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Kamaev, Artem; Tovar García, Edgar Demetrio

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Educational achievements of migrant schoolchildren in Moscow

Artem Kamaev and Edgar Demetrio Tovar-García¹

National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation

Abstract

This article examines how migrant background influences educational outcomes of schoolchildren in Moscow and its *oblast* (region). We use logit regressions for panel data, over the years 2010 to 2013, taken from the Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS-HSE). As dependent variable we use educational progress approached by school grades as reported by parents or adult relatives. In addition, our econometric specification includes control variables such as socioeconomic status, type of school, health issues, gender, and age, to test the impact of migration status on the probability of being classified as a successful or unsuccessful student. The findings suggest that there is no difference between migrant and native schoolchildren, that is, migration background does not influence the educational achievements of pupils. On the other hand, as we expected, socioeconomic status has a negative impact on the probability of being classified an unsuccessful student. Boys have lower probabilities than girls of being classified as excellent students. Attendance of public regular schools negatively affects the probability of being an excellent student, health issues do not significantly affect the academic performance, while older students are low-performing.

Keywords: migration background; educational achievement; logit regression; Moscow

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1. Introduction

After the collapse of the USSR, the Russian Federation came under a rising flood of immigrants who principally came from the former Soviet republics. According to the Russian Federal Migration Service (FMS) from 1991 to 2000, over 8.5 million migrants arrived to Russia for permanent residence, and the net migration reached 4.7 million. Between the years 2001 and 2010, the figures are lower, but still very relevant, around 2.3 million migrants arrived to Russia for permanent residence, and the net migration amounted to 1.5 million. Thus, Russia became a large center of attraction for migrants, thanks to better economic conditions in comparison with the neighbouring countries.

It is important to note that many of these migrants illegally live and work in the major Russian cities. Moscow agglomerates the economic and political resources of the Russian Federation, and it is the most attractive city for internal and international migrants. According to the Federal Migration Service, over 2.5 million migrants live in the Moscow region, and according to the population census 2010 every second resident of Moscow aged 25-30 did not live in the city in 1989. Approximately 10% of migrants come from other countries, but half of them are Russians. Many of these migrants arrived with their families, and the FMS suggests that 70 thousand children of migrants are living in Moscow. According to estimations of the Department of Education, about 30 thousand children of foreign nationals studied in Moscow schools in 2012.

Many are the challenges from this migration process, but in this context, our research is motivated by this question: How does migrant background influence the educational achievements of school students in Moscow? Despite the relevance of migration in Russia, there are a few studies describing educational outcomes of migrant schoolchildren and their problems of integration, such as xenophobia, tolerance, and language concerns (Gulyaeva, 2010;

Zayonchkovskaya, Florinskaya, Poletaev, & Doronina, 2014). Nevertheless, it seems that native schoolchildren do not outperform their migrant peers. In Saint Petersburg, the empirical evidence suggests that migrants, particularly second generation migrants, have better educational outcomes (D. Alexandrov, Baranova, & Ivaniushina, 2012; Lukianova, 2011). Recently, Tovar-García (*in press*) did not find any advantage or disadvantage in the educational achievements of the children of migrants in Russia. Thus, some results seem to support the immigrant paradox hypothesis, which states that migrant children outperform their native peers thanks to optimism, experience, and cultural characteristics (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Vaquera & Kao, 2012).

In the current paper we extend the work developed by Tovar-García (*in press*), focusing on children of migrants living in Moscow and its *oblast*. We use data from the Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS-HSE). Since the year 2010, this survey includes a key question on school grades used as dependent variable in this research. We used panel data from 2010 to 2013 and logit regressions to test the impact of migration background on educational progress.

As Tovar-García (*in press*), our results suggest that migration background does not affect school grades (reported by parents). This finding does not support the immigrant paradox hypothesis, but it also rejects the downward assimilation hypothesis, which states that children of migrants can obtain only low educational achievements, a typical finding in developed countries (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010). Our findings agree with the classic view, which states that there should not be differences in academic performance between immigrant and native students (Lin & Lu, 2014).

The article proceeds as follows. Section 2 presents a brief review of literature. Section 3 describes the data and variables used in this study. Section 4 outlines the empirical strategy, which mainly consists of logit regressions, and presents the results. Section 5 concludes.

2. Literature review

As it was stated, in Russia and particularly in Moscow the number of migrants has been increasing during the last decades, and there are different reasons for this migration. Some migrants come to Russia because of unemployment in their home countries, because of political reasons, violence, family concerns, and so on. It is worth noting that many migrants decide to take their children with them, consequently, we face several issues on the adaptation process of migrant schoolchildren.

According to the statistics of Federal Migration Service (FMS), there are about 70 000 migrant children in Moscow. However, the figures vary depending on the source, because there are no specific researches and surveys on migrant children, not only in Moscow, but also in all the Russian Federation. In the years 2006-2007, according to the Center for Sociological Research at the Ministry of Education of Russia, 23 900 children of foreigners attended Moscow schools, and as for the pre-school institutions, a third of migrant children attended kindergartens. In 2012, about 30 000 children of foreign nationals were studying in Moscow schools. These figures are still relevant, although it considerably differs from estimations by the FMS. Remarkably, even deputies of the Russian Parliament, who are trying to toughen laws on migration concerns, do not know the exact figures about migrant children.

Zayonchkovskaya et al. (2014) using a sample of 74 migrant respondents, found that about one-third of the migrants (37%) have underage children, and the vast majority has one or two children (See Figure 1). According to this research, the average amount of children that migrants take with them equals 1.3. The data also suggest that about 28.2% of migrant women took their children with them. The poll for Moscow residents with children under 18 years of age revealed a widespread of schools with migrant students, and 35% of Muscovites indicated coeducation of their children with children of migrants.

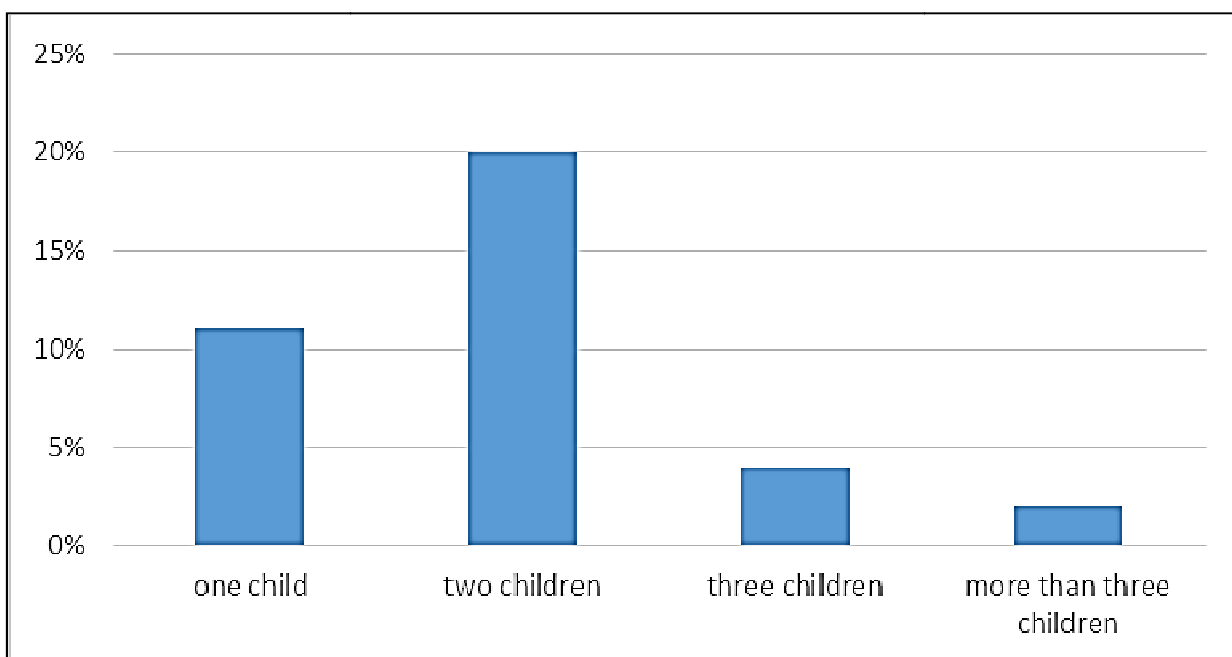


Figure 1. The proportion of migrants with children. Source: Zayonchkovskaya et al. (2014)

In Moscow, there is no special division between schools for migrants or for native pupils. This conveys some issues, for instance, Muscovites try not to give their children to schools with migrant children. It seems that there are no xenophobic reasons for this choice, but educational and practical reasons. Some parents think that the quality of instruction in schools is decreasing due to poor knowledge of the Russian language by migrant children (Kolebakina, 2011).

Furthermore, in recent years, migration to Russia is becoming more cultural and educational divergent, new migrants have lower levels of education than ever before, and worse levels of proficiency in Russian (Gulyaeva, 2010; Malakhov, 2014; Mukomel', 2013).

Often the children of migrants do not have the immediate environment to ensure a quick and successful language adaptation. In addition, these children usually do not attend pre-school establishments, and they are not engaged in groups of preparation for entry into the first grade. In this context, one common idea is that migrants do not speak Russian at home, because they try to save their customs and traditions through the language, and this behavior can produce harmful effects on their educational outcomes and adaptation process. Another typical issue is the interaction between migrants and native children. Russians usually think that the most

problematic groups of migrant children are from the republics of the North Caucasus (Dagestan, Chechnya, and others). It seems that these children have different ways to see the life, particularly migrant boys grow up quickly and their life experiences are richer. They are often less infantile, know more about everyday problems, and often act as opinion leaders in the classroom (Gulyaeva, 2010; Zayonchkovskaya et al., 2014).

Tutors also represent a challenge for migrant schoolchildren. The system of remuneration for teachers, providing bonuses for extra work, does not contain incentives for the extra effort with migrant children. As a result, teachers working in classes with many migrant children, actually have a feeling of lower wages, because they face several difficulties teaching in classrooms with migrants without additional compensation. Consequently, many teachers try to avoid admission of migrant children, and they lack motivation and attitude to work with them (Zayonchkovskaya et al., 2014).

Despite of all these concerns, it is relevant to mention that in Russia all children have the right to receive education, as it is stated in the Russian Constitution, in the Federal Law on Education modified in the end of the year 2012, besides this is reinforced by the Convention on the Rights of the Child and regional legislative acts (Zayonchkovskaya et al., 2014).

2.1 Migration background and educational outcomes

All detected correlations between the school success of children and the type of employment and income of their parents do not give enough explanation of how actually migrant experience and the nature of the adaptation of the children influence themselves in their new conditions of life. Moreover, studies on adaptation should not be limited only to the first years of migration (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010). Firstly, we should recognize that many factors influence educational outcomes; there are regional components, social status, migration trajectories,

ambitions, the cumulative effect of various levels of conflict, the nature of the school culture, interschool practices and network interaction, Internet, ethnicity, age, gender and so on.

The mentioned factors can be analyzed under the cultural capital theory and/or the social capital theory (Coleman, 1988; DiMaggio, 1982; Tovar-García, 2012). Pierre Bourdieu, one of the most famous representatives of the French school for social research in his work “The Forms of Capital” written in the 1986 described three types of capital: economic, social and cultural capital. Close to James Coleman’s ideas, Bourdieu defines social capital as resources, based on family relationships and relationships in the group membership (Bourdieu, 1986). The membership and collective actions give people support in the form of collective capital, that is, collectively owned capital, through reputation and trust people will be able to obtain advantages in different social concerns. These relationships can exist only in a practical state in the form of material or symbolic exchange, which contributes to the maintenance of the system. They can also be socially institutionalized and guaranteed by the common name (the name of the family, class, tribe, schools, parties and so on). Overall, social capital depends on other forms of capital, such as cultural or symbolic capital. On the other hand, cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state (long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body), in the institutionalized state (academic qualifications), and in the objectified state (cultural goods). The fundament of all forms of capital is the economic capital, that is, the possession of a range of goods.

Perna (2000) studied how these forms of capital, or background, influence students’ educational achievements in American schools. She studied impacts from economic capital (parental education, income, occupation and items in the home), academic capital (participation in academic curricular program and participation in advanced placement program), structural capital (public school, urban or rural, and percent of Blacks and Hispanics in the student body), social and cultural capital (mothers’ expectations, proportion of friends planning to attend an university, and other indicators about friends, relatives, teachers, guidance counselors and/or coaches, and tools as private classes, books, video, and computer programs). Her findings

suggest that levels of capitals, in particular socio-cultural capital, predict educational outcomes. Given this, we can expect that children of migrants lack capital(s), and consequently they obtain lower educational outcomes.

In the USA, most of the empirical evidence supports the previous statement. It seems that poor social environments in the schools negatively affect the educational achievements of migrant pupils. There are no working adaptation mechanisms, such as academic support for migrants, after-schooling activities, or information about future possibilities of education in college or university. Moreover, it is possible to identify a significant effect of social capital and interactions in the school on educational outcomes of migrants. For migrants, positive relationships with their family, community, and school members relate to their well-being and to their performance at school (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010). We can find a high correlation between parents pre-migration education and educational performance of their children, where parents with higher levels of education correlate positively with children's school grades (Pong & Landale, 2012). In general, migration implies residential and school moves, which is associated with poor school performance, because these moves lead to losses in social ties, which in turn affects school performance (Pribesh & Downey, 1999).

Vaquera and Kao (2012) studied the educational achievements of migrant students in Spain, using longitudinal data and linear estimation techniques, the findings suggest a gap on the educational outcomes between native students and migrants, with relevant differences by gender. In general, until the third generation, we can say that migrants are assimilated to the new environment (but only women migrants are better in language and math subjects.). Newcomers and second generation migrants presented educational disadvantages. The results suggest that one of the most influential factors of academic achievements is the migrants' social environment: friends' attitude to studies and the general class climate. Actually, it seems that Vaquera and Kao (2012) expected to find evidence for the immigrant paradox hypothesis in Spain. This hypothesis claims that migrant students outperform their native peers, because migrants are optimistic and

have difference experiences, from the country of origin and in the hosting country, helping them to succeed in the school. In the USA, particularly immigrants from Asia outperform their native peers, thanks to cultural characteristics and parental involvement in educational concerns (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Kao, 2004; Tovar-García, in press). Children of migrants study very hard, they know that the conditions in the hosting country can affect them negatively, and therefore, they need an extra effort, and they will do it because their parents have similar attitudes in the migration process. However, most of the empirical evidence supports a downward assimilation, and it is not clear whether migrants can outperform their native peers (Tovar-García, *in press*).

In the case of Russia, previous studies found evidence for the positive impact of the forms of capital on educational outcomes, although other factors (gender and language use) play a more relevant role (Roshchina, 2010; Tovar-García, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2014). However, there are only a few studies on migrant children in Russia, probably because Russia is a relatively new immigration country, yet with needs for policies on these concerns (Malakhov, 2014).

Most of the studies on educational outcomes of the children of migrants have been conducted in Saint Petersburg (D. Alexandrov et al., 2012; Lukianova, 2011). As it is expected, these children face problems for socio-psychological adaptation: xenophobic sentiments in the class, language concerns, intolerance, hierarchy relations among students, gender differences, anti-school culture, lacks of enthusiasm, and ethno-related environments (Gulyaeva, 2010; Kolebakina, 2011; Mukomel', 2013; Zayonchkovskaya et al., 2014). However, migrant schoolchildren are strongly focused on their studies, they are more disciplined, and second generation migrants, in particular, seem to slightly perform better than native students (Lukianova, 2011). It seems that first generation migrants are affected by school reallocations, they change their schools two or three times during the compulsory education process (Mukomel', 2013).

The Scientific-Educational Laboratory Sociology of Education and Science at the National Research University Higher School of Economics in Saint Petersburg conducted a deep survey on issues of migrant schoolchildren (D. Alexandrov et al., 2012). Using qualitative and

quantitative research methods, the results suggested that the Russian legislation makes difficult the stay in Russia of migrant children, for instance, several concerns on the registration system. It is worth noting that the Federal Law on Education changed in the end of the year 2012, facilitating the access to education for children of migrants, but many school principals, in practice, do not support the main principles of this new law. However, in Saint Petersburg, migrants mention that they rarely face manifestations of ethnic discrimination. Thus, migrant children present high levels of learning motivation, and in comparison with native students they have similar levels of school performance.

In the current research we follow the work developed by Tovar-García (*in press*), who study a representative sample of students for all Russia taken from the Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS-HSE). He used logit regressions for panel data and his findings do not suggest that children of migrants have school advantages or disadvantages (as it should be according to Lin and Lu (2014)). His econometric method included a dummy variable to control the impact on educational outcomes of Moscow and Saint Petersburg. Nevertheless, assuming that the situation in Moscow should significantly differ from the rest of Russia, in the current research we develop new tests using a sample of students located in Moscow and its *oblast*.

3. Data and variables

As mentioned above, we use the Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey data (RLMS-HSE), conducted by the Higher School of Economics in cooperation with Demoscope, the University of North Carolina, and the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academic of Sciences. The data has been gathering annually since 1992, and this is still the only monitoring survey of social and economic spheres for all Russia. Leading world experts developed the questionnaires and main concepts for the research, with the intention to examine the developments of the country after the perestroika.

The survey covers items on income, expenses, investment, employment, welfare, health and nutritional status, among others. Nevertheless, information about educational outcomes of schoolchildren and their migration status is not a main concern, including only a few interesting questions from the year 2010, consequently this research uses data over the years 2010-2013.

3.1 Dependent variable

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for all variables used in this research. From the questionnaire for children, we use as dependent variable answers to the question “How would you estimate (his/ her) progress...?” Parents or an adult relative selected among the following options:

1. Almost all the grades are five - 01,
2. Basically all the five and the four - 02,
3. Basically all the four - 03,
4. Basically all the four and three - 04,
5. Basically all the three - 05,
6. Basically all the three and often the two - 06,
7. Marks are not given - 96,
8. Doesn't know - 97,
9. Refuses to answer – 98

We recoded this variable to obtain a dummy variable (DUMMYGRADE5) taking the value of 1 for the 1st option, that is, taking the value of 1 for excellent educational progress for pupils with school grades of 5 (13% of students). As a key second dependent variable, we use other dummy variable (DUMMYGRADE3), taking the value of 1 for the 5th and 6th options, that is, taking the value of 1 for unsuccessful educational progress for pupils with school grades of 3 and 2 (4% of

students). Note that in the Russian schools the grading system varies from 0 to 5. 0-2 are the lowest marks, in practice the lowest mark is 2, teachers, formally, do not assign lower grades, and the most common marks are 3, 4 and 5 (Alòs i Font & Tovar-García, 2015).

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
DUMMYGRADE5	801	0.13	0.34	0	1
DUMMYGRADE3	801	0.04	0.20	0	1
DUMMYMIGRATION	882	0.18	0.39	0	1
SES	882	1.09	0.59	0	3
PUBLICSCHOOL	472	0.68	0.47	0	1
HEALTH	876	3.76	0.51	2	5
AGE	694	9.83	2.00	6	14
MALE	694	0.52	0.50	0	1

Source: Authors' calculations using RLMS-HSE data

3.2 Independent variables

The main goal of the research is to examine the impact of migrant background on academic achievements, and we control its impact using variables on socio-economic status, type of school, health issues, sex, and age. Therefore, the key independent variable is a dummy variable for the migrant status (DUMMYMIGRATION), that is, whether or not the student was born in the place where he/she lives. In the questionnaire, this issue is stated asking to parents “Was [Name of child] born in another settlement or in the one where he/she is living now?” Then, if the child was born in another settlement we coded the variable 1, and coded 0 otherwise.

In our sample 18% of students reported to be migrants. In a first exploration and analysis of the data, using cross tabulations and correlations coefficients, we do not identify disadvantages or advantages for migrant students. We found a higher percentage of migrants students with the highest grade (17.76%) in comparison with native students (12.48%), but there are more migrants with the lowest grade (5.92%) than native students (3.7%), see Table 2.

Table2. Cross tabulations						
	DUMMYGRADE5			DUMMYGRADE3		
DUMMYMIGRATION	0	1	Total	0	1	Total
0	568	81	649	625	24	649
	87.52%	12.48%	100%	96.3%	3.7%	100%
	81.96%	75%	81.02%	81.38%	72.73%	81.02%
1	125	27	152	143	9	152
	82.24%	17.76%	100%	94.08%	5.92%	100%
	18.04%	25%	18.98%	18.62%	27.27%	18.98%
Total	693	108	801	768	33	801
	86.52%	13.48%	100%	95.88%	4.12%	100%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Authors' calculations using RLMS-HSE data

3.2.1 Control variables

We use a proxy variable for student's socioeconomic status (SES) using responses to the question "Does he/she have a personal ... (1) Mobile PC, notebook, laptop, netbook, (2) Smartphone, Communicator, i-Phone, (3) Cell phone?" There are five possible responses including 1) Yes, 2) No, 3) Used by several family members, 4) Doesn't know or 5) Refuses to answer. We gave 1 point for each positive answer and 0.5 points for use of the object by other family members. Schoolchildren with higher values on this proxy of SES should have better school grades, as the theory predicts (Tovar-García, *in press*).

We include a dummy variable coded 1 for pupils attending regular public schools (PUBLICSCHOOL), and coded 0 for other schools with gymnasium classes, comprehensive college or lycee, non-residency school, and school with specialization on subjects such as mathematics, foreign language, and other subjects. A priori, regular schools would be associated with lower performance compared to other school types (Tovar-García, *in press*).

To explore and control for health issues we include a categorical variable (HEALTH), from 1 to 5, 1 is for very poor health, 2 for poor, 3 for not a good, but not bad, 4 for good health, and five

for very good health conditions. This variable could be relevant for migrants in Russia, because they have difficulties to access the state health services.

It is relevant and necessary to explore whether the effects of migration differ depending on gender, therefore, we use a dummy variable (MALE) coded 1 for boys (52% of students). We also use as control variable the student's age (AGE), to explore and control for correlations between educational achievements and the age of the pupils. The sample includes schoolchildren from 6 to 14 years old, but 99% of the students are 7-13 years old. Table 3 presents the correlation matrix for all variables.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
DUMMYGRADE5 (1)	1							
DUMMYGRADE3 (2)	-0.082	1						
DUMMYMIGRATION (3)	0.061	0.044	1					
SES (4)	0.049	-0.044	0.005	1				
PUBLICSCHOOL (5)	-0.080	0.069	0.012	-0.069	1			
HEALTH (6)	0.062	-0.035	0.027	0.041	0.053	1		
AGE (7)	-0.076	0.120	0.024	0.270	-0.027	-0.062	1	
MALE (8)	-0.052	0.003	0.036	0.019	-0.006	0.033	0.028	1
Source: Authors' calculations using RLMS-HSE data								

4. The empirical strategy

Because our dependent variable is dichotomous, we use logit regressions for panel data with random effects to test the impact of migration background on educational progress. The baseline model is give by equation (1). All variables have been defined in the previous section.

$$DUMMYGRADE_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 DUMMYMIGRATION_{it} + \beta_2 SES_{it} + \beta_3 PUBLICSCHOOL_{it} + \beta_4 HEALTH_{it} + \beta_5 Age_{it} + \beta_6 Male_{it} + \mu_i + u_{it} \quad (1)$$

Table 4 summarizes the main results. Column 1 presents the regression coefficients when the dependent variable is DUMMYGRADE5, that is, for excellent students, those whose grades are all the five. The results do not suggest advantages or disadvantages for migrant children, although the coefficient for DUMMYMIGRATION is positive (0.55), it is statistically insignificant. In other words, to be a migrant do not affect the probability of being classified as excellent student. Because the inclusion as control variable of the dummy variable for public school is decreasing the sample size, we ran a second regression (see column 2) excluding this variable from the analysis. The main findings did not change, that is, the migration status does not influence the educational progress of pupils.

The regression on DUMMYGRADE3, that is, for unsuccessful students, those whose grades are all the three and two, is presented in the column 3. The results do not suggest any effect of migration status on the probability of being classified as unsuccessful students. We again removed the dummy for public school (see column 4), to increase the sample size, and the result is robust to this change. Thus, in Moscow migrants students do not outperform their native peers, and also they do not suffer academic disadvantages due to their migration condition.

Consequently, our findings for the case of Moscow are similar to those reported in Saint Petersburg and for the country (Tovar-García, *in press*).

In general, the control variables present the expected effects, although the proxy for socioeconomic status (SES) only suggests a negative impact in the probability of being classified as unsuccessful student. Students attending public schools (PUBLICSCHOOL) have lower probabilities of being classified as excellent students, but these schools do not affect the likelihood of being classified as unsuccessful student. Boys have lower probabilities than girls of

being classified as excellent students, but gender does not affect the probability of being classified as unsuccessful student. This academic gap has been noted before in the literature (Tovar-García, 2013a, 2014). Health issues do not affect the probabilities of being classified as unsuccessful student or excellent student.

Interesting to note that AGE has a negative impact on the probability of being classified as excellent student, and a positive impact on the probability of being classified as unsuccessful student. This concern has been noted by Tovar-García (*in press*) and it deserves a particular and deeper analysis.

Table 4. Regression coefficients of migration background and control variables on educational progress				
	DUMMYGRADE5 (excellent student)		DUMMYGRADE3 (unsuccessful student)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
DUMMYMIGRATION	0.55	0.62	1.19	0.90
SES	-0.18	0.15	-0.92	-1.17**
PUBLICSCHOOL	-1.06*		1.44	
HEALTH	0.16	0.06	0.64	0.06
AGE	-0.42**	-0.19**	0.59*	0.52***
MALE	-1.32**	-0.62*	0.44	0.74
Constant	1.37	-1.18	-15.65***	-10.96***
No. of observations	376	624	376	624
Source: Authors' calculations using Stata * significant at 10% level; ** significant at 5% level, *** significant at 1% level				

5. Conclusions

Based on the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey (RLMS-HSE), using cross tabulations, correlation analysis, binary logistic regressions for panel data, and controlling for socioeconomic status, type of school, health issues, gender, and age, our findings suggest that migration background does not influence the educational achievements of schoolchildren in Moscow. Overall, to be a migrant school student do not effect the probabilities of being classified as an excellent student with the highest school grades, or the probabilities of being classified as an unsuccessful student with the lowest school grades. These results agree with previous findings

for Russia (Tovar-García, *in press*), and with the normative-classic view that there should not be differences in academic performance only as a result of the migration status (Lin & Lu, 2014).

In general, the control variables presented the expected effect, but it is interesting to note that younger students have higher probabilities of being classified as successful students. In addition, girls have higher probabilities of being classified as excellent students, but gender does not affect the probabilities of being classified as low-performing student.

We can expect that migration flows to Moscow will increase in the future, although we did not find academic disadvantages for migrant students, we can also expect an increase of sentiments against migrants, which can affect their educational achievements and integration. Therefore, policy makers can learn from the experience of developed countries with several decades confronting migration concerns.

The data set is a major limitation of this research; we removed several observations from the regression analysis because of non-responses. Consequently, future research for Russia should attempt to develop surveys with focus on migrant children. For instance, recent results for Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Leningrad region, Tomsk, and Pskov (D. A. Alexandrov, Ivaniushina, & Kazartseva, 2015) suggest that, as it is expected, the majority of migrant pupils live in Saint Petersburg and Moscow, and internal migration is higher than the international migration. Moreover, nowadays, migration from Central Asian countries is more intensive. Thus, the main task of the Government should be a statistical system on migration concerns, accounting for illegal migration. Simply, if the statistics over migrants are unknown, it is not possible to formulate the adequate migration policy.

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