada: From a province or territory to school districts
- France: From the national level to individual schools
- Germany: From a state (Land) to individual schools
- United States: From a state to school districts

This study draws on an examination of publicly available documents such as state school funding manuals and education legislation as well as secondary sources such as press releases and newspaper reports on policy changes. Researchers also interviewed state- and local-level administrators and policymakers to better understand the intricacies of the funding mechanisms, broader regulations regarding migrantbackground students, and the policy goals inherent in those rules and regulations. In-depth analysis focuses on three of the four most heavily affected provinces in Canada (Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario) as well as three U.S. states (California, Colorado, and New York). The French portion of the analysis focused on the flagship government program to combat educational inequalities through the designation of priority education zones (zones d'éducation prioritaire), while for Germany, the analysis comprises a look at all 16 states (Länder).

## This report seeks to inform education policymakers about the opportunities and risks involved in [supplementary funding] policy choices.

In the sections that follow, the report explains the need for supplementary funding for migrantbackground students, demonstrating the achievement gaps between their outcomes and those of native students and detailing the types of needs that can impede success in school. After an overview of the mechanics of school funding in general and of supplementary funding for migrant-background students in the four focal countries, the divergent approaches taken by the countries studied provide the foundation for a discussion of three key programmatic elements of supplementary funding mechanisms. The report concludes by summing up the most salient decisions and choices facing policymakers who seek to use supplementary funding mechanisms to better support effective, high-quality educational services for children from immigrant and refugee families.

## Box I. Who Are Migrant-Background Students?

This report concerns the education of migrant-background students, defined as those born in another country as well as native-born children with at least one immigrant parent. Although all migrant-background students share some common challenges, such as navigating multiple cultures and identities, there are important differences in the experiences and needs of students:

- born in another country ("first generation") or native born to immigrant parents ("second generation");
- with or without native language literacy and academic skills;
- at varying levels of proficiency in the language of instruction;
- who enter the receiving country's educational systems in younger or older grades;
- with more or less exposure to cultural norms of the new country;
- from more vulnerable immigrant groups such as refugees, unaccompanied minors, or unauthorized immigrants, as compared to children from immigrant families with more secure socioeconomic or legal status; and
- from families that have achieved varying degrees of integration in the new country.

As will become evident from the description of the funding mechanisms used by the four countries in this report, societies have different frames of reference for defining the group or nature of child disadvantage that is targeted for educational support. For example, in the United States, the focus is on English Learners (ELs), whether foreign or native born. In Germany, by contrast, students are targeted based on their migrant background (Migrationshintergrund), which is determined by whether or not they or their parents were born abroad. Within the migrant-background population, some programs distinguish between subgroups based on German language skills and time since arrival.

It is important to note that the needs of migrant-background students intersect with other groups of students who require systematic supports, including students who live in poverty, fall behind in academic skills, have learning disabilities or other special learning needs, and/or belong to indigenous linguistic or cultural minority groups. In some cases, school systems provide supports to students in broader overlapping groups (such as the use in France of one fund for all students who are at risk of academic difficulties). In others, funds are highly specialized, for example, separate funds for students in poverty, those with disabilities, immigrant language learners, or learners of a second official language (such as French in Anglophone Canada).

## II. Why Supplementary Funding Is Necessary

Provision of high-quality education services that meet the particular learning needs of migrantbackground youth is essential for their future integration into the social and economic mainstream. Providing adequate and appropriate services promotes successful school completion, thereby positioning students to advance in the workforce and fully participate in the civic life of their local community. Thus, the benefits of an equitable education that reduces barriers based on family background are felt not only by individual students but by the larger society. ${ }^{10}$ This section describes the achievement gaps observed across countries between students from a migrant background and their native peers, as well as the services that may be offered to ameliorate them.

[^2]
## A. Achievement Gaps Call for Additional Support

Although they bring considerable strengths and capabilities to their new school environments, migrantbackground students are more likely to experience educational difficulties. Risk factors include a lack of proficiency in the language of instruction, limited or interrupted prior formal education, lack of cultural or systems knowledge, physical or emotional trauma that first-generation immigrants may have experienced in their country of origin or while migrating, and the effects of low socioeconomic status. These challenges are reflected in academic outcomes: in many countries, migrant-background students are not only outperformed by their native counterparts, they are also more likely to fail a test or class, or drop out of school entirely. ${ }^{11}$

This phenomenon can be observed in schools across Canada, France, Germany, and the United States. In these countries, between 26 percent and 40 percent of secondary-school students are foreign born or have at least one immigrant parent (see Figure 1). In 2012, students in Canada and the United States were more likely to be born abroad than students in France or Germany. However, given ongoing demographic changes and recent major increases in immigration to Europe, the share of foreign-born students in France and Germany is expected to increase.

Figure 1. Share of Migrant-Background Students (age 15) in Canada, France, Germany, and the United States, 2012


Note: Migrant-background students denote students who were born abroad, as well as native-born children with at least one immigrant parent.
Source: Calculations by the Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (The Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration or SVR) using data from Manfred Prenzel, Christine Sälzer, Eckhard Klieme, and Olaf Köller, PISA 2012: Fortschritte und Herausforderungen in Deutschland (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2013), 282, www.pisa.tum.de/fileadmin/w00bgi/www/ Berichtband und Zusammenfassung 2012/PISA EBook ISBN3001.pdf.

[^3]Less than half of foreign-born students in these four countries grow up in a home where the receivingcountry's language is routinely spoken. ${ }^{12}$ Data from the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) ${ }^{13}$ show that among 15 -year-old students in the United States, 29 percent of foreign-born students spoke the language of their new country at home in 2012, while in Canada, France, and Germany, this share was slightly higher at 38 percent, 42 percent, and 36 percent respectively. Despite the fact that over time immigrant parents-and especially those with native-born children-use the receiving-country's language more frequently, ${ }^{14}$ the lack of exposure to the language of instruction at home remains a risk factor for lower achievement by migrant-background students. Another risk factor is that such students are disproportionately likely to come from low-income homes and to have parents with low education levels. As a result, families may not have the resources or skills to, for example, help children with their homework or read a book together. ${ }^{15}$

The achievement gap between migrant-background students and their peers has been documented in international comparisons. At age 10, migrant-background students in France, Germany, and the United States are roughly one year behind their native classmates in reading skills. ${ }^{16}$ A similar gap can be seen among secondary school students. ${ }^{17}$ Students from an immigrant background are also more likely to underperform in core subjects such as mathematics (see Table 1). This is most pronounced in France, where on the latest PISA math exam the average foreign-born teenager scored 87 points less than the average native student-the equivalent of roughly two years of schooling.

Table 1. Performance Gap in Mathematics between Native and Migrant-Background Students (age 15) in Selected Countries, 2012

|  | Migrant-Background Students |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | Points Scored by <br> Native Students on <br> Math Exam | Points Gap for <br> Students Born Abroad | Points Gap for <br> Students with Parents <br> Born Abroad |
| Canada | 521 | +7 | -8 |
| France | 511 | -87 | -63 |
| Germany | 531 | -70 | -55 |
| United States | 487 | -24 | -9 |

Notes: The Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) defines migrant-background students as those who were born abroad as well as native-born children with two immigrant parents. Native students denote native-born children with two native-born parents. A 40-point performance gap on the overall mathematics proficiency scale is roughly equivalent to one year of schooling.
Source: SVR calculations of data from Prenzel, Sälzer, Klieme, and Köller, PISA 2012: Fortschritte und Herausforderungen in Deutschland, 287.

Additionally, in the United States, EL students graduated from high school at a rate of 62.6 percent compared to the nationwide graduation rate of 82.3 percent in school year (SY) 2013-14. ${ }^{18}$ Likewise, in Europe, migrant-background students are more likely to leave school after completing a lower-secondary

[^4]level education or less. Across the 28 Member States of the European Union, the early school leaving rate was 25.4 percent for foreign-born students and 11.5 percent for native-born students in $2012 .{ }^{19}$

In Canada, on the other hand, foreign-born and native students reach similar achievement levels. These differences can be attributed in part to Canada's more selective immigration policies, which favor highly educated entrants. Hence, the socioeconomic status of immigrants in Canada is roughly the same as in the country's majority population, with the resulting reduced risk factor for immigrant-background students. ${ }^{20}$ At the same time, data from the six Canadian provinces that are most heavily affected by immigration ${ }^{21}$ highlight the importance of a more in-depth analysis. In five of those six provinces, low socioeconomic status more negatively impacts the mathematics performance of foreign-born students than it does that of native-born students. ${ }^{22}$ In all four focal countries, the underperformance of individual schools and school districts that disproportionately serve migrant-background students demonstrates the need for school-based programs to address such students' specific needs, some of which are detailed in the following section.

## B. Schools Offer Supports to Meet a Variety of Needs

As these and other data demonstrate, migrant-background students are generally not achieving academically at the same level as their native peers. Researchers in North America and Europe have focused considerable attention on what leads to these disparate outcomes. These include the need to:

- develop academic proficiency in the language of instruction in the new country (speaking, reading, listening, and writing);
- close gaps in formal education that result from differences between the educational systems in sending and receiving countries or interruptions in schooling during the process of migrating, such as long stays in refugee camps;
- develop cultural and systems knowledge essential to academic success, such as schools' expectations of behavior, discipline, and study habits, as well as an understanding of courses of study and pathways to degrees and credentials;
- address physical and mental health issues that impede school persistence or success, including those related to experiences of cultural dislocation or alienation and/or arising from physical or emotional trauma suffered in the country of origin; and
- close gaps in educational preparation due to poverty and low socioeconomic status more generally (a characteristic shared with a significant number of native peers). ${ }^{23}$

At the most basic level, a supplementary funding design begins with the identification of specific disadvantages that lead to achievement gaps. The supplementary funding then can be targeted to support remedies that address disadvantages and improve student outcomes. For example, in the United States, the primary focus of educational intervention for migrant-background students is improving

[^5]their English language proficiency. ${ }^{24}$ For several decades, this has been the frame of reference within which the education system supports these students; from data collection to instructional strategies and professional certifications, major aspects of the mainstream education system are aligned with the goal of improving language proficiency for ELs.

Another approach is to address the cultural distance between migrant-background students and their teachers and school communities. For example, policymakers in Germany have sought to address this issue by funding programs to encourage the recruitment and mentoring of migrant-background teachers who can then support immigrant-origin students and work as cultural intermediaries between these students and other school staff. ${ }^{25}$

## At the most basic level, a supplementary funding design begins with the identification of specific disadvantages that lead to achievement gaps.

Regardless of how the needs of migrant-background students are defined, most programs to address these issues come with costs. Generally speaking, those that involve hiring and training educators with specific skills (for example, in second language learning and literacy) and those that must be provided over a longer period of time will be the most expensive. Conversely, programs that are shorter in duration or provide specialized training to existing staff will, generally speaking, be less expensive. (Section IV B. includes examples of specific programs and resources.)

As each type of disadvantage requires a different mix of remedies, which in turn vary in intensity and length of support, policymakers face complex calculations as they seek to design funding approaches that are economical and effective. In addition, strategies must often evolve as the populations they serve change. For example, a program may initially support older first-generation students after their arrival in the country and then shift, over time, to meet the needs of children born to migrant parents who enter the school system in early childhood or preschool programs.

As this study demonstrates, policymakers at all levels of government in major immigrant-receiving countries have been actively testing a range of education policies and funding measures to address these challenges. Their efforts provide numerous points for comparison for approaches to addressing key types of disadvantage prevalent within the migrant-background population, as well as some shared across the broader student population.

## III. The Mechanics of School Funding in Canada, France, Germany, and the United States

As with other aspects of governance, school funding systems are enormously variable and complex. Ideally, the design of a funding system and the allotment of funds to specific purposes are aligned with

24 Considerable research evidence supports the idea that targeted instruction is needed to support language-minority students in developing academic proficiency in the language of instruction. See, for example, Fred Genesee, Kathryn Lindholm-Leary, William Saunders, and Donna Christian, "English Language Learners in U.S. Schools: An Overview of Research Findings," Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk 10, no. 4 (2005): 363-85.
25 Sultan Baysal-Polat, Mostapha Boukllouâ, Rana Chati-Dia, and Jens Schneider, "Diversity in the Teacher Force: Gains, Promises and Challenges from Practical Perspective" (Position paper, SIRIUS Policy Network on the education of children and young people with a migrant background, n.p., 2014), www.sirius-migrationeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/ Position-Paper-Teachers final.pdf.
educational goals and policy priorities that are consistent with the needs of the target student population. In reality, the design and implementation of funding mechanisms often reflect historical precedent, political compromise, regulatory constraints, and tradeoffs among competing initiatives. This section discusses some of the primary areas of variation and similarity among funding systems in the four focal countries.

> The design and implementation offunding mechanisms often reflect historical precedent, political compromise, regulatory constraints, and tradeoffs among competing initiatives.

## A. The Flow of Public Education Spending

The governments of Canada, France, Germany, and the United States use a combination of national, regional (province, state, Land), and local resources to fund public education. As shown in Table 2, although the majority of education spending tends to originate from national or regional budgets (except in the United States), resources are often transferred between levels of government before they become available to individual schools. In other words, the level of government that generates funds is not necessarily the level that spends the money; for example, the regional government might commit a portion of its tax revenue to supporting migrant-background students but then pass that sum of money to local school districts that actually spend it on teachers and materials.

Among the four countries compared, Canada has the funding system in which the smallest share of funds (less than 4 percent) comes from the national level. However, after taking funding transfers between levels of government into consideration, the United States is the most decentralized of the four focal countries, with 98 percent of all educational spending dispensed at the local level, followed by Canada with 84 percent (see Table 2). Germany and France demonstrate less transfer between levels of government; about two-thirds of funds are controlled at the national level in France and at the regional level in Germany. Unsurprisingly, these differences in public spending are reflected in the funding mechanisms the four countries employ.

Table 2. Sources of Public Funds for Primary and Secondary Education, 2011

|  | Share of Funds Originating from Each Level of Government (\%) |  |  | Share of Funds Dispersed by Each Level of Government (after transfers between levels) <br> (\%) |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | National | Regional | Local | National | Regional | Local |
| Canada | 3.2 | 75.4 | 21.4 | 2.7 | 13.2 | 84.2 |
| France | 69.8 | 17.7 | 12.5 | 69.7 | 17.6 | 12.7 |
| Germany | 10.7 | 72.3 | 17.0 | 7.7 | 69.1 | 23.2 |
| United States | 13.7 | 35.0 | 51.3 | 0.5 | 1.6 | 97.9 |

Note: These data include funds spent at the "postsecondary nontertiary" level as defined by the International Standard Classification of Education.
Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2014), Table B4.3, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2014-en.

Canada. Canada's Constitution Act of 1867 gives full authority over education policy to regional government, which includes ten provinces and three territories. ${ }^{26}$ In general, provinces and territories provide most of the funding for education and set general policies regarding pedagogical matters such as curriculum and assessment, while local school districts retain control over budgeting and administrative matters. ${ }^{27}$ Because of the district-to-district inequity caused by relying on local property taxes for school funding, by the early 1990s six provinces had established centralized funding for education at the provincial level. By the 2000s, only Manitoba ${ }^{28}$ and the Northwest Territories ${ }^{29}$ continued to fund schools both at the provincial level and through local taxes. Given the decentralized nature of the Canadian education system, there is some variation in how provincial funding works across the country, including the degree to which the property tax is used as a funding source, whether Catholic school districts can opt out of the provincial system, and whether localities can supplement their provincial funds (and if there is a maximum additional amount they can provide). ${ }^{30}$ Despite these differences, it is the provinces and territories that provide the majority of funding for basic education, and in most cases they allow local school districts broad discretion in how to spend the money.

France. Of the four countries compared in this report, France shows the highest level of national government involvement in school funding. The Ministry of National Education ${ }^{31}$ is in charge of pedagogical matters, including the funding of teaching positions, which Ministry regional representatives, the rectors (récteurs), allocate annually. Each récteur implements funding decisions by the Ministry and other policies within one of the country's 30 administrative districts (académies). ${ }^{32}$ Most school funding comes in the form of teaching hours, which are allotted to individual schools located within the jurisdiction of each récteur. ${ }^{33}$ Primary schools do not generally have discretion in how they use available resources. In contrast, secondary schools (collèges and lycées) have some leverage in determining class sizes, subjects taught, and other pedagogical decisions that affect the use-but not the total amount-of available funding. ${ }^{34}$

Germany. Similar to Canada, education policies and school funding in Germany are largely in the hands of regional governments. Close to 70 percent of educational spending is shouldered by the country's 16 states (Länder). Teacher salaries are the biggest expense in the education budgets of the Länder, which cover these costs more or less exclusively. As a result, the Länder are in charge of teacher training, school curricula, and quality assurance. Compared to Canada and the United States, local authorities (Kommunen) in Germany have a very limited say in pedagogical matters-their mandate primarily covers the construction and maintenance of school buildings as well as the procurement of learning materials. Federal involvement is also minimal since the German constitution (Grundgesetz) explicitly prohibits

26 There is no federal department of education, although the CMEC provides a forum for provinces and territories to work together on policy and initiatives of mutual interest.
27 CMEC, Education in Canada (Toronto: CMEC, 2008), www.cmec.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/64/Educa-tion-in-Canada2008.pdf.
28 Joseph Garcea and Dustin Munroe, "Reforms to Funding Education in Four Canadian Provinces," Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy, no. 159 (2014): 2.
29 The Northwest Territories allows local taxes to fund education in two of nine local education agencies, but funding is centralized in Nunavut and the Yukon Territory. See Northwest Territories Education, Culture, and Employment, "Finance and Administration Manual for Education Authorities: School Funding Framework," accessed December 21, 2015, www.ece.gov. nt.ca/files/K-12/Administration/school-funding-framework/School-Funding-Formula-2011-2012-WEB.pdf; Government of Nunavut, Department of Education, Annual Report 2010-2012 (Iqaluit, Nunavut: Government of Nunavut, N.d.), www.gov. nu.ca/sites/default/files/files/FINAL\ Annual\ Report\ 2010-12 Eng\%20low\%20res.pdf; Yukon Government, "Support for Councils," accessed December 21, 2015, www.education.gov.yk.ca/council-support.html.
30 Garcea and Munroe, "Reforms to Funding."
31 Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de l'Enseignement supérieur, et de la Recherche (Ministry of National Education, Higher Education, and Research).
32 Within each académie, the récteur implements government policies through the Regional Directorate for Education (rectorat) and the Regional Administrative Office for Education (inspection d'académie).
33 European Commission/Education, Audiovisual, and Culture Executive Agency/Eurydice, Financing Schools in Europe: Mechanisms, Methods and Criteria in Public Funding (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2014), http://eacea. ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic reports/170en.pdf.
34 Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l’Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, "Autonomie de l'établissement," updated January 21, 2014, http://eduscol.education.fr/cid47771/autonomie-de-l-etablissement.html.
the federal government from providing any form of permanent funding for primary and secondary education. However, short-term funding of special initiatives is permitted under certain circumstances. ${ }^{35}$ Another big difference between Germany and the two North American countries is that regional policymakers heavily regulate the types of programs and resources funding can cover so that schools have little to no say in the use of funds. Because the vast majority of Länder funds come in the form of teaching hours or positions, supplementary funding by and large allocates additional teaching positions, not discretionary funds. Additionally, in most Länder, schools are not free to decide who to hire to fill these additional positions since state authorities are generally responsible for teacher recruitment. ${ }^{36}$

## Compared to Canada and the United States, local authorities ... in Germany have a very limited say in pedagogical matters.

United States. States and localities provide the bulk of funds for public primary and secondary education in the United States. The funds come from a variety of sources, including property taxes, state and local sales taxes, taxes on products such as alcohol and tobacco, and state lotteries. Schools may also benefit from funds raised by private foundations and school-based organizations such as parent-teacher associations or by grants from government or philanthropic organizations. ${ }^{37}$

States vary in terms of how much of the total education budget comes from state versus local sources. Because reliance solely on local property taxes would lead to school districts with vastly different resources based on the wealth of their communities, most states attempt to equalize spending by providing more funding to less wealthy school districts, while more wealthy localities pay a greater share through their local property taxes. ${ }^{38}$ Some states are far more effective than others at ensuring an equitable distribution of funds so that high-poverty districts receive enough state funds not only to match the total tax-driven funding of wealthier districts, but to have additional resources to serve their higher-need students. ${ }^{39}$

The federal government also provides funding for specific purposes. For migrant-background students, this includes block grants to fund supplementary activities for ELs. ${ }^{40}$ These grants are distributed to states on the basis of their share of language learners ( 80 percent of funds) and recent immigrants ( 20 percent), as determined by the federal census, and are then subgranted to school districts on the basis of actual student counts. ${ }^{41}$ As was shown in Table 2, almost all funds from federal and state sources are disbursed by local school districts and schools.

Although by no means an exhaustive comparison, the above overviews demonstrate how notably public education spending differs between the four countries. National, regional, and local governments play distinct roles in the supply of critical resources to individual schools. Against the backdrop of these and

35 See, for example, the FörMig program described in the section "Tradeoffs Between Flexibility and Accountability."
36 Hermann Avenarius and Hans-Peter Füssel, Schulrecht im Überblick (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008), 76.

37 Center for Public Education, "Money Matters: A Primer on K-12 School Funding," updated July 2, 2008, www.centerforpub-liceducation.org/Main-Menu/Policies/Money-matters-At-a-glance/Money-matters-A-primer-on-K12-school-funding.html.
38 Education Commission of the States, "Understanding State School Funding," The Progress of Education Reform 13, no. 3 (2012): 1-6, www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/01/02/86/10286.pdf.

39 Natasha Ushomirsky and David Williams, Funding Gaps 2015: Too Many States Still Spend Less on Educating Students Who Need the Most (Washington, DC: The Education Trust, 2015), 7, www.edtrust.org/resource/funding-gaps-2015/.
40 As with some other federal grants, activities funded by these allocations must supplement, not supplant, core services for English Learners (ELs) in a school district (e.g., instruction that schools would undertake even without federal funds). See U.S. Department of Education, "Supplement Not Supplant Provision of Title III of the ESEA," accessed January 5, 2016, www2.ed.gov/programs/sfgp/supplefinalattach2.pdf.
41 National Research Council, Allocating Federal Funds for State Programs for English Language Learners (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2011), www.nap.edu/catalog/13090/allocating-federal-funds-for-state-programs-for-english-language-learners.
other differences in governance structures and school autonomy, the following analysis outlines common structures that characterize the supplementary funding mechanisms in the focal countries.

# National, regional, and local governments play distinct roles in the supply of critical resources to individual schools. 

## B. Supplementary Funding Options

In Canada, France, Germany, and the United States, schools and school districts are largely funded based on the number of enrolled students, which is entered into a funding formula. ${ }^{42}$ This primary funding formula tells education policymakers where to channel available resources, be they teaching positions, discretionary funds, or other allotments. In addition to this base funding amount, most schools and school districts receive supplementary funds to address a variety of services and needs for specific student populations. This section focuses on supplementary funding schemes that explicitly target migrantbackground students.

In the four countries studied, the mechanisms of supplementary funding are considerably different. However, despite these differences, comparative analysis points to three main mechanism types among the country-specific approaches: ${ }^{43}$

- Weighted formula. Since migrant-background students often have additional needs, weights are added to the primary funding formula. For example, a student learning the language of instruction might receive an additional 50 percent of the base rate applied to all students.
- Categorical funding. Additional funds are allocated outside the primary funding formula. Funds are intended to be spent only on migrant-background students.
- Reimbursement. Schools and school districts provide additional services to migrantbackground students for which they are later reimbursed according to predetermined rules.

Analysis of supplementary funding in Canada, France, Germany, and the United States shows that national, regional, and local governments make use of these three mechanisms in different combinations (see Table 3). Canadian provinces and territories and U.S. states most frequently opt to provide supplementary funding to migrant-background students by using a weighted formula, whereas French national education authorities and the German Länder tend to favor categorical models, which operate outside of the primary formula. Some regions in Canada, Germany, and the United States do not specifically target migrant-background students with supplementary funds (see the "None" column in Table 3). However, these states, provinces, and Länder may support these students through supplementary funds that serve a broader purpose, such as increasing student achievement in general or supporting students in poverty.

42 Funding formulas differ notably in terms of their complexity and how they are perceived. For example, education policymakers in several German Länder do not typically refer to funding formulas when describing their Land's funding scheme, despite the fact that their "base" funding does take into account factors such as student enrollment, class size, and teaching loads.
43 The three mechanisms were first used by the U.S.-based Education Commission of the States (ECS) to categorize state grants for ELs and for special education funding. The authors' analysis permits grouping Canadian, French, and German funding approaches under the umbrella of the three ECS mechanisms. See Maria Millard, State Funding Mechanisms for English Language Learners (Denver, CO: Education Commission of the States, 2015), www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/01/16/94/11694.pdf.

Table 3. Mechanisms of Supplementary Funding for Migrant-Background Students Used by Regional and National Governments, 2015

| Country and Level of Government | Using <br> Weighted <br> Formula | Using <br> Categorical <br> Funding | Using <br> Reimbursement | None |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Canada (13 provinces and territories) | 8 | 1 | -- | 4 |
| France (national) | -- | Entire country | -- | -- |
| Germany (16 Länder) | 4 | 9 | -- | 3 |
| United States (50 states) | 34 | 9 | 3 | 4 |

Notes: Data from Canada, Germany, and the United States were collected at the regional level, France's categorical funding scheme serves as an umbrella to describe the country's priority education zones (zones d'éducation prioritaire). These counts represent the main mechanisms used, although some jurisdictions ultimately use more than one method. The four provinces/territories in Canada that have no additional funding receive less than 1 percent of the total annual immigration, combined. See Government of Canada, "Facts and Figures 2013 - Immigration Overview: Permanent Residents," accessed June 6, 2016, www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2013/ permanent/11.asp.
Sources: Data on Canada come from the authors' review of 13 provincial and territorial funding manuals; data on France and Germany are from SVR Research Unit, "Ungleiches ungleich behandeln! Wege zu einer bedarfsorientierten Schulfinanzierung" (SVR Research Unit Policy Brief 01-2016, SVR, Berlin, 2016 ), www.svr-migration.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Bedarfsorientierte-Schulfinanzierung. pdf; data on the United States are from Maria Millard, State Funding Mechanisms for English Language Learners (Denver, CO: Education Commission of the States, 2015), www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/01/16/94/11694.pdf.

In systems that use a weighted formula, supplementary funds may be allocated based on an additional percent of the base per-student rate (such as the 50 percent weight for every language learner described above), as an additional amount of money per migrant-background student, or through the allocation of additional teachers (such as one additional teacher salary for every X number of migrant-background students). Of the 34 U.S. states that have a weighted formula for supplementary funding, the majority use an additional percentage, which ranges from 9.6 percent in Kentucky to 99 percent in Maryland. ${ }^{44}$ German Länder use the teacher allocation approach: for example, in Saxony, schools receive an additional 0.4 teaching hours per week for every newcomer student taught in general education classrooms. ${ }^{45}$ Supplementary funds provided through formula funding are generally not earmarked, which means that schools can decide how to use the additional resources. In that sense, weighted formula funding merely ensures that schools with identified students receive additional resources; it does not exert control over how this bonus is used. ${ }^{46}$

In contrast, categorical funding is earmarked for a specific purpose such as language teaching. ${ }^{47}$ Similarly, the funds provided through the reimbursement systems in the U.S. states of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin are also restricted in their use. ${ }^{48}$ In order to be reimbursed, recipients are required to first deliver certain support services such as bilingual education. By limiting reimbursements to specified expenses this mechanism is intended to ensure that schools use these resources for the services authorized.

Aside from differences between the mechanisms that determine the amount of funding, another distinguishing characteristic of the funding schemes in the four countries is whether there is a minimal required population (a concentration factor) before any funding is provided or a minimum or maximum allotment of funds. In France, policymakers channel their supplementary funds to schools located in neighborhoods with the highest concentration of unemployed individuals, school dropouts, and other

[^6]metrics that may indicate a challenging pedagogical environment. ${ }^{49}$ Rather than focusing on schools and school districts with the highest concentration, the German states of Bavaria, Berlin, Lower Saxony, Saarland, Saxony, and Saxony-Anhalt provide supplementary funds only to schools that enroll a minimum number of migrant-background students. This means that schools are not eligible for most supplementary funds unless their concentration of immigrant-background students is above a preset threshold, such as 40 percent of the students in a given Berlin school (see Appendix). None of the three Canadian provinces examined in depth use these minimum, maximum, or concentration policies, and in the United States, only a few states have such restrictions, including:

- North Carolina issues categorical funding to school districts that have a minimum of 20 EL students, up to a maximum of 10.6 percent of the student population. ${ }^{50}$
- California provides a supplemental grant for each at-risk student (a combined category of language-learner, low-income, and foster students) and also a concentration grant for districts in which the percentage of at-risk students is above 55 percent (for example, a school district with 65 percent at-risk students would receive a concentration grant for 10 percent of its students). ${ }^{51}$
- Minnesota sets a minimum level for funding in its weighted formula, so that school districts with between 1 and 20 eligible students receive an allotment for 20 students, while districts with 21 or more students receive funding based on a per-student weight. The state also operates with an additional concentration factor added to the per-student supplementary funding in school districts where the EL population is equal to or greater than 11.5 percent. ${ }^{52}$

Beyond choosing among formula, categorical, or reimbursement funding vehicles, and deciding whether to apply a concentration weight or maximum/minimum allotment rule, policymakers typically incorporate several other key provisions into funding mechanisms to ensure the funds serve their intended goals. Three of the most consequential of these are the topic of the next section. Additional details on the supplementary funding mechanisms used in a sample of states, provinces, territories, and Länder can be found in the Appendix.

## IV. Key Provisions of Supplementary Funding

Because of the complexity of governance and educational systems, there is not a single, best design for supplementary funding. The appropriateness of the funding mechanisms described in the previous section and the provisions for use explored in this one depend on the needs of the student population and the educational context, including the existing capacities of schools and school systems to meet those needs. Likewise, supplementary funding can only be effective if the right remedies are targeted to the right schools and students, and effectiveness can only be assessed if a system is able to measure relevant indicators of individual student or school progress. Because student needs and system capacities vary and change over time, the policy terrain is similarly uneven and the subject of continual revision.

Examination of key provisions that shape the implementation of supplementary funding mechanisms in the four countries reveals a great deal of policy activity and innovation in the following three areas:

[^7]1) methods for identifying and counting target students; 2) purposes for which funding may be used; and 3) the degree of flexibility versus accountability for use of funds.

## A. Identification and Counting ofTarget Students

The logical starting point of a supplementary funding design is defining the disadvantage(s) it will target. In many cases these emerge over decades as inequities surface-such as lower academic achievement or graduation rates-and various remedies are tested in response to political pressure and/or empirical data. The education system then requires a way to identify students or schools affected and to whom policies will channel supplementary funds. This section discusses the diverse approaches policymakers in the four focal countries have taken to the identification and counting of target students as well as the consequences of these decisions.

When it comes to supporting migrant-background students, policymakers in Canada, France, Germany, and the United States use different sources of information to determine who is in need and who is not (see Table 4).

Table 4. Identification of Migrant-Background Students in Selected Countries

| Country | Sources of Information |
| :--- | :--- |
| Canada | Students' immigration/refugee status (school data, census data) <br> Language proficiency tests |
| France | School and neighborhood demographic data (including local unemployment rate) |
| Germany | Students' migration background, citizenship (school data) <br> Neighborhood demographic data (including immigrant share of a population) <br> Expert judgment by local school administrators |
| United States | Language spoken at home (home language questionnaire) <br> Language proficiency tests <br> State share of Limited English Proficient (LEP) and recent immigrant students <br> (census data) |

Notes: Information for Canada comes from three major immigrant-receiving provinces, Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario. French information covers the priority education zones. For Germany and the United States, all 16 Länder and 50 states were analyzed. Sources: Data on Canada are from Alberta Education, Funding Manual for School Authorities 2015/2016 School Year (Edmonton, Alberta: Alberta Education, 2015), https://education.alberta.ca/admin/funding/manual/; British Columbia Ministry of Education, "Operating Grants Manual: 2015/16, 2016/17, 2017/18," updated March 2015, www.bced.gov.bc.ca/k12funding/funding/15-16/operating-grants-manual.pdf; Ontario Ministry of Education, Education Funding: Technical Paper 2014-15 (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 2014), www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/ funding/1415/Technical14 15.pdf. Data on France and Germany are from SVR Research Unit, "Ungleiches ungleich behandeln!". Data on the United States are from National Research Council, Allocating Federal Funds for State Programs for English Language Learners (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2011), www.nap.edu/catalog/13090/allocating-federal-funds-for-state-programs-for-english-languagelearners.

The methods listed in Table 4 reflect different levels of specificity (based on whether information is collected about students, schools, or neighborhoods) and different approaches to how migrant-background students are defined. Educational authorities in Canada ${ }^{53}$ and the United States primarily use information about student proficiency in the language of instruction to create an accurate count of those who require supplementary services. ${ }^{54}$ In contrast, the use of broader demographic data on socioeconomic need and migration status in France and Germany paints a more general picture of the relative level of disadvantage in schools and school districts.

[^8]Of the four countries compared, the United States uses the most elaborate system for identifying migrantbackground students in need of support. Under federal regulations, all 50 states are required to have a process for identifying students as potential recipients of language assistance services (generally accomplished using a home language questionnaire) and then to determine which of those students are ELs (using a standardized English language proficiency test). Students who are categorized as ELs are assessed annually until they meet state-determined criteria that indicate that their English language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) are on par with those of their native counterparts. ${ }^{55}$ States that have supplementary funding for ELs use the count of students who have not yet met the English-proficient criteria to determine the amount of funding received by school districts and schools.

In contrast, the 16 German Länder commonly identify migrant-background students based on their citizenship or family country of origin-indicators that, unlike language proficiency, do not change over time. Since the education ministries of the Länder lack a shared definition of what constitutes a migrantbackground student, each Land decides who is eligible. Although there are some Länder that have school-level data on the numbers of migrant-background students (such as Berlin, Bavaria, and Saxony), others allocate funds based on neighborhood data (such as Bremen) or the expert judgment of local school administrators who decide whether or not a school is in need of extra resources (such as BadenWürttemberg and Rhineland-Palatinate). ${ }^{56}$

# The French Ministry of National Education places less emphasis on immigrant-specific disadvantages and instead invests in combating socioeconomic inequalities. 

Two of Canada's major immigrant-receiving provinces, Alberta and British Columbia, provide supplementary funds based on school district counts of enrolled language learners, ${ }^{57}$ with those determinations made by certified teachers using provincially or locally designed assessments as well as other criteria. Along with Ontario, these provinces also differentiate between different subgroups of migrant-background students. For example, where schools can verify students' immigration status through their paperwork from Canada's federal immigration department, systems can fund students based on their time of arrival in Canada. The primary method for allocating supplementary funding in Ontario is a count of students who have arrived from non-English or non-French speaking countries during the previous four years. In British Columbia, if students with refugee status arrive after the official student count in the fall but before the mid-year point, their district is eligible for a half year of the standard per-student allotment as well as a half-year allotment for language learners if applicable. This funding rule was put in place as a response to educator concerns about the financial challenges of absorbing new refugee students in the middle of the school year. By adding this allotment, the provincial government acknowledged that this vulnerable group has additional learning needs even beyond those of other immigrants. Likewise, the province of Alberta provides districts an additional CAD 5,200 (around USD 4,000) for each refugee student for five years in addition to funds they might qualify for on the basis of their language learning needs.

Compared to the approaches used in the other three countries, the French Ministry of National Education places less emphasis on immigrant-specific disadvantages and instead invests in combating

[^9]socioeconomic inequalities ${ }^{58}$ In order to do so, French policymakers identify priority education zones based on school data and local-level administrative data such as the number of welfare recipients in the surrounding area. This way, the national ministry seeks to identify disadvantageous conditions in specific locations, such as high levels of unemployment, which may hamper the learning of students attending schools in these neighborhoods. Schools in identified priority education zones receive supplementary funding in order to boost student success in general, without exclusively targeting a particular subset of the student population. ${ }^{59}$ Since immigrant populations frequently reside in priority education zones, they are believed to benefit from supplementary funding.

The approach used by France-wherein demographic characteristics of the areas in which schools are located are used as a proxy for student need-can also be found in the German states of Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, and North Rhine-Westphalia. ${ }^{60}$ It is important to note that some provinces and states in Canada and the United States also provide funding to schools based on poverty rates or other socioeconomic risk factors, as determined by neighborhood (census) data or direct counts of impoverished children. However, in most cases these regions do so in addition to providing supplementary funding on the basis of language learning or recency of immigration.

## I. "Professional Judgment" and Related Transparency Concerns

Instead of using school or neighborhood data, nearly half of the Länder choose to distribute supplementary funds primarily based on the professional judgment of local school administrators. While this type of discretion can help address an immediate need at the right time, some schools may receive less than their fair share of funding if school administrators underestimate the potential impact of different neighborhood factors on school outcomes.

Despite this risk, seven Länder have refrained from identifying objective, measurable criteria for allocating additional resources to individual schools. Although this practice allows for cost control from year to year, the lack of transparency has been the subject of heated debates in state parliaments. In Hesse, for example, the state government has faced numerous parliamentary inquiries about school funding. The state Ministry of Education emphasizes that all public schools receive resources that are well above the baseline amount, while some members of Parliament and the teachers unions complain about teacher layoffs and insufficient use of objective data in allocating resources. In Hesse and other Länder, legislative texts and school funding manuals are not always accessible to the public. And even if they are, stakeholders may find it difficult to understand how resources are allocated to individual schools in practice. ${ }^{61}$

> Some schools may receive less than their fair share of funding if school administrators underestimate the potential impact of different neighborhood factors on school outcomes.

[^10]
## 2. Caps on Services and Exit Criteria

Another issue related to target school or population identification is whether and at what point to remove students from services and/or supplementary funding calculations. Not surprisingly, policies creating exit criteria or caps on service length are shaped by the way a system has defined the nature of student educational disadvantage. In many Länder for example, need is determined based on demographic characteristics that do not change over time, such as country of origin. By contrast, U.S. policies allocate supplementary funding based on student command of the English language, which should increase over time, and is therefore subject to a service limit. As a result, while the use of country of origin as an identifier could be viewed as helpful in that it acknowledges a wider range of needs and differences than a narrower category, such as language proficiency, school systems using the former identifier may end up paying for supplementary services long after students require them. Conversely, systems that target funding to students who require specific language services may not adequately account for equally critical factors-such as cultural knowledge gaps-that can undermine student success.

In Canada and the United States, a number of states and provinces impose a cap on the number of years a migrant-background student can qualify for supplementary funding. These systems do, however, explicitly require schools to continue providing services for students as long as they are needed, even if the pupils no longer receive supplementary funding. A cap on funding is a way for policymakers to signal to school districts, either explicitly or implicitly, how long they expect students to take to become proficient in the language of instruction. This has become a point of contention, particularly in the United States, as federal regulations have shifted the goal of EL instruction from simply developing basic English skills to supporting ELs in accessing grade-level academic content and demonstrating content knowledge on par with their fluent peers. ${ }^{62}$ This means that students continue to be identified as ELs until they have fully developed not just conversational but academic language proficiency ${ }^{63}$-a process research shows takes at least four to seven years. ${ }^{64}$ For this reason, critics argue that caps on the length of time students are eligible for state funding are counterproductive and often too short. In an example of pushback, advocates in Colorado won an increase from two years of funding to five years as part of an overhaul of the state supplementary funding system. ${ }^{65}$

The preceding examples show how dependent the extent and nature of funding is on the way a student is identified as being in need. These methods of identification will in turn affect policymakers' abilities to make consistent and transparent decisions about funding policies and to measure their efficacy.

## B. Purposes for Which Funds May Be Used

A second set of operating provisions that plays a major role in shaping the effect of a supplementary funding mechanism is the determination of the types of services it may be used to finance. As discussed above, migrant-background students have a wide variety of needs, including learning the language of instruction, closing gaps in content knowledge, and adapting to a new culture and education system. Immigrant families often look to neighborhood schools to equip their children with the necessary language and academic skills to thrive in their new country. The education systems in Canada, France,

[^11]Germany, and the United States have a mixed record on providing sufficient supports to these students, as evidenced by lagging long-term indicators of graduation rates and academic achievement. Examination of the provisions that regulate the types of expenses or initiatives funded sheds light on the services and strategies that education systems believe will best help migrant-background students succeed; at the same time, the evolution of approaches in some countries shows the importance of examining contexts and outcomes and refining funding strategies accordingly.

## I. Instructional Costs

Whether providing money or teacher allocations to schools and school districts, most supplementary funding for migrant-background students is spent on instructional staff. This funding might support increased teacher salaries in order to attract and retain staff with special qualifications, lower class sizes, hire additional staff for classrooms with migrant-background students, or provide additional classroom time to allow migrant-background students to catch up with their language and academic work. The costs of these approaches depend on a number of factors, including the instructional model(s) that a school or school system uses (see Box 2).

## Box 2. Relative Costs of Different Instructional Models

Instructional programs that provide linguistic and academic support to language learners have different costs associated with them. Frequently, several models are used within a single school or school district to serve learners at different proficiency or grade levels, or those who have particular needs, such as limited literacy in their home language. Instructional models that involve grouping students into language-learner-only classrooms may have minimal extra personnel costs, as the main classroom teacher also provides specialized language instruction and support for academic content (although these models sometimes are designed to have smaller class sizes and thus could have somewhat higher costs than mainstream classrooms).

Pull-out or push-in models describe systems in which specialist teachers provide direct instructional services to small groups of students by taking them out of their general education classroom for part of the day or by joining them in their general education classrooms. These models have higher costs, since additional staffers are necessary to provide instruction to language learners in addition to the main classroom teacher. Another costintensive model is coteaching, wherein a general education and specialist language teacher are jointly responsible for classroom instruction. In schools that implement sheltered instruction or a language-across-the-curriculum approach-both methodologies that emphasize the integration of language development and academic contentspecialist teachers may also provide instructional support to general education teachers by coplanning and developing adaptations of daily lessons to meet individual student needs.

Educational costs are not consistent across all groups of students and may vary dramatically between primary and secondary school levels. For example, a group of 15 -year-old newcomers with little prior education might require one or more semesters of intensive language and academic instruction to reach the point where they can join a more mainstream second language acquisition class. They are also likely to require more ongoing one-on-one support to develop good study habits, understand school culture, and plan for postsecondary transitions.

Depending on the model used, program costs may include: instructors to provide additional learning time (such as afterschool or summer programs or tutoring); staff to conduct language assessments and provide academic counseling; incentives to recruit and retain talented staff with specialized training; purchase of appropriate instructional materials, bilingual dictionaries, and resources in students' native languages; and professional development for teachers and other staff who interact with migrantbackground students. ${ }^{66}$

[^12]
## 2. Socioemotional and Family Supports

In addition to linguistic and academic supports, many school systems also provide extensive socioemotional supports to newcomer students, such as mental health services, mentoring, and referrals to additional social services. Schools encounter extra costs when helping parents understand and become involved in their children's education, especially those immigrant parents not familiar with the country's school system and who may require translation or interpretation to communicate with educators. For example, in the United States, it is a legal requirement to provide oral or written translations of key documents and interactions, such as parent-teacher conferences, for parents who have limited English proficiency. In order to communicate with parents who come from a wide range of language backgrounds, many schools have developed systems for hiring qualified translators and interpreters or using telephone-enabled interpretation, which can be costly.

## Schools encounter extra costs when helping parents understand and become involved in their children's education.

In some regions of Canada, these critical services for newcomer students and families are supported in part by Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), the government agency responsible for immigration affairs, through the Settlement Workers in Schools (SWIS) program. SWIS staff may provide initial orientation, referrals to school- or community-based services, and translation support for students and their parents. Other than this national program, assistance for migrant-background students and families is generally organized by individual school districts. For example, the Toronto (Ontario) District School Board supports newcomers through the Welcoming Communities program that provides them peer and adult mentors, academic support, and sports and other recreational activities. ${ }^{67}$ On the other side of the country, the Vancouver (British Columbia) School Board offers an Engaged Immigrant Youth Program that provides services to older immigrant teens (ages 15 to 19) to build academic, leadership, and socioemotional skills in order to improve school engagement and, ultimately, graduation rates. ${ }^{68}$

## 3. Evolving Approaches to Instructional Support

Although educational systems usually have guidelines independent of their funding structures for the implementation of instructional and other support services, policymakers can use funding to drive practitioners toward particular models. It is perhaps not surprising that they would seek to do so, both for ease of administration and to promote alignment with effective instructional designs. However, given the diversity of student needs and school contexts, as well as the emergence of new approaches to better serving migrant-background students, the instructional designs and support services promoted by policymakers through supplementary funding are also evolving. A comparison of approaches across the countries of study shows a great deal of experimentation and active learning as new instructional support designs are piloted and in some cases scaled.

[^13]In the United States, some states are moving away from categorical funding that comes with strict rules about what schools or districts may pay for with the funds. ${ }^{69}$ At the same time, there is also a pedagogical trend away from teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) in segregated classrooms and unconnected from other academic content. This approach has emerged from analysis of student outcomes that suggest EL students are not able to access the mainstream curriculum with only the aid of standalone ESL classes. In recent years, schools have increasingly transitioned to models that integrate the ESL teacher into the mainstream classroom, enabling EL students to learn language and grade-level academic content concurrently. This trend has been accompanied, in some jurisdictions, by the relaxation of rules that limit the use of funding to the instruction of ELs and the salaries of specialist teachers. By doing so, policymakers make it easier for schools to implement innovative models such as dual language programs that integrate native English speakers and native speakers of a partner language for bilingual instruction. This pedagogical shift is reflected in the design of a categorical program created in Colorado in 2014 that operates in addition to the state's categorical ESL funding. The Professional Development and Student Support (PDSS) program funds professional development for all educators who work with ELs and support for current and former ELs in academic content areas; in other words, to support EL learning outside the formal English language development program.

# In recent years, schools have increasingly transitioned to models that integrate the ESL teacher into the 

## mainstream classroom.

In Germany, the FörMig program ${ }^{70}$ shared some of the same goals and tools as PDSS. Between 2005 and 2013, FörMig sought to help migrant-background students achieve academic-level proficiency in German by encouraging more teachers to integrate German as a second language instruction into subject-based lessons. The initiative was backed by supplemental funding from the federal government ${ }^{71}$ and ten Länder governments, and established local language support networks ${ }^{72}$ that offered expert advice as well as opportunities for educators to engage in professional development and collaboration. Most networks were led by teachers who volunteered to become FörMig ambassadors and participate in professional development courses designed to generate support and build capacities for integrated language teaching. By sharing new teaching methods with their colleagues and coordinating network activities, FörMig ambassadors could then serve as change agents within their schools and their communities. This holistic approach to language teaching generated better outcomes than traditional remedial German classesparticularly for low-achieving migrant-background students-not least because it encouraged a deeper exposure to subject matter. ${ }^{73}$ However, the temporary nature of the project meant that by 2013, Länder governments had discontinued their funding. The initial success of FörMig and ongoing discussions of

69 Looking across programmatic areas, the average number of categorical programs (all funding purposes) within U.S. states dropped from 25 in 2008 to 15 in 2013. See Joanna Smith, Hovanes Gasparian, Nicholas Perry, and Fatima Capinpin, Categorical Funds: The Intersection of Education Finance and Governance (Washington, DC: Center for American Progress, 2013), www.americanprogress.org/issues/education/report/2013/11/18/79510/categorical-funds-the-intersection-of-school-finance-and-governance/. With regard to categorical funding specifically for ELs, a 2006 sample of eight states serving large numbers of ELS showed that five states used categorical funding, two used formula funding, and one used both. By 2015, three of the five previously using categorical funding had switched to formula funding. See Michael Griffith and John Hancock, A Survey of State ELL/ESL Funding Systems (Denver, CO: Educational Commission of the States, 2006), http://files.eric. ed.gov/fulltext/ED490988.pdf; Millard, State Funding Mechanisms.
70 The program's full name, Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund (FörMig), means "supporting children and youth with a migrant background."
71 Federal funding ended in 2009.
72 Language support networks were generally built around schools. Many networks included day care centers, cultural and ethnic clubs, and youth organizations.
73 Ingrid Gogolin, et al., Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund (FörMig). Bilanz und Perspektiven eines Modellprogramms (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2011), 93-98.
lessons learned have, nonetheless, informed new programs such as DaZNet ${ }^{74}$ in the state of Lower Saxony and Bildung durch Sprache und Schrift (BISS) ${ }^{75}$ in all 16 Länder. While these programs build on the ideas and objectives of FörMig, scaling and sustainability remain challenges as these professional development initiatives are funded only as pilot projects.

The pedagogical shift to integrate supportive instructional services into mainstream classrooms can also be seen in recent initiatives in France. When the primary mechanism for distributing supplementary funds, the priority education zones, were established in 1981, local education administrations were largely responsible for deciding how these resources would be allocated, and many opted to prioritize reduced class sizes and increased hours of instruction. ${ }^{76}$ In more recent years, national-level reforms to the program have centered on furthering language proficiency, including reading and writing, and improving student perceptions of school. Noting that prior initiatives, such as raising teacher pay to attract highly qualified teachers to schools located in priority education zones, were mostly unsuccessful in closing the achievement gap among elementary and middle school students in the targeted areas, the most recent reboot of the program in 2014 was based on scaling up practices that had proved effective. The reform aimed to encourage team-building and collaboration among teachers; provided funding for coteaching or for teachers to work one on one with students in need of additional instruction; and supported teacher training, mentoring, and professional networks to disseminate best practices. ${ }^{77}$

Professional development initiatives such as those described above signal shifts in pedagogical priorities, often as a result of new research showing the ineffectiveness of traditional interventions that teach language in isolation and emphasize basic conversational skills. ${ }^{78}$ These initiatives also demonstrate the active learning underway as governments use supplementary funding mechanisms to pilot programs that test new innovations or encourage the adoption of such programs at a larger scale.

## C. Tradeoffs Between Flexibility and Accountability

In any funding system, there are tradeoffs between flexibility and accountability. Schools and school districts receiving funds generally prefer maximum flexibility, which allows them to consider the local context carefully as they set spending priorities. Policymakers providing the resources, by contrast, aim to ensure that public funds are spent efficiently and for their intended purpose-in this case, to help migrant-background students succeed. It can be challenging for policymakers to find the right balance of these forces. The examples in this section demonstrate ways policymakers have sought to establish accountability for the provision of services both within and outside the actual funding system.

## In any funding system, there are tradeoffs between flexibility and accountability.

## I. Accountability for Funds Spent

In funding systems with more flexibility, government provides money with few rules on how it should be spent and little monitoring of actual expenses. This is common in the United States when supplementary

[^14]funds are provided as a weight added to the primary funding formula (see Section III B.); the funds are not segregated in a separate account with spending guidelines but are simply added to a school district's overall budget, which is then allocated to individual schools. This is also the case in many Länder where supplementary funds provide additional teaching hours for qualified schools, without requiring schools to document that those hours were used to specifically target migrant-background students' unique needs. This type of flexibility has the benefit of reducing costly and time-consuming administrative work for both the grantor and the grantee.

In contrast, in British Columbia, Canada, in order to receive supplementary funds for language learners, school districts must provide detailed information on language programs provided and on the number of students receiving services. The province requires school districts to maintain documentation (which is occasionally audited) that shows language support is required for students for whom funding is granted, as well as demonstrate that services are in place by September 30 when annual student counts are done. Documentation includes assessment of student proficiency in the language of instruction, a list of services and supports provided, evidence that student progress toward English or French proficiency is being reported to parents, and proof that a second-language specialist is involved in the planning and delivery of services. ${ }^{79}$

A common concern behind accountability measures is that without budget rules that regulate how much funding schools should direct to meeting migrant-background students' needs, money may not reach the intended vulnerable populations. In the Canadian province of Ontario, the provincial government explicitly states that local school districts have the flexibility to budget most of their funding allotment according to local priorities. ${ }^{80}$ Some observers contend that, due to this lack of regulation, school districts have diverted money intended for vulnerable populations toward balancing their budget. ${ }^{81}$ Because there is no financial accountability for how individual supplementary funds are spent, nor mandated service levels for language learners, school districts may not be providing necessary services especially in years when funds are limited.

## A common concern behind accountability measures is that ...

 money may not reach the intended vulnerable populations.A similar debate arose in California in spring 2015 when a number of school districts argued that the best use of their supplemental and concentration grants (intended to be spent on at-risk students including ELs) was to provide across-the-board raises to teachers in order to attract and retain talented staff to serve their most vulnerable students. Some advocates contended that this contradicted the rules attached to the funds, and that school districts were taking undue advantage of the flexibility of the system. ${ }^{82} \mathrm{~A}$ few months later, a lawsuit was filed against the Los Angeles Unified School District, alleging that its spending of supplemental and concentration grants on special education was inappropriate because the funds were intended to address specific deficits related to the high-need categories (EL, low-income, or foster youth).

79 British Columbia Ministry of Education, "English Language Learning and Apprentissage de la langue anglaise in the Conseil scolaire francophone de la Colombie-Britannique: Policy and Guidelines," updated May 2013, www.bced.gov.bc.ca/ell/policy/guidelines.pdf.
80 Ontario Ministry of Education, Technical Paper 2015-16 (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 2015), www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/fun ding/1516/2015TechnicalPaperEN.pdf.
81 Hugh Mackenzie, Missing the Mark: How Ontario's Education Funding Formula Is Shortchanging Students (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2007), www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/Ontario Office Pubs/2007/Missing the Mark.pdf; Liam Casey, "TDSB Diverting \$100 Million Annually from Programs for Underprivileged Students, Report Says," Toronto Star, May 6, 2013, www.thestar.com/news/gta/2013/05/06/tdsb diverting_100_million annually from programs for underprivileged students report says.html.
82 John Fensterwald, "Torlakson Reinterprets Department's Stance on Teacher Raises," EdSource, June 15, 2015, www.edsource. org/2015/torlakson-reinterprets-departments-stance-on-teacher-raises/81528.

The school district, for its part, thought it was within the bounds of the flexibility of the law, citing that 79 percent of the students receiving the services in question also qualified as high need. ${ }^{83}$

## 2. Accountability for Outcomes and Services in Exchange for Flexibility

Instead of strictly monitoring the use of supplementary funds for migrant-background students to ensure that they are used for approved services, some jurisdictions may allow greater flexibility and budget autonomy in exchange for more demanding accountability for student outcomes. Outcome-based accountability measures are found in all U.S. states. Since the 2001 revision of federal education law, not only are schools accountable for various student outcomes (including test scores and graduation rates), but a number of subgroup outcomes are also reported, including the performance of ELs. Even if states do not regulate school districts' use of funds or services provided, they do closely monitor outcomes and intervene to help districts improve, including by guiding resource allocation, when expectations are not met.

New York State takes a relatively balanced approach to ensuring districts are accountable for their supplementary fund for ELs-and, ultimately, for EL achievement. In 2007-08, New York shifted its EL support from a categorical fund to a weighted formula. Because additional funds are provided through the foundation formula, school districts do not have to account for them separately from other expenses. However, school districts submit data reports each September that include the number of ELs in each school as well as the number and qualifications of staff providing services to ELs. With this information, state administrators can determine if schools have hired sufficient staff with the appropriate credentials to provide the mandated level of service. ${ }^{84}$ Consistently low-performing school districts are subject to increased scrutiny of their budgets and instructional plans under the Contract for Excellence program. ${ }^{85}$ California has taken a similar approach in recent years, reducing complex monitoring of funds in exchange for closer scrutiny of outcomes (see Box 3).

> Even if states do not regulate school districts' use of funds or services provided, they do closely monitor outcomes and intervene to help districts improve.

Across the United States, the exact nature of accountability rules and sanctions may shift in the coming years as states implement a new federal education law, the Every Student Succeeds Act, that seeks to address key criticisms of previous accountability mandates-including that they were unrealistic (projecting 100 percent proficiency of all students by 2014); draconian (mandating that schools with continued poor performance be closed); and would lead to a narrowing of the curriculum in order to teach to the test. ${ }^{86}$

83 Education Consortium of Central Los Angeles, "Does LAUSD's Use of Local Control Funding Serve High Needs Students?" updated July 10, 2015, www.eccla.org/2015/07/lausd-use-local-control-funding-serve-high-needs-students. In May, 2016, the state determined that the district's accounting was not permissible, but the district indicated it would challenge the decision. See John Fensterwald, "State Officials Find LA Unified Shortchanged Students," EdSource, June 1, 2016, https://edsource. org/2016/state-officials-find-la-unified-shortchanged-students.
84 The time allotment for EL service varies by students depending on their instructional program and language proficiency level. For details on the New York requirements for services, see documentation of CR Part 154-2 Units of Study at New York State Education Department, "Guidance and Information," accessed June 7, 2016, www.p12.nysed.gov/biling/bilinged/GuidanceDocuments.htm.
85 New York State Education Department, "Contracts for Excellence," accessed January 13, 2016, www.p12.nysed.gov/mgtserv/ C4E/.
86 Lisa Guisbond and Monty Neill, "Failing Our Children: No Child Left Behind Undermines Quality and Equity in Education," The Clearing House 78, no. 1 (2004): 12-16.

## Box 3. Local Control Funding Formula in California

The recent school finance reform in California demonstrates how a government can shape its funding system to serve broader policy goals-in this case, to fundamentally shift the balance of flexibility and accountability. In 2013, California transitioned from providing state aid through a combination of a general fund and dozens of categorical funds supporting specific educational programs to a weighted formula called the Local Control Funding Formula (LCFF), which includes supplemental and concentration weights for at-risk students (an unduplicated count of lowincome, EL, and foster youth). The explicit policy goals behind the new system include:

- Local control. Putting most budget decisionmaking in the hands of school districts, with input from schools and community stakeholders and oversight by county offices of education.
- Needs-based allocations. Allowing evolving local needs and demographics to drive budgeting rather than historic spending limits associated with categorical funds.
- Equity. Targeting additional funds to the highest-need students.
- Transparency. Explicitly tying strategic goals to services and expenditures.
- Stakeholder engagement. Requiring evidence of the inclusion of stakeholder input in the planning process.
- Simplicity. Reducing complicated financial reporting requirements.

The central process associated with the LCFF, school district development of a Local Control Accountability Plan (LCAP), requires districts to set goals aligned to eight state priorities and indicate actions they will take to meet those goals. Each year, districts must update their LCAP with an evaluation of how well the services or actions taken improved instruction for all students and for students in the high-need categories of ELs, low-income, and foster youth.

LCAP is intended to explicitly tie strategic goals to services and expenditures, and to do so in a way that increases transparency and engagement of families and communities in educational planning. In exchange for increased flexibility to use funds for needed services (for example, hiring specialist teachers or purchasing instructional technology), the plan serves as an accountability mechanism that details how funds will be used and demonstrates through student outcomes that the investments were effective.

A number of concerns were raised in the first year of implementation. In particular, difficulties arose as a result of unclear guidance on what the supplemental and concentration grants for at-risk students could be used for, how the district was to justify funds spent on at-risk students, and how to connect existing financial reporting mechanisms to LCAP items. Because of different interpretations of the guidelines for the LCAP template and uneven levels of capacity, there was wide variation across the state in how useful the plans actually were for stakeholders trying to understand how school districts and schools support at-risk students.

State administrators continue to respond to criticism that during the first and second years of the initiative the process failed to adequately connect to the overarching goals of the LCFF. Officials have provided increased guidance and instituted new processes to ensure that LCFF meets its goals of improving education for all students, including high-need students such as ELs. If the details of implementation can be worked out, LCFF holds promise as a model approach for balancing flexibility and accountability in large-scale systems whose at-risk student populations and local education contexts are highly diverse.

Sources: Elvira Armas, Magaly Lavadenz, and Laurie Olsen, Falling Short on the Promise to English Learners:A Report on Year One LCAPs (Long Beach, CA: Californians Together, 2015), www.ciclt.net/ul/calto/AReportonYearOneLCAPs_2015-04-22.pdf;Alan Bersin, Michael W. Kirst, and Goodwin Liu, Getting Beyond the Facts: Reforming California School Finance (Berkeley, CA: Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Race, Ethnicity, and Diversity, University of California, Berkeley School of Law, 2008), www.law.berkeley.edul files/GBTFissuebriefFINAL.pdf; Daniel C. Humphrey and Julia E. Koppich, Toward a Grand Vision: Early Implementation of California's Local Control Funding Formula (San Francisco:J. Koppich and Associates, 2014), www.sri.com/sites/default/files/publications/lcff researchbrief_10-26-14.pdf; Julia E. Koppich, Daniel C. Humphrey, and Julie A. Marsh, Two Years of California's Local Control Funding Formula:Time to Reaffirm the Grand Vision (Stanford, CA: Policy Analysis for California Education, 2015), www.edpolicyinca.org/ publications/two-years-californias-local-control-funding-formula-time-reaffirm-grand-vision.

## V. <br> Policy Implications and Conclusion

With increased numbers of migrant-background children enrolling in schools throughout Europe and North America, the demands placed on school systems to support these students' academic success have never been greater. Migrant-background students share common challenges with other students at risk of academic failure, but have unique linguistic, academic, and socioemotional needs. Many schools have not yet developed the capacities to effectively serve linguistically and culturally diverse students and are working to develop or scale up the necessary professional training and instructional resources. In these locations, governments are looking for ways to go beyond one-off and pilot projects and instead take a more systematic approach to funding and scaling necessary supports. Doing so is not only critical for meeting education-specific goals (as can be measured in standardized test outcomes like PISA), but is also necessary to support effective long-term integration of immigrant and refugee youth into the societal mainstream.

## Even in areas with a long history of immigration, the rules of supplementary funding mechanisms are regularly adjusted.

By creating or reforming supplementary funding schemes for migrant-background students, governments acknowledge the additional costs involved in meeting the unique needs of these youth and underscore that their academic progress is a priority for the education system. Even in areas with a long history of immigration, the rules of supplementary funding mechanisms are regularly adjusted and amounts granted often increased, demonstrating the close attention necessary to remedy achievement gaps and address changing demographic or contextual factors that bring new opportunities and challenges. As this report shows, supplementary funding mechanisms are not simply administrative measures that push the challenges of teaching migrant-background students from the national or regional level down to localities; rather, elements of their design often play a key role in aligning the varied efforts of policymakers to support migrant-background students' learning and cultural integration.

This four-country comparison demonstrates a wide acknowledgment among policymakers that additional services and therefore resources are needed to effectively serve these students and, further, that the diversity of student needs and system capacities require locally adapted solutions. The analysis also uncovers varied and evolving approaches to crucial operating provisions that modify funding mechanisms, illuminating some of the key challenges and strategies policymakers are wrestling with as they attempt to ensure that additional resources are used effectively. Several top-line lessons and implications for policymakers emerge from this analysis.

- Identification of target needs and students plays a central role in system design and integrity. The first-order policy decision related to supporting migrant-background students is to define the nature of disadvantage and need. In order to serve newcomers and other migrantbackground students more systematically, policymakers should first define the disadvantages they seek to remedy and the criteria they will rely on to identify students and schools in need of additional support. While it may appear obvious that defining target needs and students are central elements of a supplementary funding design, in practice the diverse nature of migrant-student needs and the limitations of data systems often leave policymakers with few straightforward options. This is particularly true in countries where objective assessments of learning needs are not in place and existing data sets do not include the relevant information. As a result, some countries, regions and local jurisdictions allocate funds based on multiple characteristics (such as language proficiency, poverty, and migrant background), while others focus on only one factor. Systems may thus have built-in blind spots to particular needs and subgroups of students. Such gaps diminish the integrity of the design, whether because
policymakers fail to recognize and fund supports for key areas of disadvantage, or because they cannot objectively count the students in need of services and provide resources accordingly.

Understanding the limitations of existing designs in this regard and taking steps to compensate for or directly address them are therefore essential. For example, processes used in the United States to identify and assess students in need of specialized language instruction can be seen as a model for allocating supplementary funds based on objective measures. Yet, as robust as this approach may be, it fails to take into account other important dimensions of disadvantage relevant to academic persistence and success for these youth-for example, the complex needs and challenges facing older newcomer students with limited or interrupted formal education, or the needs of many migrant-background youth for cultural and systems knowledge and broader social integration supports. These needs may be more effectively addressed by systems that define and target interventions based on students' migrant background-as is done for example, by German Länder that allocate funds to schools with a high concentration of such students, or by the Canadian provinces that take additional steps to address higherneed migrant subgroups (recent arrivals and refugees) specifically. However, while efforts by the Länder to provide resources to schools based on student migrant background may result in a more well-rounded set of integration and academic interventions than in, for example, the United States, the lack of objective assessment criteria creates other design weaknesses; without counts of students in need or measures of academic language proficiency, systems may be unable to equitably provide resources and may lack a focus on academic language learning, one of the most important drivers of achievement gaps.

- Designs must manage the tension between funding flexibility and accountability. Whether at the regional, school district, or school level, education systems are too complex to operate according to simple or uniform input-output formulas; as a result, it is widely accepted that the administrators charged with programmatic and pedagogical decisions need some budget flexibility to decide on and implement interventions for migrant-background students that they deem most appropriate and effective in their local context. At the same time, public officials and community members are rightly concerned with whether schools and school districts are using supplementary funds for their intended purpose, and whether the funds are achieving their desired effect. As this study demonstrates, creating and maintaining a productive tension between flexibility and accountability has been a focus of intense attention and experimentation in many countries and jurisdictions. For example, basic input accountability measures, such as student-teacher ratios, are used by some to monitor the share of teaching resources devoted to helping migrant-background students. In order to determine whether these students actually receive the specialized instruction they need, additional documentation such as the qualifications of instructional staff may also be required. Accountability efforts of this type are usually weighed against the administrative burden they create as well as any unintended consequences monitoring processes may have that constrain instructional decision-making. Another option-and one more directly aligned with the funding's purposeis to bypass the budget justifications, expense tracking, and monitoring that often accompany such funds and instead use measures that hold schools and school districts accountable for the learning outcomes of their students, including their language-learner and/or migrantbackground students.
- Creation and collection of robust data is necessary to understand student needs and effectively direct supplementary funds. The ability to target support to particular students and schools and to understand its effectiveness is greatly aided by (and indeed, is often only possible with) granular data that ideally extends to the level of individual students. U.S. states, and to a lesser extent, provinces in Canada, have invested heavily in recent years in building robust data systems, including student assessments that capture language development along with grade-level academic skills. This investment has played a central role in supporting overall efforts to close achievement gaps, as it has facilitated student identification, assessment, and progress tracking and helped schools and school systems pinpoint areas for improvement.

Expanded data creation and collection may have the additional benefits of improving transparency for community members who wish to know if a system is meeting its goals and of improving the basis for objective policymaking in an area that is sometimes a source of political tension and public concern.

Depending on the national or local context, policymakers can examine education data repositories and other data sources (national, regional, and local) to determine which data are available and, conversely, which are still needed in order to properly identify migrantbackground students and relevant subgroups. ${ }^{87}$ In some jurisdictions, collection of school- or student-level data may be limited by privacy protection laws. In those cases, policymakers may use local administrative or census data, such as the unemployment rate near a school, to identify neighborhood-specific disadvantages that may affect the learning of migrantbackground students (see the German state of Hesse in the Appendix). Supplementary funding formulas themselves can also be used to encourage or directly fund improvements in data capture and collection-for example, through development and implementation of language assessments, attaching data reporting requirements to funds, and/or providing resources to local systems to build data capacity.

- Funding mechanisms should be subject to regular review. Several examples in this study demonstrated how countries and subjurisdictions have revisited their funding approaches in order to account for changed circumstances or respond to new information or needs. And while pertinent, high-quality data are essential in supporting continuous review and improvement, additional inputs are necessary to ensure that supplementary funds are achieving their goals. For example, funding mechanisms should mirror or reinforce advances in pedagogy, such as trends toward integrating language instruction into general education. Such pedagogical advances may necessitate more flexibility to allow schools and districts to spend funds on a wider range of staff and instructional activities. Similarly, the arrival of newcomer students in local school systems with little experience in meeting their needs may require special capacity-building approaches not anticipated in, for example, weighted per-pupil formulas. Establishing consultation processes with practitioners and stakeholders across the different levels of government can help policymakers ensure that funding mechanisms adapt as needed to changing circumstances, support implementation of the most effective approaches, and more generally succeed in meeting overall goals to improve educational outcomes for migrant-background youth.

Ensuring the successful longer-term integration of migrant-background youth into the economic and social mainstream of receiving societies requires that tens of thousands of local schools and school districts build and sustain the capacities needed to help these youth succeed on par with their native peers. As evidenced in this report, these goals remain a major challenge in many jurisdictions, and top immigrant-receiving countries acknowledge that additional education funding is needed in order to reach them. While the approaches used to provide supplementary funds to support the education of migrantbackground students vary significantly across the countries studied, many common design challenges are evident, as are common capacity-building needs with regard to, for example, educator skills and the collection of objective data that can inform investment strategies.

The complexity and continuing evolution of policies and practices in this area are striking. Given the volatile nature of migration flows and the wide variation in student characteristics and local system capacities, the need for active learning from existing supplementary funding mechanisms is evident-as is the need to assess whether they adequately support schools and school districts in meeting the needs of students from a migrant background.

[^15]
# Appendix: Supplementary Funding Mechanisms (Selection) 

## Canada

## Alberta

Base funding for Alberta school districts is provided on a per-pupil basis for students in early childhood through grade 9 (the end of junior high school) and on the basis of credit enrollment units for grades 10 to 12 (senior high school). ${ }^{88}$ Newcomer students in grades 10 to 12 receive the base funding level equal to a full-time load of credit enrollment units even if they are earning fewer units while they are in classes to learn the language of instruction. In addition to base funding, students with English as a Second Language (ESL) or Francisation (French as a Second Language) status generate an allocation of CAD 1,178 (around USD 900) per student in public schools (with lower sums allocated to private schools). For ESL and Francisation funding, two enrollment counts are done-one in September and another in March - and each determines 50 percent of funding for the school year. If the March count is lower, the September count will set the funding level for the whole school year. In French-speaking school districts, students may qualify for both Francisation and ESL funding. English- and French-learning students may receive funding for a maximum of five years, down from seven years as a result of 2013 provincial budget cuts. ${ }^{89}$ After five years, students can continue to receive ESL/Francisation services, but funding will have to come from the general allocation rather than the targeted funds. Students with refugee status generate CAD 5,200 (around USD 4,000) for five years in addition to the other grants. Individual school districts have flexibility in determining how to use funds to best serve their students' needs, while complying with provincial laws and guidelines.

## British Columbia

The bulk of funding for British Columbia schools comes from formula-driven general operating grants. ${ }^{90} \mathrm{~A}$ "Supplement for Unique Student Needs" provides additional per-pupil funding for English Learners (ELs) and French Learners (FLs) among other groups. This supplement also includes a category that provides funding for vulnerable students based on socioeconomic risk factors (including the share of recent immigrants as determined by the 2006 Census).

Enrollment-based funding and supplementary funds are provided based on the number of students enrolled as of September 30 in a given year, and a small number of funds may be updated based on February, May, and July enrollment counts. The amount of the supplementary EL/FL allocation for the SY 2015-16 is CAD 1,380 (around USD 1,050) per eligible student. The EL/FL supplement is calculated on the basis of the number of identified EL/FL students at the September 30 enrollment count. Responding to school districts' concerns about the financial challenges of absorbing new refugee students in the middle of the year, British Columbia also grants school districts prorated allocations for students with refugee status who enroll between the September count and the February count. This allocation is half of the basic per-pupil allocation and may be supplemented by half of the EL/FL allocation if newcomer refugee students also qualify for EL/FL services.

Eligible students can receive funding for EL/FL funding for up to five years (which need not be consecutive); however, unfunded students may continue to receive services if they require them past the five-year mark. In order to receive funding, school districts provide information on language program

[^16]enrollment with their September enrollment report. Services must be in place by September 30 to qualify a student for funding and documentation of each student's language proficiency assessment results and the services provided must be on file.

## Ontario

The Ontario Ministry of Education provides the bulk of operating funding to school districts through the annual Grants for Student Needs (GSN). ${ }^{91}$ Within this system, the Language Grant provides funds for education in French (as a first, second, or additional language) and for ESL and English literacy development (ELD). Within the ESL/ELD allocation, there is a Recent Immigrant component for students born outside of Canada, Australia, Great Britain, Ireland, New Zealand, and the United States and who have been in Canada four years or fewer. There is also a Pupils in Canada component for students whose home language is neither English nor French. The former component is based on actual counts of eligible students and the latter an estimated proportion of eligible students in a school district based on 2006 census data. The ESL/ELD allocation was projected to be CAD 222.8 million (around USD 170 million) in SY 2015-16, with about CAD 191.8 million (around USD 150 million) for the Recent Immigrant component and CAD 31.0 million (around USD 24 million) for the Pupils in Canada component.

Similar to the ESL/ELD allocation which is provided to English-language school districts, the Programme d'appui aux nouveaux arrivants (PANA) provides funds to French-language school districts to support eligible students who are newly arrived in Canada and require extra help developing proficiency in French. Similar to the Recent Immigrant component of the ESL/ELD allocation, PANA funds are distributed based on the number of students who were born in countries where neither French nor English is spoken as a first language by the majority of the population or where the variety of French spoken is sufficiently different from the French used as the language of instruction in Canada. The PANA allocation was projected to be CAD 6 million (around USD 5 million) in SY 2015-16.

Both the Recent Immigrant component of the ESL/ELD grant and the PANA provide school districts with CAD 10,085 (around USD 7,800) per eligible pupil over four years, with a greater share of that amount in the first year of eligibility and less each successive year. In SY 2015-16, the allocation is equal to CAD 3,879 (around USD 3,000) multiplied by the weighting factor of 1.0 in the first year, 0.85 in the second year, 0.5 in the third, and 0.25 in the fourth. Both of these grants are distributed based on an annual count of students who have forms on file with the school that verify the date of their immigration, as recorded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada.

## France

## Priority education zones (zones d'éducation prioritaire)

For more than 30 years, French education policymakers have provided supplementary funding to schools located in priority education zones, ${ }^{92}$ which are marked by social deprivation and high concentrations of immigrants. These zones are identified through a combination of metrics (such as student achievement and neighborhood data) and the expert judgment of the regional representatives of France's National Education Ministry (récteurs).

Designed as temporary, the program has not only become permanent, but is also considered a key instrument in the policy toolkit of the French National Education Ministry. In 2013, close to 20 percent of the country's primary and secondary schools received supplementary funds because of their location

[^17]in a priority education zone. ${ }^{93}$ Since 2015, these funds have been earmarked to be spent on school improvement in three areas:

- individualized instruction and academic support;
- continuous professional development of teaching and non-teaching staff; and
- collaboration with other schools, parents, neighborhood organizations. ${ }^{94}$

The new spending rules are a result of sobering evaluations of previous funding decisions, which often focused on raising teacher pay in order to attract highly qualified teachers to schools located in priority education zones. Contrary to previously held beliefs, these and other measures did not succeed at improving the professional capacities of teachers in these schools and had little to no effect on student achievement. Although there was some success in lowering the number of school dropouts, the widespread stigmatization of schools in priority education zones is believed to have had an adverse effect on student and teacher motivation. ${ }^{95}$

## Germany ${ }^{96}$

## Bavaria

Close to one in three children living in Germany's southernmost state of Bavaria ${ }^{97}$ is foreign-born or has at least one immigrant parent. ${ }^{98}$ In Nuremberg, Munich, and other major cities, the concentration of migrantbackground children is substantially higher. In order to provide additional resources to schools with a high number of migrant-background students, the Bavarian State Ministry of Education, Science and the Arts uses both formula funding and categorical programs.

For primary schools (Grundschulen) and lower secondary schools (Mittelschulen) the state's primary funding formula allots additional teaching hours to each school where migrant-background students make up more than 50 percent of students in any grade. In the formula, this is done by reducing the maximum class size to 25 students (from between 28 and 30).

In addition, the Ministry runs two categorical programs for migrant-background students, which are both allocated outside of the primary funding formula. The first program, the so-called integration bonus (Integrationszuschlag), supports the state's inner-city schools with the highest concentration of migrantbackground students. Half of the funding is allocated among these schools based on their enrollment data. The other half is administered by local school authorities. The second categorical program sends additional language teachers to schools with in-need populations. The distribution to individual schools is also in the hands of local school authorities.

[^18]
## Berlin

In Germany's multicultural capital Berlin, ${ }^{99}$ school authorities make use of formula funding to combat staff shortages at schools with high concentrations of migrant-background students and students with low-income parents. ${ }^{100}$ Akin to the home language survey used in many U.S. states, the Berlin Senate Department for Education, Youth and Science collects information on the home language of students. However, the department's data are not based on a comprehensive survey, but the voluntary disclosure by parents. In addition to home language, the school authorities also record each family's socioeconomic status based on their children's eligibility for free learning materials, ${ }^{101}$ making Berlin the only German Land in which school-level data on social inequality are available to education policymakers.

Berlin's primary funding formula applies an additional weighting factor to each language learner once a school's concentration reaches 40 percent. Unlike the U.S. system for identifying ELs, students in Berlin do not exit language learner status, meaning that once students are classified as language learners, they retain this status until they enter secondary school (where the parents are asked again) and in many cases until graduation.

When measuring low-income students, the department follows a similar procedure: Once the share of students eligible for free learning materials is equal to or more than 40 percent, the school authorities add a supplementary weight to the primary funding formula. Schools that cross the 40 percent mark for both language learners and low-income students benefit from both supplementary weights.

## Hesse

Unlike Berlin, most of the Länder lack school-specific data on the language skills of migrant-background students and/or their socioeconomic status. ${ }^{102}$ As a result, the state of Hesse ${ }^{103}$ uses local-level administrative data, including the number of welfare recipients living close to a school, to identify pedagogical challenges in different neighborhoods and to fund schools accordingly. Policymakers use this method, known as a social index (Sozialindex), to allocate the supplementary funds of categorical programs in Hesse. The programs allocate additional teaching resources based on four indicators:

- the local unemployment rate,
- local rate of welfare recipients,
- local rate of families living in single-family detached homes, and
- the concentration of migrant-background students at individual schools.

These data are bundled into a single value, the social index, which approximates a school's need for additional resources. Based on this index, the Hesse Ministry of Education allocates additional teaching hours to schools in need, most of whom serve a high number of migrant-background students. As of 2014, however, less than 1 percent of the state's teaching resources are allocated through the Sozialindex, in part due to the limited availability of granular data. For larger Länder, it is particularly difficult to create a
central database for local-level data since this information is often incomplete, outdated, or stored in the data repositories of individual municipalities.

[^19]
## United States

## California

In 2013, California overhauled its education finance system and adopted the Local Control Funding Formula (LCFF) to provide base funding to school districts. ${ }^{104}$ Previous categorical programs for ELs and other at-risk students were incorporated into the formula through supplemental and concentration grants. Through the supplemental grant, school districts receive an additional 20 percent of the base funding for each student who falls into one or more of three need-based categories-EL, low-income (qualifying for free or reduced-price school meals), or foster youth. Students who fall into multiple categories are counted once. School districts where the total (unduplicated) count of ELs, low income, and foster youth make up more than 55 percent of district enrollment also receive a concentration grant that provides an additional 50 percent of the base grant for each high-need student above the 55 percent threshold. For example, a school district with 65 percent at-risk students would receive the additional 50 percent weight for 10 percent of their students. All identified ELs who are enrolled on "census day" (the first Wednesday in October) are counted toward supplemental and concentration grant funding, and there is no time limit for how long an individual student may be eligible to be counted as long as they are identified as an EL.

The 2013 law also required school districts to develop a Local Control Accountability Plan (LCAP), described in depth in Box 3, through which districts set goals aligned to eight state priorities, designate actions they will take to meet their goals, and include data evaluating their progress. School districts must outline how they will expand or improve services for at-risk students with the supplemental and concentration grants they receive, though those funds are not technically earmarked. School districts may include district- or school-wide expenditures in their supplemental and concentration grant budgets as long as they indicate how the resources will be of particular benefit to at-risk students. Writing the LCAP—a three-year plan that must be updated annually-must include a process for community engagement, including consulting with the District-Level English Learner Advisory Committee (a group of parents and guardians, staff, and community members) formed in school districts enrolling more than 50 ELs.

## Colorado

The English Language Proficiency Act (ELPA), revised in May 2014, provides for three categorical funding programs in the state of Colorado: the English Language Proficiency Program (ELPP), the Professional Development and Student Support Program (PDSS), and the ELPA Excellence Award, all of which are funded based on annual legislative appropriations (USD 18 million, USD 27 million, and USD 0.5 million respectively in SY 2015-16). ${ }^{105}$

Through the ELPP, school districts receive funds to offset the costs of educating ELs, including costs related to identification, assessment, and instruction. In addition to students who score below the English proficient threshold, students continue to qualify for the first two years after they are reclassified as Fluent English Proficient (FEP)—a provision atypical among U.S. states. Students may generate funding for up to five years of enrollment in any school district in Colorado. The state uses the prior year's October enrollment count for the current year's funding allocation. The PDSS program provides money to support professional development for all educators who work with ELs and to support current and former ELs in academic content areas-in other words, to support ELs outside the formal English language development program. For both the ELPP and the PDSS, 75 percent of the annual allocation is used to provide services to ELs who are not yet English proficient and 25 percent for FEP students. School

[^20]districts do not have to file an application for funding through those two programs, but there is a funding code for each within the state's financial reporting system. The ELPA Excellence Award does require an application, including submission of student data, as it is a one-year grant awarded to the ten school districts and ten charter schools with the highest achievement for current and former ELs.

## New York

New York State counts its at-risk populations through a Pupil Needs Index that adds a supplementary percentage to the foundation aid allocated to all students (calculated based on the average daily membership [enrollment] of the previous school year). ${ }^{106}$ The Pupil Needs Index includes the count of EL students as identified by their schools, and these students generate an additional 50 percent of the base funding level. EL students only generate supplementary funding for six years, after which they are considered long-term ELs though schools must continue to serve their individual needs.

All school districts receiving state aid must submit a Comprehensive Plan for serving ELs and an annual Data/Information Report which includes the number of ELs in each school along with their grade level, native language, special education status, and instructional program (bilingual education or ESL). The number of long-term ELs is also reported, as is the number and qualifications of teachers and other staff providing support to ELs. School districts that are particularly low-performing may also be subject to increased accountability for a portion of their foundation funds through the Contract for Excellence program. This program requires school districts to target funds to improving or expanding programs for high-needs groups and has accountability requirements according to which schools must demonstrate how they will use funds to improve instruction for targeted groups such as ELs. New York also has a categorical fund (USD 14.5 million) to support the eight Regional Bilingual Education Resource Networks located across the state and a number of other state initiatives.

Of the three U.S. focal states discussed here, New York has the most detailed guidelines for serving ELs. Schools that have 20 or more students in the same grade that speak the same language must provide bilingual education, and whether in bilingual or ESL programs, there are guidelines for the minimum number of units of study students must have in English language development, specially designed grade-level courses, and native language instruction (if applicable), which must be delivered by teachers with appropriate bilingual or ESL certification. Furthermore, New York schools are required to ensure that at least 15 percent of mainstream teachers' and 50 percent of bilingual/ESL teachers' professional development is related to the needs of ELs.

[^21]
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Dr. Sugarman came to MPI from the Center for Applied Linguistics, where she specialized in the evaluation of educational programs for language learners and in dual language/two-way immersion programs. At CAL, she directed comprehensive program evaluations of instruction for ELLs in K-12, and contributed to numerous research and evaluation projects, including studies of biliteracy development in two-way immersion programs and the evaluation of the STARTALK program which funds teacher training programs and language instruction for students in grades K-16 in critical languages.

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Margie McHugh is Director of the MPI's National Center on Immigrant Integration Policy. The Center is a national hub for leaders in government, community affairs, business and academia to obtain the insights and knowledge they need to respond to the challenges and opportunities that today's high rates of immigration pose for communities across the United States. It provides in-depth research, policy analysis, technical assistance, training and information resource services on a broad range of immigrant integration issues. Ms. McHugh's work focuses on education quality and access issues for immigrants and their children from early childhood through K-12 and adult, post-secondary and workforce skills programs. She also leads the Center's work seeking a more coordinated federal response to immigrant integration needs and impacts, and more workable systems for recognition of the education and work experience immigrants bring with them to the United States.

Prior to joining MPI, Ms. McHugh served for 15 years as Executive Director of The New York Immigration Coalition, an umbrella organization for over 150 groups in New York that uses research, policy development, and community mobilization efforts to achieve landmark integration policy and program initiatives. Prior to joining NYIC, Ms. McHugh served as Deputy Director of New York City’s 1990 Census Project and as Executive Assistant to New York Mayor Ed Koch's chief of staff.

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The Migration Policy Institute is a nonprofit, nonpartisan think tank dedicated to the study of the movement of people worldwide. MPI provides analysis, development, and evaluation of migration and refugee policies at the local, national, and international levels. It aims to meet the rising demand for pragmatic and thoughtful responses to the challenges and opportunities that large-scale migration, whether voluntary or forced, presents to communities and institutions in an increasingly integrated world.

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[^0]:    1 This report defines migrant-background students as all children who were born abroad, as well as native-born children with at least one immigrant parent (see Box 1).
    2 In this report, students without a migrant background are referred to as "native." For example, a native student in France was born and raised in France and so were both of his or her parents.
    3 School persistence refers to students remaining enrolled in an educational program over time, rather than leaving before they have completed their course of study-for example, a secondary-school diploma.

[^1]:    4 Eurostat, "Asylum Statistics," accessed March 22, 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum statistics.
    5 Government of Canada, "\#WelcomeRefugees: Canada Resettles Syrian Refugees," accessed June 7, 2016, www.cic.gc.ca/english/refugees/welcome/.
    6 U.S. Department of State, "The United States Announces Additional Pledges in Support of Syrian Refugees," (media note, March 30, 2016), www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2016/03/255304.htm.
    7 U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), "United States Border Patrol Southwest Family Unit Subject and Unaccompanied Alien Children Apprehensions Fiscal Year 2016," accessed June 6, 2016, www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/southwest-border-unaccompanied-children/fy-2016.
    8 Elżbieta M. Goździak, What Kind of Welcome? Integration of Central American Unaccompanied Children into Local Communities (Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of International Migration, Georgetown University, 2015), www.welcomingamerica. org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Kaplan-UAC-Report.pdf.
    9 In this report, the term "school district" is used when referring to a local unit of school administration.

[^2]:    10 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Equity and Quality in Education: Supporting Disadvantaged Students and Schools (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2014), http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264130852-en.

[^3]:    11 Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (The Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration or SVR), Deutschlands Wandel zum modernen Einwanderungsland. Jahresgutachten 2014 mit Integrationsbarometer (Berlin: SVR, 2014), 97-109, www.svr-migration.de/publikationen/jahresgutachten-2014/; David Murphey, The Academic Achievement of English Language Learners: Data for the U.S. and Each of the States (Bethesda, MD: Child Trends, 2013), www.childtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/2014-62AcademicAchievementEnglish.pdf; National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), "Common Core of Data (CCD)," updated September 2015, http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/tables/ ACGR RE and characteristics 2013-14.asp.

[^4]:    12 Manfred Prenzel, Christine Sälzer, Eckhard Klieme, and Olaf Köller, PISA 2012: Fortschritte und Herausforderungen in Deutschland (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2013), 284, www.pisa.tum.de/fileadmin/w00bgi/www/Berichtband und Zusammenfassung 2012/PISA EBook ISBN3001.pdf.
    13 The Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) is an international assessment of reading, math, and science given to a random sample of 15 -year-old students every three years.
    14 Prenzel, Sälzer, Klieme, and Köller, PISA 2012, 284.
    15 Susan Aud, Mary Ann Fox, and Angelina KewalRamani, Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups (Washington, DC: NCES, 2010), https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2010/2010015/indicator1 5.asp; Jörg Dollmann, Türkischstämmige Kinder am ersten Bildungsübergang: Primäre und sekundäre Herkunftseffekte (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010), 52; Prenzel, Sälzer, Klieme, and Köller, PISA 2012, 285.

    16 SVR calculation of data from Ina V.S. Mullis, Michael O. Martin, Pierre Foy, and Kathleen T. Drucker, PIRLS 2011 International Results in Reading (Chestnut Hill, MA: TIMSS \& PIRLS International Study Center, Boston College, 2012), http://timssandpirls. bc.edu/pirls2011/downloads/P11 IR FullBook.pdf.
    17 SVR calculation of data from Eckhard Klieme et al., eds., PISA 2009. Bilanz nach einem Jahrzehnt (Münster, Waxmann Verlag, 2010), 212, www.phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de/fileadmin/Redaktion/Institute/Sozialwissenschaften/BF/Lehre/Materialien/ Pisa/PISA 2009 Bilanz nach einem Jahrzehnt.pdf.
    18 NCES, " Common Core of Data (CCD)."

[^5]:    19 European Commission, "Europe 2020 Target: Early Leavers from Education and Training," accessed June 7, 2016, http:// ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/themes/29 early school leaving_02.pdf.
    20 Prenzel, Sälzer, Klieme, and Köller, PISA 2012, 285.
    21 Government of Canada, "Facts and Figures 2013 - Immigration Overview: Permanent Residents," accessed June 6, 2016, www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2013/permanent/11.asp.
    22 Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC), Immigrants in Canada: Does Socioeconomic Background Matter? (Toronto: CMEC, 2015), www.cmec.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/343/AMatters No9 EN.pdf.
    23 J. Lynn McBrien, "Educational Needs and Barriers for Refugee Students in the United States: A Review of the Literature," Review of Educational Research 75, no. 3 (2005); Deborah Nusche, "What Works in Migrant Education? A Review of Evidence and Policy Options" (OECD Education Working Papers no. 22, OECD Publishing, Paris, February 2009), http://dx.doi. org/10.1787/227131784531.

[^6]:    44 Ibid.
    45 SVR Research Unit "Ungleiches ungleich behandeln! Wege zu einer bedarfsorientierten Schulfinanzierung" (SVR Research Unit Policy Brief 01-2016, SVR, Berlin, 2016), www.svr-migration.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/BedarfsorientierteSchulfinanzierung.pdf.
    46 Nevertheless, the form of the fund may be restricted to a type of expense, such as in some German Länder where additional allotments only count toward teacher positions.
    47 However, there are differences across systems in the degree to which the uses of categorical funds are restricted and whether budgeting and monitoring processes ensure that schools and school districts account for these funds.
    48 Millard, State Funding Mechanisms.

[^7]:    49 Funds are allocated based on these and other concentration factors as well as the expert judgment of the regional representatives of the French National Education Ministry (récteurs). See Roland Bénabou, Francis Kramarz, and Corinne Prost, "The French Zones D'Éducation Prioritaire: Much Ado About Nothing?" Economics of Education Review 28 (2009), 347.
    50 Public Schools of North Carolina, "2013-14 Allotment Policy Manual," May 23, 2014, www.ncpublicschools.org/docs/fbs/allot-ments/general/2013-14policymanual.pdf.
    51 California Department of Education, "Local Control Funding Formula Overview," updated December 11, 2015, www.cde. ca.gov/fg/aa/lc/lcffoverview.asp.
    52 Minnesota Department of Education, "School Finance," accessed January 6, 2016, www.education.state.mn.us/MDE/SchSup/ SchFin/index.html.

[^8]:    53 With the notable exception of Ontario; see Appendix.
    54 In fact, U.S. schools cannot use recency of immigration as a means of identifying students for support, as civil-rights regulations prohibit school personnel from asking students or families about their immigration status. See U.S. Department of Justice and U.S. Department of Education, "Information on the Rights of All Children to Enroll in School: Questions and Answers for States, School Districts and Parents," updated May 8, 2014, www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2014/05/08/plylerqa.pdf.

[^9]:    55 U.S. Department of Justice and U.S. Department of Education, Dear Colleague Letter: English Learner Students and Limited English Proficient Parents (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice and U.S. Department of Education, 2015), www2.ed.gov/ about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-el-201501.pdf.
    56 Additional details can be found in the Appendix.
    57 The majority of schools in the three focal provinces of Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario use English as the main language of instruction; however, some immigrants attend French-medium schools.

[^10]:    58 This description of French supplementary funding does not include direct funding by the Ministry of National Education of special language classes and language support that serve some non-Francophone newcomers. As the Ministry reports that non-Francophone students made up only 0.56 percent of the primary and secondary student population in 2014-15, the authors considered the priority education zones (zones d'éducation prioritaire) to be a more significant example of supplementary funding for migrant-background students. See Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, "Année Scolaire 2014-2015: 52500 élèves allophones scolarisés dont 15300 l'étaient déjà l'année précédente," October 2015, www.education.gouv.fr/cid58968/annee-scolaire-2014-2015-52-500-eleves-allophones-scolaris-es-dont-15-300-l-etaient-deja-l-annee-precedente.html.
    59 Bénabou, Kramarz, and Prost, "The French Zones D'Éducation Prioritaire," 345-56.
    60 SVR Research Unit, "Ungleiches ungleich behandeln!"
    61 Ibid.

[^11]:    62 Timothy Boals, Dorry M. Kenyon, Alissa Blair, M. Elizabeth Cranley, Carsten Wilmes, and Laura J. Wright, "Transformation in K-12 English Language Proficiency Assessment: Changing Contexts, Changing Constructs," Review of Research in Education 39, no. 1 (2015): 122-64.
    63 There are ongoing debates in the field of English language development about the precise definition of academic language, but most writers use this term to refer to the linguistic knowledge and skills necessary for demonstrating academic content knowledge on grade-level assessments as compared to the linguistic demands of everyday conversation; see Boals, Kenyon, Blair, Cranley, Wilmes, and Wright, "Transformation in K-12 English Language Proficiency Assessment."
    64 H. Gary Cook, Timothy Boals, and Todd Lundberg, "Academic Achievement for English Learners: What Can We Reasonably Expect?" Phi Delta Kappan 93, no. 3 (2011): 66-69. By federal law, states must set exit criteria that ensure that the performance of former language learners on mainstream state standardized tests is "more related to content knowledge than to language proficiency." See Cook, Boals, and Lundberg, "Academic Achievement," 67.
    65 Colorado Department of Education, Understanding Senate Bill 13-213: Proposed Future School Finance Act (Denver, CO: Colorado Department of Education, 2013), www.cde.state.co.us/cdefinance/understanding-sb213.

[^12]:    66 Patricia Gándara and Russell W. Rumberger, "Resource Needs for California’s English Learners" in Getting Down to Facts (Stanford: Center for Education Policy Analysis, Stanford University, 2007), http://cepa.stanford.edu/content/resource-needs-california\%E2\%80\%99s-english-learners.

[^13]:    67 Toronto District School Board, "Newcomers - Students," accessed March 17, 2016, www.tdsb.on.ca/Newcomers/Students. aspx.
    68 Vancouver School Board, "Engaged Immigrant Youth Program (EIYP)," accessed March 17, 2016, http://go.vsb.bc.ca/ schools/drpc/community/eiyp/Pages/default.aspx.

[^14]:    74 DaZnet - Netzwerk für Deutsch als Zweit- und Bildungssprache, Mehrsprachigkeit und Interkulturelle Kompetenz ("school collaboration network for German as a second language and academic language, multilingualism and intercultural competences").
    75 Bildung durch Sprache und Schrift (BISS) ("education through speech and writing").
    76 Bénabou, Kramarz, and Prost, "The French Zones D'Éducation Prioritaire."
    77 Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, "Refonder l'éducation prioritaire," accessed March 22, 2016, www.education.gouv.fr/cid76427/refonder-education-prioritaire.html.
    78 Jana Echevarría, Deborah Short, and Kristin Powers, "School Reform and Standards-Based Education: A Model for EnglishLanguage Learners," Journal of Educational Research 99, no. 4 (2006): 195-210.

[^15]:    87 This might include data about students' language proficiency and whether they come from a low-income household or outcome data on student achievement, including graduation rates and information on postsecondary activities.

[^16]:    88 Information for Alberta section comes from Alberta Education, Funding Manual for School Authorities 2015/2016 School Year (Edmonton, Alberta: Alberta Education, 2015), https://education.alberta.ca/admin/funding/manual/.
    89 CBC News, "Alberta Trims Funding for English as a Second Language Programs," updated March 19, 2013, www.cbc.ca/news/ canada/edmonton/alberta-trims-funding-for-english-as-a-second-language-programs-1.1372860.
    90 Information on British Columbia comes from British Columbia Ministry of Education, "English Language Learning;" British Columbia Ministry of Education, "Operating Grants Manual: 2015/16, 2016/17, 2017/18," updated March 2015, www.bced. gov.bc.ca/k12funding/funding/15-16/operating-grants-manual.pdf.

[^17]:    91 Information for this Ontario section comes from Ontario Ministry of Education, "2015-16 Education Funding: A Guide to the Grants for Students Needs," 2015, www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/funding/1516/2015GSNguideEN.pdf; Ontario Ministry of Education, Education Funding: Technical Paper 2014-15 (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 2014), www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/ funding/1415/Technical14 15.pdf; Ontario Ministry of Education, "English as a Second Language/English Skills Development (ESL/ESD): Questions and Answers," accessed February 4, 2016, efis.fma.csc.gov.on.ca/faab/QsandAsESL.htm.
    92 Since its inception in 1982, the funding program has been reformed and renames multiple times. Nevertheless, it is still commonly referred to as zones d'éducation prioritaire.

[^18]:    93 Direction Générale de l'Enseignement Scolaire (DGESCO), Repères pour l'Analyse de Gestion (Paris: DGESCO, 2014).
    94 Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, "L'Éducation Prioritaire," accessed November 9, 2015, www.education.gouv.fr/cid187/l-education-prioritaire.html.
    95 Bénabou, Kramarz, and Prost, "The French Zones D’Éducation Prioritaire."
    96 Germany's 16 states all provide supplementary funding for teaching refugees and other newcomers, who by and large first enroll in language-learner-only classrooms before gradually joining general education classrooms. Most Länder operate separate categorical programs to support newly arrived students with next to no German language skills. However, given the high number of newcomers in the 2015-16 school year, many Länder chose to meet the unexpected needs by allocating additional teaching resources ad hoc and outside of established funding mechanisms. This report focuses on established mechanisms that target the vast majority of migrant-background students.
    97 Information for the Bavaria section comes from SVR Research Unit, "Ungleiches ungleich behandeln!"
    98 Petra Stanat, Hans Anand Pant, Katrin Böhme, Dirk Richter, Kompetenzen von Schülerinnen und Schülern am Ende der vierten Jahrgangsstufe in den Fächern Deutsch und Mathematik. Ergebnisse des IQB-Ländervergleichs 2011 (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2012), 213.

[^19]:    99 The city of Berlin is one of Germany's 16 states (Länder) and as such has legislative authority over its primary and secondary education system.
    100 Information on Berlin comes from SVR Research Unit, "Ungleiches ungleich behandeln!"
    101 This indicator is similar to the free and reduced-price meals metric used by policymakers in the United States. Eligibility for free textbooks and other learning materials applies to asylum seekers and welfare recipients, among others.
    102 Information for the Hesse section comes from SVR Research Unit, "Ungleiches ungleich behandeln!"
    103 Along with three other states: Bremen, Hamburg, and North Rhine-Westphalia.

[^20]:    104 Information on California in this section comes from the California Department of Education, "LCFF Frequently Asked Questions," updated December 22, 2015, www.cde.ca.gov/fg/aa/lc/lcfffaq.asp; Mac Taylor, Updated: An Overview of the Local Control Funding Formula (Sacramento, CA: Legislative Analyst's Office, 2013), www.lao.ca.gov/reports/2013/edu/lcff/lcff072913.pdf.

    105 Information on Colorado in this section comes from Colorado Department of Education, "English Language Proficiency Act (ELPA)," accessed January 8, 2016, www.cde.state.co.us/cde english/elpa.

[^21]:    106 Information for New York in this section comes from New York State Education Department, "Contracts for Excellence;" New York State Education Department, "Office of Bilingual Education and World Languages," accessed November 16, 2015, www.p12.nysed.gov/biling/; New York State Education Department, State Aid to Schools A Primer Pursuant to Laws of 2014 (Albany, NY: New York State Education Department, 2014), www.oms.nysed.gov/faru/PDFDocuments/Primer14-15.pdf.

