

Journal of Social Intervention: Theory and Practice –
2023 – Volume 32, Issue 2, pp. 45–58
<http://doi.org/10.18352/jsi.766>

ISSN: 1876-8830

URL: <http://www.journalsi.org>

Publisher: Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences
Open Access Journals

Copyright: this work has been published under a
Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No
Derivative Works 3.0 Netherlands License

Isabel Berman (MSc) heeft de master 'Ethics of Education: philosophy, history and law' gevolgd. Ze werkt nu bij de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen als docent Psychologie en als onderzoeker bij het project 'Leren Stimuleren!'.

Correspondence to: Isabel Berman

E-mail: isabel.berman@hotmail.com

Category: STUDENT WORK

JUST LIKE ANY STUDENT: FACILITATING FACTORS FOR THE TRANSITION FROM INTERNATIONAL CONNECTION CLASSES (ISK) TO DUTCH SECONDARY EDUCATION

ISABEL BERMAN

ABSTRACT

Young newcomers in the Netherlands from the age of twelve often start their education in International Connection Classes (*Internationale Schakelklas*; ISK), where they learn Dutch and get acquainted with the Dutch education system. Afterwards, they can transfer to a secondary school. Students often enroll in lower levels of secondary education than their cognitive capacities would allow. Moreover, they are getting used to a new school while also getting used to a new host country. This could impede the newcomer's chances to full participation and development. The Capability Approach and Biesta's interdependent functions of education call for additional measures to be taken for minorities, in line with an equity stance.

THE TRANSITION FROM ISK TO SECONDARY SCHOOL

This phenomenological study investigated which factors could facilitate the transition to secondary education for young newcomers. A document review was conducted and four ($n = 4$) ISK-experts and seven ($n = 7$) former ISK-students were interviewed.

The results of the study point out that an individualized school culture and social support are key to assure a smooth transition to the new school. The conclusion of this study is that young newcomers wish to be 'just' a student, but in reality they are not. They need additional support with getting used to the new school. Minimal measures are recommended in order to appreciate young newcomers' needs to not stand out, but nevertheless have support available.

KEYWORDS

ISK, newcomers, secondary education, social justice, equal chances, equality

SAMENVATTING

Jonge nieuwkomers vanaf 12 jaar starten hun schoolloopbaan in Nederland vaak in een Internationale Schakelklas (ISK), waar zij Nederlands leren en kennis maken met het Nederlandse onderwijssysteem. Na de ISK maken ze de overstap naar het voortgezet onderwijs. Meestal stromen leerlingen door naar een lager niveau dan je zou mogen verwachten op basis van hun cognitieve mogelijkheden. Daarbij moeten deze leerlingen niet alleen wennen aan een nieuwe school, maar ook aan hun nieuwe gastland. Dit kan hun kansen beperken om volledig te participeren en tot ontwikkeling te komen. De Capability Approach en Biesta's onderling afhankelijke functies van onderwijs vragen om aanvullende maatregelen voor minderheden, zodat het principe van gelijkheid gewaarborgd kan worden.

In deze fenomenologische studie is onderzocht welke factoren de overgang van jonge nieuwkomers van de ISK naar het voortgezet onderwijs kunnen faciliteren. Daartoe is een documentreview uitgevoerd en zijn vier ISK experts en zeven oud-ISK leerlingen geïnterviewd.

Het onderzoek wijst uit dat een individueel gerichte schoolcultuur en sociale steun de belangrijkste factoren zijn die bijdragen aan een soepele overstap naar een nieuwe school. De conclusie van dit onderzoek is dat nieuwkomers graag 'gewoon' een leerling willen zijn, maar dit in werkelijkheid niet zijn. Jonge nieuwkomers hebben extra ondersteuning nodig bij het wennen aan een nieuwe school. De aanbeveling is om minimale maatregelen te nemen die rekening houden met de

behoefte van nieuwkomers om niet als 'bijzonder' gekenmerkt te worden, maar die leerlingen wel ondersteuning bieden.

TREFWOORDEN

Internationale Schakelklas, ISK, nieuwkomers, voortgezet onderwijs, gelijke kansen, sociale rechtvaardigheid

INTRODUCTION

All children in the Netherlands, including 'newcomers', have the right to education and are obliged to go to school (United Nations, 1989). The term 'newcomer' includes anyone that was not born in the Netherlands but moved there indefinitely.

Young newcomers face issues concerning acculturation and, like any teenager, major physical and mental changes. Peer relationships and autonomy grow increasingly more important and internal processes such as growing self-awareness, insecurity and identity formation persevere (Titzmann & Lee, 2018). Developmental and acculturation challenges can meet in identity formation. Newcomers can feel as if they have lost part of their identity due to the adjustments in the migration period (Meda, 2017). They often struggle with finding a balance between maintaining old cultural traditions while adopting new ones, resulting in a blend of cultures in the process (Rousseau, Drapeau & Platt, 2004).

These aforementioned challenges can amount to significant distress. Surrounding environments (such as schools) can play a substantial role in providing additional resources (Ungar, 2011). This may result in a redistributive effect, aiding personal development and reducing their innate disadvantage. Schools can also provide the opportunity for newcomers to practice their autonomy and learn more about the new culture which could aid in their identity formation (Looman, 2016; Van Willigen, 2009).

Functions of education and the capability approach

Biesta (2009) proposed three interrelated functions of education; qualification, socialization, and subjectification. Where these three functions meet, education could ensure equality of outcomes next to equality of opportunity (Biesta, 2009). For newcomers, qualification requires acquiring

THE TRANSITION FROM ISK TO SECONDARY SCHOOL

skills to be able to participate in the labor market (Biesta, 2009; Dagevos, Odé, Beckers & Vries, 2018). Socialization requires developing skills to be able to integrate in the host society (Biesta, 2009; Pels, 2012). Further, integration in society affects newcomers' identity formation (i.e., subjectification; Biesta, 2009; Meda, 2017). Neglecting one of the educational functions could impede a newcomer's opportunity to participate fully in the new host society. Therefore, it is key to consider them interdependently. Fulfilling these functions for newcomers could entail providing additional resources.

The Capability Approach (CA) emphasizes the need for additional resources for minority groups. According to Sen's CA (1999, 2009), capabilities are the opportunities for individuals to develop their valued 'functionings'. In the context of the CA, functionings are the desired beings and doings of a person. To attain a functioning, resources need to be converted. However, inequalities lead to diminished capacities to convert (Hart, 2012; Walker, 2006).

The CA emphasizes the importance of education for young newcomers. It is an environment to overcome injustice and can thus have a redistributive effect (Sen, 1999, 2009; Walker, 2006). Nevertheless, if not given enough support with resource conversion, it can also lead to effects of stereotype threat (i.e., conforming to the stereotype of your social group once confronted with it; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Individuals adapt their choice of functionings to their external circumstances (Nussbaum, 2000). This could lead to young newcomers not following their truly valued functionings, and therefore to facing capability deprivation (Nussbaum, 2000; Unterhalter, 2003). This exemplifies the need for additional support with the conversion of resources to foster both equality of opportunity, and equality of outcomes (Biesta, 2009; Fraser, 2008). Moreover, the CA demonstrates that each individual will function differently (Walker, 2006). Therefore, it is important to hear the individual voices of young newcomers to create a more comprehensive overview of their needs in education.

Education for newcomers in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, newcomers between the age of 12 and 18 start their education in an International Connection Class (*Internationale Schakelklas*; ISK). The ISK offers all children who do not speak Dutch at a sufficient level the opportunity to proceed to regular Dutch follow-up education. In the ISK, newcomer children follow intensive Dutch classes and other subjects that are relevant for their follow-up education. Moreover, the ISK aids with integration into Dutch society (Thomas, 2016). Students follow one of three different learning routes based on their

age, competencies, and fluency in the Dutch language (Le Pichon, Baauw & Van Erning, 2016; LOWAN, 2017). After finishing the ISK, students can directly start working or they can transfer to regular Dutch education. This includes Vocational Schools (*MBO*), or a secondary education track ranging from a 'lower' practical level (*vmbo*) to a 'higher' theoretical level (*vwo*).

Newcomer children have less opportunity for participation in society than Dutch children (Dagevos *et al.*, 2018; Onderwijsraad, 2017). This could be interpreted as an impediment to the newcomers' chances to full participation (Fraser, 2008; Unterhalter, 2003). It is important to identify which factors contribute to this identified disparity. Dagevos and colleagues (2018) specifically mention the troublesome transition from the ISK to follow-up education as a contributing factor. For example, more than one in three ISK-students are placed in education tracks within Dutch secondary education that do not suit their cognitive capacities. This is often attributed to their level of Dutch not being sufficient (VO-raad, 2016). Due to extra challenges newcomers have to face in their transition from ISK to secondary education, capability deprivation could arise (Unterhalter, 2003).

So far, identifying factors that complicate the transition from ISK to secondary education has been the main focus of research. Investigating factors that support newcomers and improve their experience of this transition is however also important, because it appreciates the young newcomers' resilience. This study, therefore, aims to focus mainly on the facilitating factors in the transition from ISK to secondary education. It explores the experiences of the young newcomers and puts forward their individual voices. By doing so it acknowledges their growing need for autonomy. Emphasizing their voice actively involves them in the improvement of their experience. In the context of the present study, facilitating factors concern factors that ease the experience of the transition.

METHODS

The present study examined the research question through phenomenological qualitative research methods. A phenomenological approach aims to seek the essence of a lived experience (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015).

In order to understand the transition procedure, and to discern facilitating and impeding factors, a document analysis and interviews with ISK-experts were conducted. Documents were obtained primarily from the website of LOWAN. LOWAN is an organization that supports schools that

THE TRANSITION FROM ISK TO SECONDARY SCHOOL

organize newcomer education. The documents contained information about the general procedure for the transfer to secondary education, tools to use in follow-up education, and suggestions for interventions to implement in this transfer.

In addition to a document review, four semi-structured interviews were conducted with experts connected to three different ISK-schools. The experts had varying roles, namely, as ambulatory supervisor, dean, care coordinator, and transition coach and mentor. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed together with the documents using an approach in accordance with Creswell (2011). Facilitating and impeding factors were identified by going back and forth between the transcripts and documents. An inductive analysis was conducted to identify themes based on the identified facilitating and impeding factors (Creswell, 2011). These themes included school culture, knowledge on newcomer education in secondary schools, communication between schools, the student, and support for the student.

To investigate the students' experiences, seven former ISK-students, who made the transition to secondary education, were interviewed. The students were from three different schools, one in Groningen and two in Drenthe. The interviews were conducted in Dutch. They were transcribed and a thematic analysis using open coding was conducted, following the steps of Braun and Clarke (2006). Themes derived from this analysis included social-emotional, individual attention teachers, preparation ISK and lack of Dutch stimulation in ISK classes relating to contact with native or ethnic peers.

The researcher

The researcher (Dutch, 20s, White, middle-class) aimed to keep in mind her particular lens with which she would conduct the present study. For example, open coding allowed to stay closer to the former ISK-students' experiences. Moreover, triangulation was employed by exploring the experience of the transition through different perspectives; that of ISK-experts, students and documents. This increased validity, and reduced the influence of bias (Flick, 2018).

RESULTS

Facilitating factors found in the documents and interviews with experts and students related to school factors and personal factors. Together the factors can be put into two overarching facilitating themes, namely, individualized education and social support.

Individualized education

In the context of this study, individualized education entails adhering to a set curriculum, but utilizing the flexibility of the system to tailor it to each student's needs at that time (VO-raad, 2018). An individualized approach requires being aware of each student's needs, competencies, and challenges.

The students highly praised ISK-teachers, particularly due to their individualized focus. Students mentioned that it was easier to approach teachers when they were somewhat aware of their story. Reaching out did not have to be a big gesture:

Also in the last moment, when they explained something to everyone, and everyone understood, and then they still ask me in the end: did you understand? I say: 'yes, I did'. That was everything to me when they asked that (student).

The transition to secondary schools, described by the experts and Van der Grinten, Muller, Hajer & Kerkhoff (2021), can be rigid; sometimes students go from a 'warm shower' to a 'cold bath'. The transition requires flexibility from the students and the school staff. Individualized school cultures are more likely to allow this flexibility (LOWAN & ITTA, 2020). Often, newcomers need a longer adjustment period than the average student. ISK-students mentioned that their classes in secondary school were very different and much busier than in ISK-schools. Moreover, many transfer to secondary school at an older age than their Dutch peers. This affected their motivation and connection with the students. Experts emphasized the importance of taking into account the longer adjustment period that newcomer students face:

It takes, also for Dutch children that did not transfer from an ISK-school, at least until fall to find some friends and get used to the school. Don't penalize the students immediately, Dutch children sometimes also get an introduction period where grades don't count yet, just give them some time (Mentor/Transition coach).

An example of such flexibility and individualized focus are partial transitions or short internships. With these, ISK-students participate in the secondary school for a certain period of time before transferring (Azouagh, 2017; Van der Grinten *et al.*, 2021). According to students, this helped with easing the transition and feeling more comfortable with speaking Dutch.

THE TRANSITION FROM ISK TO SECONDARY SCHOOL

Knowledge about newcomer students is often lacking in secondary schools (Azouagh, 2017; VO-raad, 2018). Warm transitions are implemented in order to inform the receiving school about the newcomer student. This includes a file on the student's performance, goals, and wellbeing (LOWAN, 2017). Often, this file does not reach the correct staff members due to strained communication. Students would consequently be in classes where the teacher was unaware of their background:

B: Yes they think like: 'oh we're in the Netherlands already for a few years or maybe born here'. They think we were in primary school and stuff, that's not the case.

A: But wasn't always bad, we could do normal (student).

According to ISK-teachers, collaboration with a school that has an individualized culture eases the communication and transition process. These schools are more likely to take the initiative to gather enough information on the student.

Social support

Students are hesitant to speak up due to language insecurities. They mentioned that it is easier to ask questions to peers. As long as they would make friends, they felt that the transition would be fine. Their ethnic peers provided a shared experience and understanding, whereas their native Dutch peers helped them with language development and adjustment. However, they sometimes felt split between the two cultures, and who they should be friends with:

I think it's a culture-thing, because if you... you get used to... when you're here you also get used to Dutch culture, but if you find someone that is like you, same culture as you, well... then I think you rather go with that (student).

ISK-teachers mentioned that support is often seen as a big obstacle by secondary schools and might even be at the root of secondary schools' hesitance to admit newcomer students (Azouagh, 2017; VO-raad, 2016). Secondary schools sometimes implement 'big' interventions, such as buddy projects, without following up on their effectiveness. In theory, it is exactly what a newcomer student needs, namely, a new Dutch friend. In practice, experts explained that the buddies are also teenagers that might find it awkward or get tired of it at some point. Instead, they advise appointing certain students that the newcomer students can specifically

turn to with their questions. Interventions do not have to take place on a big scale. Rather, just having an appointed group of students they can always turn to, is of big importance. Students mentioned it was helpful if they had clearly appointed staff members or peers to turn to with their questions. All in all, social support was of vital importance for the transition to go well for them.

Despite sometimes being perceived as an added workload, newcomer students seem to benefit most from minimal measures, such as check-up questions at the end of the lesson. Additional support and flexibility seem to be necessary in order to create a safe learning environment for them.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present study focused on the question: What are facilitating factors for the transition of newcomers from International Connection Classes (ISK) to Dutch secondary education? The results emphasized the importance of individualized education and social support for the transition from an ISK-school to a secondary school. The students go through an adjustment period like any student that would transfer to a new school. However, due to additional challenges such as language insecurities, separation from friends, and balancing their ethnic and national identity, this period might be prolonged.

Individualized education is key in considering that adjustment. As aforementioned, the transition to a new school brings forth several challenges. As a result, the ability of these students to keep up with school may be hindered. For example, newcomer students expressed that they can be hesitant to speak up in class due to language insecurities. Not feeling safe enough to speak up due to the inherent organization of the secondary school could indicate capability deprivation (Unterhalter, 2003). As a result, the newcomer's opportunity for class participation becomes diminished compared to their native peers. Teenagers place incremental value on autonomy (Titzmann & Lee, 2018). Ensuring a safe learning environment appreciates this need as it creates opportunity for the students to approach teachers themselves. Students emphasized that approaching teachers would become less challenging once they were aware of their story, and the individualized focus in ISK-schools was fondly recalled. This emphasizes the importance of an individualized school culture for a safe learning environment. Expertise centers could further investigate factors that ensure a safe learning environment in secondary schools (e.g., Ithaka & Sardes, 2019).

THE TRANSITION FROM ISK TO SECONDARY SCHOOL

Experts emphasized that it was easier to collaborate with a school with a similar individualized culture, as they gathered relevant information about the student themselves. Understanding the student's needs, in turn, gives opportunity to tailor to the student's needs (Bakker, 2017). The CA highlights the need for additional support for minorities (Hart, 2012; Sen, 1999, 2009; Walker, 2006). Each student has specific needs within an education system. It is important that expertise centers continue informing secondary schools on newcomer student needs and of specific measures implemented in ISK-schools that could be useful in secondary schools. Experts mentioned that secondary schools believed they were not able to provide the amounts of support they thought newcomer students might need. More awareness of the small-scale effective interventions and tools could change secondary schools' expectations. Young newcomers have access to schooling like any other Dutch minor (United Nations, 1989). However, without additional support, access does not ensure valued outcomes for young newcomers. Individualized education provides a safe learning environment in which newcomers can autonomously participate.

Students emphasized that everything was easier once they made friends. Indeed, peer relationships play an important role in guiding identity formation and also significantly contribute to resilience and greater self-esteem (Burgos, Al-Adeimi & Brown, 2019; Rousseau *et al.*, 2004; Thomas & Daubman, 2001; Titzmann & Lee, 2018; Ungar, 2011). However, ISK-students expressed that they felt split between wanting more contact with Dutch peers and feeling the need for contact with their ethnic peers. This could indicate that ISK-students foster assimilation ideals instead of acculturation ideals (i.e., leaving one's ethnic culture behind instead of finding a balance between both), often associated with negative mental health consequences (Frazer, Rubens, Johnson-Motoyama, DiPierro & Fite, 2017). Identity formation is a particularly layered challenge for newcomers trying to balance their ethnic and national identity (Rousseau *et al.*, 2004). Guidance with identity formation is an interdependent function of education. Attention toward subjectification could prevent capability deprivation for young newcomers getting used to a new school and host society (Biesta, 2009; Unterhalter, 2003). In line with Biesta's interdependent functions, instead of emphasizing on adapting to a new system, it seems of greater importance to guide the newcomer in finding their place within their host society. Contact with both national and ethnic peers can aid with finding a balanced national and ethnic identity (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). In turn, a healthy balance contributes to improved psychological and sociocultural integration (Berry *et al.*, 2006). Future research should consider how the ISK could foster this balance. Despite secondary schools often perceiving newcomer students as needing significant additional support, students mentioned that measures as simple as knowing whom to turn to with

specific questions were greatly valued. Thus, social support could prevent capability deprivation because newcomers are supported in their identity formation, which decreases the weight of the challenges they have to face in a new school environment and host country (Unterhalter, 2003).

All in all, the current study contributed to the literature an empowering view on newcomers' transition to a new school environment. The focus on facilitating factors rather than on impeding factors is an addition to the existing literature that primarily points out the shortcomings of the current procedure. Additionally, it appreciates the newcomer's autonomy and resilience. By triangulating perspectives, a comprehensive overview was created of the current procedure. Moreover, the study demonstrated that newcomer students very often do well, but nevertheless need guidance in order to work toward equality of valued outcomes next to equality of opportunity. Individualized education and social support are key to realizing this.

Limitations and future research

First of all, this was a small-scaled study. Considering that procedures for the transition differ significantly from school to school, the present study is not representative for the experiences of students throughout the Netherlands. Secondly, participating students were selected by their former ISK-teachers. Teachers might select students that talk easily about their experiences, and therefore might primarily be the 'success stories'. However, their 'success stories' were able to shed more light on the facilitating factors they experienced. This was beneficial to the aim of the present study. Thirdly, future research could contrast the experiences of ISK-experts with that of secondary school teachers. The latter were not included in this study. Fourthly, as aforementioned, the researcher is not from a minority background. This could have affected how the former ISK-students talked about their experiences. For example, there could be a perceived power imbalance when talking to minority teenagers (Bassett, Beagan, Ristovski-Slijepcevic & Chapman, 2008). When thinking of difficulties in the transition, students often thought it was easier to talk about their friends' experiences than about their own. This could suggest that they did not want to speak badly of how they experienced the transition in the researcher's presence. Lastly, the phenomenological nature of the present study could be a limitation. As the aim was to capture the essence of newcomer students' experiences, it could be called into question whether a researcher from a majority background is able to capture that essence. Nevertheless, through including the voice of young newcomers and triangulation of perspectives, the researcher aimed to get closer to that essence.

REFERENCES

- Azouagh, S. (2017). *Schoolloopbanen nieuwkomers: Een verkennend onderzoek naar de schoolloopbaan van nieuwkomers*. Utrecht: Inspectie van het Onderwijs.
- Bakker, M. (2017). Overgang ISK naar VO: Aansluiting verbeterd met warme overdracht. *LBRT Tijdschrift voor remedial teaching*, 02, 12–15.
- Bassett, R., Beagan, B. L., Ristovski-Slijepcevic, S., & Chapman, G. E. (2008). Tough teens: The methodological challenges of interviewing teenagers as research participants. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 23(2), 119–131. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558407310733>
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 55, 303–332. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.2006.00256.x>
- Biesta, G. (2009). Good education in an age of measurement: On the need to reconnect with the question of purpose in education. *Educational Assessment, Evaluation and Accountability*, 21(1), 33–46. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11092-008-9064-9>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp0630a>
- Burgos, M., Al-Adeimi, M., & Brown, J. (2019). Needs of newcomer youth. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 36(4), 429–437. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-018-0571-3>
- Creswell, J. W. (2011). *Qualitative inquiry & research design* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dagevos, J., Odé, A., Beckers, P., & Vries, K. (Eds.). (2018). *Nieuwe wegen voor vluchtelingen in Nederland: Over opvang, integratie en beleid*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Flick, U. (2018). *An introduction to qualitative research* (6th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.
- Fraser, N. (2008). *Scales of justice: Reimagining political space in a globalizing world*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Frazer, A. L., Rubens, S., Johnson-Motoyama, M., DiPierro, M., & Fite, P. J. (2017). Acculturation dissonance, acculturation strategy, depressive symptoms, and delinquency in latina/o adolescents. *Child & Youth Care Forum: Journal of Research and Practice in Children's Services*, 46(1), 19–33. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10566-016-9367-9>
- Hart, C. S. (2012). The capability approach and education. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42(3), 275–282. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764X.2012.706393>
- Ithaka & Sardes. (2019). *Yes! Een nieuwkomer in de klas. Nieuwkomersleerlingen in het Voortgezet Onderwijs*. Utrecht: Ithaka Internationale Schakelklassen.
- Le Pichon, E., Baauw, R., & Van Erning, S. (2016). *EDINA project, country rapport*. Retrieved from <https://edinaplatform.eu>

- Looman, B. (2016). De zorgvraag van vluchtelingenkinderen. *Jgz Tijdschrift Voor Jeugdgezondheidszorg*, 48(5), 96–97. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12452-016-0072-8>
- LOWAN. (2017). *Toelichting doorstroomdossier ISK – vervolgonderwijs*. Retrieved from <https://www.lowan.nl/vo/doorstroom/>
- LOWAN & ITTA. (2020). *Doorstroom van ISK naar regulier onderwijs (in 'coronatijsd')*. Retrieved from <https://www.lowan.nl/vo/nieuws/doorstroom-in-coronatijsd/>
- Meda, L. (2017). A journey without planned destination: Traumatic transmigration experiences of refugee children. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 18(1), 131–142. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-016-0477-x>
- Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. J. (2015). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated.
- Nussbaum, M. (2000). *Women and human development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Onderwijsraad. (2017). *Vluchtelingen en onderwijs*. Den Haag: Onderwijsraad.
- Pels, T. (2012). Diversiteit en de pedagogische functie van het onderwijs. *Pedagogiek*, 32(2), 180–195. <https://doi.org/10.5117/PED2012.2.PELS>
- Rousseau, C., Drapeau, A., & Platt, R. (2004). Family environment and emotional and behavioural symptoms in adolescent Cambodian refugees: Influence of time, gender, and acculturation. *Medicine, Conflict & Survival*, 20(2), 151–165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1362369042000234735>
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sen, A. (2009). *The idea of justice*. London: Penguin.
- Steele, C., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal Of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(5), 797–811. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0022-3514.69.5.797>
- Thomas, R. L. (2016). The right to quality education for refugee children through social inclusion. *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work*, 1(4), 193–201. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41134-016-0022-z>
- Thomas, J. J., & Daubman, K. A. (2001). The relationship between friendship quality and self-esteem in adolescent girls and boys. *Sex Roles*, 45, 53–65. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1013060317766>
- Titzmann, P. F., & Lee, R. M. (2018). Adaptation of young immigrants: A developmental perspective on acculturation research. *European Psychologist*, 23(1), 72–82. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1016-9040/a000313>
- United Nations. (1989). *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>

- Unterhalter, E. (2003). The Capabilities Approach and gendered education: An examination of South African complexities. *Theory and Research in Education*, 1(1), 7–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1477878503001001002>
- Ungar, M. (2011). The social ecology of resilience: Addressing contextual and cultural ambiguity of a nascent construct. *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 81(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.2010.01067.x>
- Van der Grinten, M., Muller, P., Hajer, M., & Kerkhoff, A. (2021). *Nieuwkomers in het voortgezet onderwijs*. Retrieved from <https://www.vo-raad.nl/nieuws/nieuw-deel-handreiking-onderwijs-aan-nieuwkomers-verschenen-taal-talen-en-talenten>
- Van Willigen, L. H. M. (2009). Zorg voor gevluchte kinderen. *Bijblijven*, 25(4), 23–30. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03087641>
- VO-raad. (2016). Asielkind leert onder zijn niveau. Retrieved from <https://www.vo-raad.nl/nieuws/asielkind-leert-onder-zijn-niveau>
- VO-raad. (2018). *Meer kansen met maatwerk voor nieuwkomersleerlingen*. Utrecht: VO-raad.
- Walker, M. (2006). Towards a capability-based theory of social justice for education policy-making. *Journal of Education Policy*, 21(2), 163–185. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930500500245>

*Dit onderzoek is mede tot stand gekomen dankzij de kundige en betrokken begeleiding van Dr. Josje van der Linden.