The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education

Second Edition

Edited by
Peter A. J. Stevens · A. Gary Dworkin

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To Dr. Rosalind J. Dworkin, my wife, best friend, and frequent co-author.
To Daniel, Yiannis, Alexia and Tedula, for giving true meaning to everything.
We would also like to dedicate this second edition to the memory of our eminent
friend, colleague in RC04, and contributor to this volume, Dr. Jaap Dronkers of
the University of Maastricht

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Notes on Contributors

Orhan Agirdag (PhD in Sociology) is a tenure track professor at the KU Leuven and an assistant professor at the University of Amsterdam. He is also a former Fulbright Fellow at the UCLA. His main research interests include inequalities in education, teacher education, multilingualism and religiosity. Orhan Agirdag received various prestigious awards. He is an author of more than 100 publications that are cited over 700 times. Currently, Orhan Agirdag holds the chair of scientific research at the Netherlands Initiative for Education Research (NRO). Professor Agirdag is regularly invited to give public talks and his opinions are regularly featured in the media.

Päivi Armila is a lecturer in sociology at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Business Studies, University of Eastern Finland, and adjunct professor in sociology of education at the Department of Educational Sciences, University of Tampere, Finland. Her research interests cover issues dealing with young people's societal membership positions when scrutinized through the attributes of age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic indicators, and domicile. Armila has also conducted research concerning racism and other forms of discrimination among the youth who represent different minorities (ethnic, sexual, religious, handicapped etc.). School and leisure surroundings as meaningful social spaces for the youth have framed the main contexts for her analyses. Her work has been published in national and international outlets, including the *Journal of Leisure Studies*. Armila is currently leading a research project: 'Sports hobby possibilities of Youth with Disabilities', and coordinating a research project 'Youth in Time'.

Davide Azzolini is a research fellow at the Institute for the Evaluation of Public Policies of the Bruno Kessler Foundation (FBK-IRVAPP), Italy. He holds a PhD in Sociology and Social Research from the University of Trento and a Master Degree in Public Policy Analysis from COREP, Turin. In 2010, he was visiting research collaborator at the Office of Population Research of the Princeton University, US. His main research interests include student achievement, inequality in educational opportunity,

international migration, immigrant integration and public policy analysis and evaluation. He published papers on several peer-reviewed journals such as: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*; *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*; *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*; and *Demographic Research*. Currently, he is involved in a number of policy experimentations and randomized controlled trials in the areas of higher education participation, student achievement and teachers' digital competences.

Gülseli Baysu is a Lecturer in the Centre for Identity and Intergroup Relations in the School of Psychology at Queen's University Belfast. She is also an affiliated member of the Center for Social and Cultural Psychology at the University of Leuven. Her research interests focus on social psychology of cultural diversity, immigration and integration, educational success of immigrants and minorities, intergroup relations, identity processes and identity politics. She has recently published papers on how perceptions of equal treatment enhance achievement and belonging of Muslim minority adolescents in European schools (*Child Development*, 2016, 87–5, 1352–1366) and on the intersectionality of Muslim identity with political identities in the Gezi park protests of Turkey (*Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 2017, 20–3, 350–366). She is an associate editor in the Journal of Social and Political Psychology. She was awarded Distinguished Visiting Fellowship to spend her sabbatical at the Graduate Center of City University of New York in 2018 spring. She recently received a grant from Jacobs Foundation for a project on "Cultural diversity approaches in schools and their implications for student achievement and adjustment".

Alireza Behtoui is Professor of Sociology at Södertörn and Stockholm University, Sweden. His research interests include the areas of education and labor market with primarily focus on the impact of social capital on the stratification process. His past and current research projects cover the areas of class, ethnic and gender relations, identity constructions and power differences. His expertise lies in quantitative research methods. His works have been published in journals in the field of education, sociology, and ethnic relations, including *Work, Employment & Society*; *British Journal of Sociology of Education*; *European Societies*; *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*; *Ethnic and Racial Studies* and *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Behtoui coordinates a large-scale project on "The impact of civil society organizations on the educational achievements of young people in marginalized urban areas".

Nachum Blass is the principal educational researcher in the Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel. He obtained his M.A Degree in American History from Rutgers University, N.J., USA. Prior activities include senior positions in the Israel Ministry of Education, CEO Institute for Educational Facilities, membership in various public task forces investigating major educational problems and over 30 years of research on educational gaps in Israel. He taught for many years in various institutes of higher education courses on educational policy. Currently he is involved in research of varying aspects of educational problems affecting the Israeli society. He is

also a member of an interdisciplinary team in the Hebrew University performing an evaluation of a major step intended to encourage the implementation of mainstreaming (in regular schools) children with special needs.

Nigel Brooke   is an associate professor in the Faculty of Education, Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil. A member of the Educational Evaluation and Measurement Group, he obtained his PhD in Development Studies from the University of Sussex, UK. Prior activities include nine years with the Ford Foundation's Rio de Janeiro office, first as Program Officer for Education and then as representative, and ten years as researcher, educational planner, and education policy advisor for the state government of Minas Gerais. Current activities include the coordination of a follow-up study to the GERES project, a longitudinal study of 20,000 elementary school children, and advisory work with the federal government and state and municipal secretariats of education in the field of educational evaluation. Publications cover the themes of educational quality, educational decentralization, educational evaluation and accountability and, most recently, the history of education reform.

Jason Chien-chen Chang   is professor of education and dean of the College of Education, Chinese Culture University, Taiwan. Former president of Taiwan Association for the Sociology of Education and the China Education Society (Taiwan), he has been serving as board member of many other professional organizations and government policy consultant. Now, he is a vice president of the Research Committee on Sociology of Education (RC04), International Sociological Association. As a critical sociologist of education, he focuses his research on the cultural factors that affect the learning opportunities of indigenous people and working class students in Taiwan. His empirical findings on parenting and cultural capital formation, ethnic relation and multicultural myths, teenagers' popular culture, and so on, have been often referred to or quoted in Mandarin-speaking societies.

Shan-hua Chen   is a professor of Graduate Institute of Educational Administration and Policy Development, National Chiayi University, Taiwan. Having received her PhD in sociology of education from National Taiwan Normal University, she began to research on indigenous education, using cultural theories as analytical tool. Her researches have been funded by grants from the Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST), Taiwan, and the main results, mostly related to issues of multicultural education, have been published in reputable journals. She is currently an executive editor of *Taiwan Journal of Sociology of Education*, a first-ranked scholarly journal in Taiwan.

Hua-Yu Sebastian Cherng   is an Assistant Professor of International Education at New York University's Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development. His interests include comparative perspectives on race/ethnicity (with a focus on China and the US), immigrant adaptation, and social capital within the school and educational context. His research has appeared in journals such as the *American Educational Research Journal*, *Educational Researcher*, *Social Forces*, and *Social Science Research*. In popular presses, his work has appeared in over twenty

mainstream media outlets, including CNN, NPR, TIME, Business Insider, Huffington Post, Metro, and Essence. He received his PhD in Education Policy and Sociology from the University of Pennsylvania.

Silvina Cimolai is lecturer and researcher at the National University of General Sarmiento and the National University of Luján in Argentina. She is a psychologist from the University of Buenos Aires (Argentina) and has obtained a PhD degree in Education at UCL-Institute of Education, University of London (UK). Her thesis examines the production of academic knowledge in the intersections of psychology and education in Argentina. Her research interests are psycho-educational problems and the production of knowledge in education.

Noel Clycq is research professor in training and education sciences at the research group Edubron at the University of Antwerp. He focuses on issues of diversity, globalization and the governance of learning. In the past he held the chair 'European values: discourses and prospects' at the History department and was senior researcher at the Centre for Migration and Intercultural studies (University of Antwerp). He publishes in national as well as international journals on issues related to ethnicity, gender, migration, multiculturalism, education and the family. He (co-)coordinated large-scale interuniversity projects at the national as well as the European level, and supervises several PhD-projects on early school leaving, collective identity formation and the (un)making of Muslim identities.

Gill Crozier is Professor of Education and former Director of the Centre for Educational Research in Equalities, Policy and Pedagogy in the School of Education, University of Roehampton, London, UK. She is a sociologist of education and has researched and written extensively on race and class. Her work has focused on parents, families and school relationships, young people in urban schools, access to and participation in higher education, and the structural, socio-cultural influences and impact upon identity formation, learner experiences and life chances, see for instance (recently published): Crozier, G. Burke, P.J. Archer, L. (2016) 'Peer relations in higher education: raced, classed and gendered constructions and Othering', *Journal of Whiteness and Education*, 1:1, 39–53 and Crozier, G. (2017) 'Race Matters: urban education, globalisation and the 21st century'. In William Pink and Noblett, G. (eds) *The International Handbook on Urban Education*. Springer Publications.

Maurice Crul is professor of sociology at the Free University in Amsterdam. His research interests include the areas of education and labor market among children of immigrants in a cross-European and transatlantic perspective. His past and current research focuses on the effect of national and local institutional arrangements in education and the labor market on school, and labor market careers of children of immigrants. He has been a guest editor of special issues in journals including *International Migration Review*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, and *Teachers' College Records*. He is the co-author of several books, including *Superdiversity: A New Vision on Integration* (2013), *The Changing Face of World Cities*

(2012), and *The European Second Generation Compared* (2012). He coordinated the TIES project (http://www.tiesproject.eu), a survey project on the second generation in eight European countries and the ELITES project (http://www.elitesproject.eu/), looking at the upcoming elite among the second generation in Europe. Maurice Crul is since 2018 coordinating the ERC Advanced Grant Project Becoming a Minority about the integration of people of native descent in superdiverse cities in Europe.

Natalino Neves da Silva is an Adjunct Professor of the Humanities and Letters Institute (ICHL), Department of Human Sciences (DCH), Federal University of Alfenas (Unifal-MG). He works in the Postgraduate Program in Education (PPGE / UNIFAL-MG). Graduated in Pedagogy. Master and PhD in Education from the Federal University of Minas Gerais. He has experience in Education, with emphasis on Sociology of Education, working mainly in the following subjects: difference, culture and education, ethnic-racial relations and education, youth, black youth, youth and racial relations, youth and adult education, teaching middle school, professional education, school and non-school management, pedagogical coordination, social education, teacher training and ethnic-racial diversity, educational policies, social, racial and diversity inequalities, social movements and education.

Alexander Dicks is a PhD candidate at the Research Centre for Education and the Labor Market and the Department of Economics at Maastricht University. He received his MSc in Sociology and Social Research from Utrecht University and his BSc in Social Sciences from the University of Cologne. His research interests range from the sociology and economics of education and the labor market, especially social stratification and mobility, to political polarization, and neighborhood effects. His PhD research focuses on young people who are not in education, employment, or training (NEET), their decision making during the school-to-work transition, the role of their parents and peers, and possible scarring effects.

Leokadia M. Drobizheva is Professor, Chief Scientific Researcher and Head of the Research Center for Interethnic Relations of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia. She is also Professor-Researcher of the National Research University Higher School of Economics. She heads the Committee for Ethnic Sociology at the Russian Society of Sociologists. She is also a member of the RF President's Council on Interethnic Relations. Prof. Drobizheva studies ethnic and civic identity, ethnic identity, disparities of ethnic groups, isolationism and discrimination, working on problems of ethnic nationalism. Her latest books are *Ethnicity in the Socio-Political Space of the Russian Federation* (2013) and *Interethnic accord as a resource in Consolidating Russian Society* (2016, ed.). She led the projects studying nationalisms in the republics of the Russian Federation, social and cultural distances, disparities of ethnic groups, ethnic and civil identities.

Jaap Dronkers was Professor of International Comparative Research on Educational Performance and Social Inequality at Maastricht University. He has been Chair in Educational Sciences, and Chair in Empirical Sociology at the University of

Amsterdam, and professor of Social Stratification and Inequality at the European University Institute in Florence. He was honorary doctor at the University of Turku, and honorary member of Dutch Sociological Association (2013). Jaap has been a member of editorial boards of journals including Mens en Maatschappij, Educational Research and Evaluation, Sociology of Education, and American Sociological Review. He has published on the causes and consequences of unequal educational and occupational attainment, changes in educational opportunities, effect-differences between public and religious schools, the educational and occupational achievement of migrants from different origins and in various countries of destination, the linkages between school and the labour market, the effects of parental divorce on children, cross-national differences in causes of divorce, education of Dutch elites, and European nobility. Jaap passed away in 2016.

A. Gary Dworkin is Professor of Sociology, co-founder of the Sociology of Education Research Group (SERG) and former chair of the Department of Sociology, The University of Houston, USA. Currently, he is as immediate Past President of Research Committee 04 (Sociology of Education) of the International Sociological Association. He served on the Council of the Sociology of Education section of the American Sociological Association and as President of the Southwestern Sociological Association. His publications include twelve books and numerous articles on teacher burnout, student dropout behavior, minority-majority relations, gender roles, and on school accountability. His publications on the *No Child Left Behind Act* appeared in the journal *Sociology of Education*, in a special issue of the *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology,* and in several chapters on the political dimensions of school accountability. Along with his colleagues on the RC04 board he has published two articles on the current state of Sociology of Education in the ISA journal, *Sociopedia.* He wrote on the effects of retention-in-grade (with Jon Lorence, published by The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.). He and Rosalind J. Dworkin published three editions of *The Minority Report* (3rd edition by Wadsworth, 1999), a book on race, ethnic, and gender relations. Along with Lawrence J. Saha of the Australian National University, Dworkin edited *The International Handbook of Research on Teachers and Teaching* (published by Springer in 2009). He co-edited the 1st Edition of the *Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequality in Education* with Peter A. J. Stevens in 2014.

Lara Ailén Encinas   is a sociologist, graduated from the University of Buenos Aires (UBA). She has obtained a stimulus scholarship from the National Interuniversity Council (Argentina). She has been research assistant in different projects on health and educational inequalities. She is a Master's student at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris and a research assistant of a project on teachers' work identities at the Research Institute "Gino Germani" in the City of Buenos Aires.

Shaheeda Essack is Director of the Directorate: Registration of Private Higher Education Institutions at the National Department of Higher Education and Training

in South Africa. Currently, she is Secretary of Research Committee 04 (Sociology of Education) of the International Sociological Association. Shaheeda's work experience includes secondary school teaching, adult basic education and training, and academic development in higher education. Her research interests cover the following areas: student/staff/curriculum development in higher education; peer mentoring and educational development in the context of a transforming society; and policy development and implementation in higher education in post-apartheid SA. Her work has been presented at EARLI conferences and published in journals such as *Interactive Discourse* and *Sociopedia.isa*. She is currently also senior research associate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Johannesburg. Her current research focuses on the transition of marginalized learners from secondary school to post-school education and training institutions and the challenges they experience in the context of a transforming post-apartheid society. New areas of research include policy development and implementation in private higher education.

Daniel Faas is Associate Professor in Sociology, Founding Director of the MSc in Comparative Social Change and Member of the University Council at Trinity College Dublin. He has held Visiting Professorships at Universidade de São Paulo, Beijing Foreign Studies University, University of the Philippines Diliman, and University College London. His research is in the sociology of migration and consists of three interlinked strands: identities and integration; comparative curriculum analysis; as well as religion and schooling in Ireland and Europe. He has published widely on these topics in high-impact peer-reviewed international journals, as well as a sole-authored monograph (*Negotiating Political Identities: Multiethnic Schools and Youth in Europe*). He is winner of the Trinity Global Engagement Award (2016), an elected Fellow of Trinity College Dublin (2015), winner of the Provost's Teaching Award at Trinity College Dublin (2012), and recipient of the European Sociological Association award for best journal article (2009). He was Head of the Department of Sociology at Trinity College Dublin from 2012 to 2016. Professor Faas regularly acts as expert evaluator for the European Commission as well as a range of national funding agencies.

Rachael Fionda is Director of the UCD Applied Language Centre. Starting out with a degree in Linguistics and Italian at Leeds University, Rachael spent five years teaching and lecturing in Germany, Italy and Austria. After completing an MPhil in Applied Linguistics (Innsbruck University) Rachael moved to Ireland to research Second Language Acquisition and language policy for students from migrant backgrounds in Irish second level schools as her PhD (as part of the Trinity Immigration Initiative project at Trinity College, Dublin). A five-year period as Director of Studies at Swan Training Institute followed that (highlights included EAQUALS recognition and IH London ELT Management Diploma). Active presenter at conferences and contributor to societies relating to applied linguistics and leadership. Her research interests include language in society, migrant education, leadership and management in language education, language policy and planning, minority languages, programme planning and fit for purpose course design, online learning, EMI, LA and the CEFR.

Laura Fónadová received her PhD in sociology at the Faculty of Social Studies, at Masaryk University in Brno. She now works as an assistant professor in the Department of Public Economics at the Faculty of Economics and Administration at Masaryk University. Her research interests focus on issues of ethnicity, ethnic inequality, social class, and social mobility. Her current research is aimed at the Roma population in the Czech Republic. She analyses the processes of ethnic differentiation of Czech elementary schools. She is the author of the monograph *They Would Not have been Excluded: Upward Social Pathways of the Roma in Czech Society* (in Czech, 2014). She has published in *European Sociological Review, Research in Social Stratification and Mobility, Czech Sociological Review, Slovak Sociological Review*, and in several Czech monographs.

Ingrid Gogolin is full professor of international comparative and intercultural education research at the University of Hamburg. Her research interests cover the following areas: consequences of migration for education; international comparison of education systems and their historical and contemporary approaches to diversity. Her work has been published in high-ranking educational research journals, including *European Educational Research Journal, British Educational Research Journal* and the *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*. She was the coordinator of the Center for Research and Support of Migrant Children and Youth (FÖRMIG, www.foermig.uni-hamburg.de) at the University of Hamburg, as well as co-coordinator of the Research Center of Excellence Linguistic Diversity Management in Urban Areas (LiMA, www.lima.uni-hamburg.de). She currently heads the coordination point of the research cluster on multilingualism and language education in Germany (KoMBi; https://www.kombi.uni-hamburg.de/). Her current research is focused on longitudinal development of migrant children's multilingual performance and on the design and evaluation of supportive educational models for multilingual, multicultural schools.

Luiz Alberto Oliveira Gonçalves is a full professor, teaching Research Methodology at the Faculties of Education and Medicine of the Federal University of Minas Gerais. He obtained his PhD in Sociology from École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris. His research and publications are on the sociology of education with a focus on educational inequalities based on race/ethnicity, studies of contemporary youth and religious culture and violence in school. He is currently a consultant for the Research Foundation of the State of São Paulo and the International Mobility Program for Afro-Brazilian researchers of Coordination of Improvement of Higher Education Personnel of the Ministry of Education.

Neil Guppy is a professor at the University of British Columbia. He was Associate Dean (Students) from 1996 to 1999, Associate Vice-President (Academic Programs) from 1999 to 2004, and Head of Department from 2006 to 2013. He is a graduate of Queen's University (BA/BPHE) and the University of Waterloo (MSc/PhD, 1981). He has published several books, including Education in Canada (1998, with Scott

Davies), The Schooled Society (2018, 4th edition, with Scott Davies), and Successful Surveys (2008, 4th edition, with George Gray). Recently he has published work in the *American Sociological Review, Canadian Review of Sociology, International Migration Review* and *Teaching Sociology*. His research interests include social inequality (especially class, ethnicity, and gender) and education. At UBC he has received both a University Killam Teaching Prize and a University Killam Research Prize.

Emily Hannum is Professor of sociology and education at the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests include education, global development, gender and ethnic stratification, poverty, and child welfare. She is a co-principal investigator on the Gansu Survey of Children and Families, a collaborative, longitudinal study of children in rural northwest China that seeks to illuminate sources of upward mobility among children living in some of China's poorest communities. Recent papers include 'Childhood inequality in China' (with Natalie Young, forthcoming, *China Quarterly*) and 'Chronic undernutrition, short-term hunger, and student functioning in rural northwest China' (with Li-Chung Hu, 2017, *International Journal of Educational Development*).

Are Skeie Hermansen is a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Sociology and Human Geography at the University of Oslo, Norway. His current research interests include ethnic stratification and integration among immigrants and their local-born children, segregation processes in schools and residential neighborhoods, and organizational perspectives on labor marker inequalities. His recent work has been published in journals such as the *European Sociological Review, Social Forces*, and *Demography*.

Fredrik Hertzberg is an associate professor and senior lecturer at the department of Education, Stockholm University. His research interest is focused on the educational attainment of children of immigrants and their transition from school to work, a process, which he has studied from different perspectives: institutional practices, processes of exclusion, strategies for inclusion and educational policy mainly with help of qualitative research methods. He is coordinator of the large-scale project "Inclusion and recognition of newly arrived migrant youth through educational and vocational guidance", funded by the Swedish Research Council.

Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger is chair of the research program on multilinguality, interculturality, and mobility at the Federal Institute for Research in Education, Innovation, and Development of the Austrian School System BIFIE. Her research interests cover the areas of sociology of education, ethnic relations and minorities, political philosophy, and mixed methods research. She has been leading the Austrian part of the EU comparative study of the second generation TIES at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and was a member of the EU network of excellence in migration research IMISCOE. She is standing expert of the EU Fundamental Rights Agency and member of the EU network on policy development in the field of migrant education SIRIUS. She taught at the University of Vienna, the University of

Economics in Vienna, the University of Hannover, and the University of Salzburg. She is particularly interested in the governance of education systems in societies of immigration and has been lecturing at the OECD, Metropolis Canada and Metropolis International, Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and the Open Society Institute.

Duncan B. Hindle was the director general of education in South Africa from 2005 to 2010, and is currently engaged in facilitating education dialogues under the auspices of the National Education Collaboration Trust (www.nect.org.za). A teacher by profession, he has taught mathematics at primary and secondary schools, educational technology at a teacher training college, and sociology of education at the University of Natal in Durban. His research interests focused on policy contestations in education during the transition from apartheid to democracy. His work has been published in various journals and books. He also served as president of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), the largest teachers' union in South Africa, before joining government in 1996.

Mathieu Ichou is a tenured researcher at the French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED), where he belongs to the research units on International Migrations and Minorities and on Economic Demography. Before joining INED, he completed a PhD at Sciences Po in 2014 focused on the academic trajectories of children of immigrants in France and the UK. He then held a Postdoctoral Prize Research Fellowship at Nuffield College, University of Oxford. His research interests include the study of migration and ethnicity, the sociology of education, social stratification and inequality, international comparison, quantitative and qualitative methods and their combination. He has authored a book on children of immigrants in French schools (Les Enfants d'immigrés à l'école, 2018) and co-edited another on the "migrant crisis" in Europe (Au-delà de la « crise des migrants »: décentrer le regard, 2016). His work has also been published by high-profile academic presses and journals, including *Stanford University Press, European Sociological Review, Oxford Review of Education* and *Revue Française de Sociologie.*

Ying-jie Jheng is an associate professor in the Center of Teacher Education, National Taiwan Sport University, Taiwan. He is currently the deputy secretary-general of Taiwan Association for the Sociology of Education. He obtained his PhD from Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, University of California, Los Angeles. His research expertise has been in Sociology of Education, especially on the issues of social class and education, youth/student culture, and the relationship between private tutoring and formal school. His research project on the social phenomenon of 'Youth Precariat' in Taiwan has just received grants from the Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST), Taiwan.

Rickard Jonsson is a Professor and Director of section for Child and Youth Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden. His linguistic ethnographic research concerns masculinity, sexuality, ethnicity and language use. Inspired by Judith Butler's theoretical

work combined with Narrative analysis of talk in interaction, Jonsson investigates the construction of young masculinities in everyday school life. A recurrent theme throughout his research is to deconstruct various stereotypes surrounding youth in multilingual classrooms. Jonsson furthermore takes a critical stance towards moralizing descriptions of youth's language use – and especially a linguistic style, labeled "Rinkeby Swedish". He uses discourse analysis in studies of media texts in order to grasp language ideologies surrounding urban youths' styles. Another area of his research is boys' underachievement in school, and how the talk of boys' anti-school culture, can be read as a master narrative, which not only explains students' school strategies, but also constitutes how certain students are being addressed in classrooms. Jonsson has been published in journals such as *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, Gender and language, Journal of Language, Identity and Communication*, and *Journal of Anthropology and Education*. He is the author of the two monographs *Blatte betyder kompis* and *Värst i klassen* (Ordfront).

Tomáš Katrňák is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Social Studies, at Masaryk University in Brno. He specializes in social stratification, social statistics, and sociological data processing methods. He is the author of the monograph *Destined to Manual Labour: Educational Reproduction in a Working-Class Family* (in Czech, 2004) and the books *Class Analysis and Social Mobility* (in Czech, 2005), *Elective Affinities? Homogamy and Heterogamy of Married Couples in the Czech Republic,* (in Czech, 2008), *At the Threshold of Maturity: Partnership, Sex, and Life Concepts of Young People in Contemporary Czech Society* (co-authored by Zdeňka Lechnerová, Petr Pakosta, and Petr Fučík, in Czech, 2010,) and *Return to Social Origin: Social Stratification Development in Czech Society from 1989 to 2009* (co-authored by Petr Fučík, in Czech, 2010). He has published in *Czech Sociological Review, Sociology, International Sociology, Sociological Theory and Methods, European Sociological Review*, and *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*.

Marianne Takvam Kindt is a PhD Candidate at the Department of Education, University of Oslo, Norway. Her current research interests include the integration of immigrants and their descendants, children of immigrants' educational choices, female descendants' understandings of the relationship between work and care, and narrative analysis. Her recent research has been presented at the conferences of the Nordic Educational Research Association and the European Sociological Association, and published in Ethnic and Racial Studies.

Peggy A. Kong is an assistant professor in Comparative and International Education at Lehigh University. Her research interests include comparative education, educational inequality, social mobility, mixed methodology research, and cultural diversity. Her research is committed to social justice and educational equity with a focus on family-school relationships as they relate to policies, social class, gender, race/ethnicity, and immigrant status. She is currently conducting comparative research on immigrant parental perspectives on school readiness and engagement in the United States.

She is the author of Parenting, Education, and Social Mobility in Rural China: Cultivating Dragons and Phoenixes (2016).

David L. Konstantinovskiy is Professor and Head of Department of Sociology of Education at the Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia. He is also Chief Researcher of the National Research University Higher School of Economics, Chairman of the State Accreditation Commission in the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Professor of the State Academic University for the Humanities and expert of the Russian Science Foundation and other organizations. His research interests focus on inequality in education, the role of education in social mobility and the formation of the social structure of society. He was head and co-leader of Russian and international research projects on sociology of education and youth. His works has been published in journals such as *Higher Education, European Journal of Education, Sociological Research* etc.

René León Rosales is PhD in Ethnology and Head of Research at the Mångkulturellt centrum, Botkyrka. His dissertation, On the hither side of the future (2010), was an ethnographical study of the impacts of economic and ethnic segregation, policies and masculine ideals on boy's identity formations in a multi-ethnic school in northern Botkyrka, a suburb to Stockholm. He has since kept on dealing through different research projects with issues concerning how racialized hierarchies are negotiated in school and society in relation to a normative swedishness connected to whiteness, urban spaces and ways of talking Swedish. His current research project, entitled The suburbs and the renaissance of the education of the people, with funding from the Swedish Research Council, delves into the rise and politicization of youth movements in vulnerable neighbourhoods in major Swedish cities. He is also working with the project Methodological Laboratories – towards tenable methods to measure discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity and Religion, with funding from the Swedish Research Council. The aim of this project is to produce – in cooperation with targeted groups, researchers of racism and methodological experts – adequate methods to use in national work against racism that are simultaneously designed to hinder their use to either discriminate or reproduce racism.

Mark Levels is senior researcher at the Research Centre for Education and the Labor Market (ROA) of Maastricht University and associate member of Nuffield College, Oxford. He currently serves as national co-coordinator of the National Cohort Study on Education in the Netherlands, which combines various data sources (register data, performance data, school data, and various national surveys) into a longitudinal data set on all children in Dutch primary, secondary and tertiary education. Earlier positions include a postdoctoral fellowship at the College for Interdisciplinary Education Research, a postdoc at Maastricht University, an assistant professorship of sociology at Radboud University Nijmegen, and visiting positions at Nuffield College, Harvard's Kennedy School of Governance, and the European University Institute.

Mark is broadly interested in the impact of laws and policies on human decision-making and behaviour, and focusses mostly on education and labor market decisions. One of his main research lines involves cross-national comparative research on immigrants' and immigrant children's skills. He also leads an international consortium of scholars studying NEET. Mark's work has been published in books and journals such as the *American Sociological Review*, *PlosOne*, the *European Sociological Review*, and *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

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edited books (De Munck J., Verhoeven M. (ed.), "Les mutations du rapport à la norme. Un changement dans la modernité", De Boeck, Coll. Ouvertures Sociologiques, Bruxelles, 1997; Dupriez, V., Orianne, J.-F., Verhoeven M. (ed) 2008. De l'école au marché du travail: l'égalité des chances en question. Peter Lang, coll. « Exploration »; or Galland B., Carra C., Verhoeven M. (ed), 2012. Prévenir la violence à l'école, Paris, PUF) and numerous articles, mainly published in French-speaking reviews (*Revue Française de Pédagogie*; *Education et Sociétés*; *Ethique publique*; *Education et Francophonie*; *Les sciences de l'éducation* – Pour l'ère Nouvelle, etc.) but also in English journals (*European Educational Research Journal*, *International Journal of Violence and School*, *International Journal of Children's Right*).

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Introduction to the Handbook (Second Edition): Comparative Sociological Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Inequalities in Education

Peter A. J. Stevens and A. Gary Dworkin

This second edition of the *Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education* brings together nearly forty years of sociological research on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality carried out in 25 national contexts. Not only does this second edition expand the number of countries examined, it also includes a chapter on cross-national comparative research on ethnic inequalities in education, using large-scale data-bases (such as PISA), and an examination of the relationships among social cohesion, trust, and tolerance in each of the countries. Finally, the chapters report on the extent to which educational accountability systems impact education in the different nations. Such accountability systems are influenced by the forces of globalization and neo-liberalism that heighten the competition among nations. An additional factor that impacted the present edition has been the growing refugee crises around the world, including those fomented by wars in the Middle East and changes in U.S. policies regarding immigrants and refugees that have resulted from the 2016 presidential election.

The development of the two editions of the Handbook was inspired by two earlier reviews from Stevens and colleagues on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality in England (Stevens 2007) and the

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Netherlands (Stevens et al. 2011). In conducting these reviews it became apparent that England and The Netherlands can fall back on rich traditions of research on this topic, but also that both bodies of literature are characterized by a focus on very different research questions and/or theoretical and methodological approaches. In addition, and somewhat in contradiction to what can be expected from a global, academic research community, scholars working in England and the Netherlands were mainly stimulated by national policy and research debates in developing and carrying out particular areas of research and less so by research conducted outside their national boundaries. The lack of mutual consideration and international cross-fertilization of research between these two (and other) countries, the abundance of research on race and ethnic inequalities in education and the lack of recent, more systematic and comprehensive reviews of literature in this area call for efforts to further investigate how different national contexts develop particular research traditions and findings and how they can learn from each other in further developing our knowledge of the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality.

The two editions build on the two reviews published earlier by Stevens and colleagues in two ways. First, it expands the scope of these reviews by presenting the findings of research carried out on the relationship between race and ethnic inequality in eighteen different national contexts in the First Edition and 25 different national contexts in the Second Edition, including updated reviews of the articles written by Stevens and colleagues. In the Second Edition, these countries are purposively selected to cover a broad range of socio-economic and educational contexts and *geographical* regions throughout the world, including reviews of research in Africa (South Africa), Asia (China, Japan and Taiwan), Australia, Europe (Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, England, France, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, The Netherlands), Euro-Asia (Russia and Turkey), North America (Canada and the USA), South America (Argentina and Brazil) and the Middle-East (Israel).

While the Anglo-Saxon countries included in this Handbook are well recognized in terms of the amount and importance of research carried out in relationship to race and ethnic inequalities in education, this is far less the case for the other countries included. This can in part be explained by the observation that research in these countries is often not written in English and/or does not find its way to high profile academic outlets. As a result, an important achievement of this book is that it offers a platform for this non-English research to be accessed and acknowledged by an English speaking academic community. In so doing, both editions of the Handbook pay tribute to and

recognize the importance of the work conducted by many scholars through-out the world in developing knowledge on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality worldwide.

Second, each of the contributions included in the two edited books follow the same methodology in carrying out the review and structure in presenting the findings. Hence, while each national review can be read and stands on its own, the similarities in terms of methodology and structure between the chapters allow the reader to better compare the development of knowledge on the relationship between race/ethnic inequalities between different countries. More specifically, each chapter is similar in that they:

a) Offer a brief introduction of the characteristics of the educational system, the main migration processes and developments in terms of social policy in relationship to ethnic and racial inequality. This allows readers to better contextualize the findings of each review.
b) Are primarily concerned with identifying and critically reviewing the key research traditions that developed between 1980 and 2017 within their national context in relationship to research on race and ethnic inequalities in education. In line with Stevens (2007: 148), a research tradition is defined as: 'a set of studies developed over a certain period of time, which explore the relationship between educational inequality and race/ethnicity in a similar way by focusing on similar research questions, units of analysis, or social processes and use a similar set of research methods to achieve this goal'.
c) Are explicit about the employed sampling procedures, or which criteria of inclusion and databases were employed in developing a sample of litera-ture to be reviewed, with the primary goal to be as comprehensive as pos-sible. This transparency in terms of employed sampling frame helps the reader to better evaluate the focus and scope of the review.

While the international scope of the contributions and the similarities in terms of structure and methodology between the chapters contribute to the uniqueness of the two Handbooks and their relevance to the field, certain limitations need to be pointed out in advance. First, while most of the chap-ters in both editions of the Handbook are highly successful in offering a truly comprehensive review of the research literature that developed in their respec-tive countries, there is unavoidably some variation between the chapters in terms of how comprehensive the reviews aim to be. Due to limitations in resources and/or the vast amount of literature written on this topic, some chapters necessarily restrict their focus on a smaller number of research

traditions (e.g. chapter on the USA) and particular types of (for instance secondary) schooling (e.g. chapters on Ireland and the Netherlands). Furthermore, as it took over three years to develop this second edition of the Handbook, some chapters focus on the period 1980–2015, while others also cover research carried out more recently.

Secondly, in developing our conclusions, we as editors decided against writing a fully integrative review that is one that aims to bring together all the findings that emerged out of these studies into a single text and advises on future directions for research in each of the key research traditions and national contexts. As space limitations simply do not allow for such a review, the conclusions summarize some of the key characteristics of each national review (see for example the overview grid included in the concluding chapter) and point to main gaps in the literature. In so doing, this Second Edition of the Handbook does not only aim to map out how researchers have explained and studied race and ethnic inequalities in education and how future research can build on this, but it also functions as the most complete and comprehensive sourcebook to date on this topic, effectively allowing readers to carry out their own integrative reviews on particular topics by reading the conclusions of this Second Edition and critically summarizing particular sections of chapters. Furthermore, because of the various refugee crises affecting many nations, the concluding chapter also attempts to summarize how the influx of refugees and immigrants has impacted research on race and ethnic relations in terms of educational inequality in those countries and how such impacts have also affected societal cohesiveness in the various countries.

However, despite these shortcomings, we are adamant that, like the previous edition of the Handbook, this Second Edition offers a wealth of relevant information to students, researchers, social policy makers and activists interested in the relationship between race and ethnicity and educational inequalities. We hope that this book will encourage readers to investigate questions concerning inequality in education and society more generally from an international point of view, and consider the rich bodies of literature developed on this topic worldwide.

The focus on racial and ethnic inequality in education which is central to this handbook reflects a significant concern of the Sociology of Education Research Committee (known as RC04) of the International Sociological Association. The ISA, which was formally established in 1949, holds a charter from UNESCO and counts among its membership sociologists from 167 nations. As a professional organization, ISA holds membership in the International Council of Science. Its central office is in Madrid, Spain.

RC04 has addressed issues of educational equity and access at most of the ISA's World Congresses and Forums held around the world since the RC's inception in 1971, then under the leadership of Pierre Bourdieu as president. Distinguished sociologists of education have held office in RC04, including Basil Bernstein, Margaret Archer, the late Jaap Dronkers, Carlos Alberto Torres, Jeanne Ballantine, and Ari Antikainen. The editors and several of the contributors to this handbook are current members and even officers of RC04. In fact, some of the chapters in this handbook originated as papers delivered at the 2010 World Congress of Sociology in Gotheburg, Sweden and the 2012 Second Forum of Sociology in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Discussions with Palgrave regarding a Second Edition began late in 2015 and frequently involved e-mails and SKYPE calls between the editors. Over the past three years we have had numerous discussions between ourselves and with contributors to the second edition. In fact, we discussed expanding the number of countries covered during the 2014 World Congress of Sociology in Yokohama, Japan and met with contributors at the 2016 Third Forum of Sociology in Vienna, Austria. As with the previous edition, Peter Stevens took the lead in negotiations with Palgrave and in contacts with many of the original and new contributors.

In March 2016, Jaap Dronkers, former president of RC04 and a contributor to the chapter on PISA and the use and misuse of international standardized tests, passed away suddenly. At the time of his death he was chair of International Comparative Research on Educational Performance and Social Inequality at the University of Maastricht. He previously had been a professor and dean of the faculty of education at the University of Amsterdam, Professor of Social Stratification and Inequality at the European University of Florence (EUI), and held an honorary doctorate from the University of Turku (Finland). RC04 held a memorial for Jaap at our 2016 business meeting in Vienna, where several colleagues including contributors to this second edition spoke fondly of Jaap and his impact on the sociology of education and the understanding of the social structural forces that lead to racial and ethnic inequality. We remarked at the RC04 meeting that "Jaap was an excellent researcher and scholar with a sharp mind, an extensive knowledge of the sociology of education, stratification and inequality, research methods, and world history. His sense of humour and smile were infectious. Google Scholar lists nearly 5,000 citations of his works and his C.V. identified hundreds of journal articles published in Dutch, English, German, and Spanish, as well as several hundred technical reports and policy papers. The European University Institute noted in his obituary that his books were '…quintessentially Jaap Dronkers: theoretically inspired, rich empirical work with a strong comparative focus. Jaap

was an intellectual with a wide horizon who inspired several generations of younger scholars with his curiosity and enthusiasm.'"

He was a friend and colleague of many of us in RC04, as well as contributors to this second edition, and he will be truly missed.

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Argentina. Researching Ethnic and Educational Inequalities in Changing Policy Scenarios: From Homogenization to the Recognition of Diversity

Analía Inés Meo, Silvina Cimolai, and Lara Ailén Encinas

Introduction

Argentina has until recently denied, silenced and marginalized socio-cultural differences and particularities. Up until the 1980s, a homogenizing cultural paradigm permeated educational policies and it is only recently that cultural and linguistic differences and diversity have been legally and culturally

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acknowledged. From the 1980s onwards, 'diversity' and 'difference' have entered into the educational policy agenda, triggered by the globalization of these concerns as well as the recognition of prior indigenous struggles demanding their rights. For instance, in 2006, the new Education Law created the 'Intercultural and Bilingual Education' modality, which targets indigenous communities.

Concerns surrounding 'cultural differences' have been unfolding into complex socio-economic and political scenarios that have impacted on the structuration of the field of knowledge production in education and the configuration of research traditions. The last four decades have witnessed dramatic political changes: the return of the democracy and its consolidation, the deepening and dismissal of neoliberal economic reforms, the shrinking and growth of the state's role and intervention, severe socio-economic crises such as those triggered by the hyperinflation of 1989, the bankruptcy of the financial system in 2001, followed by a period of economic prosperity (between 2006 and 2013, with the exception of 2009 due the international crisis) and a recent economic decline with relatively high levels of inflation and persistent levels of poverty. These social, economic and political fluctuations, together with conflicting scientific policies and priorities, have affected – although in different ways and degrees – the boundaries, levels of autonomy, and power relations between players and research agendas in the field of educational knowledge.

This chapter maps research traditions examining ethnic and educational inequalities in basic education in Argentina from the 1980s up to 2015. A previous similar analysis was undertaken by two of the authors of this piece (Meo et al. 2014). This revised version of the original chapter has also involved acknowledging not only the history of the education system but also the nature of the recent developments in the field of educational knowledge production. This paper offers a typology of research traditions, which are described via a set of studies that have addressed specific research themes or topics, and have deployed similar theoretical tools and methodological strategies (Stevens 2007; Stevens et al. 2011). Boundaries between traditions are not clear and tend to overlap; however, each revolves around specific educational research concerns involving indigenous people and/or immigrants.

This chapter is organized into four main sections. The first section presents basic information regarding social and educational policies targeted at indigenous people and immigrants both before and during the period under analysis. It also depicts the current socio-demographic situation of these groups. Moreover, it offers key data on the Argentine education system, such as structure, governance, participation of the state and private sector, and recent democratizing trends of basic schooling. The second section presents the methodological strategy deployed to make visible the local knowledge produced around ethnic and educational inequalities. It describes a set of

systematic and flexible criteria used for searching, identifying and selecting research on ethnic and educational inequalities in Argentina. The following sections explore the identified five research traditions in turn: 'Mapping educational situation', 'Intercultural educational policies', 'Language conflict and schooling', 'Difference and diversity', and 'School texts as a means of othering'. Finally, the last section identifies potential territories to be charted by these expanding, rich and promising research traditions.

The Argentinean Education System

In Argentina, education is compulsory from age 4 to 17/18[1] (Law 26.206 in 2006 and its amendment in 2014: Law 27.045) and encompasses at least 14 school years (two for early childhood, six or seven for primary education and five or six years for secondary schooling). Primary education should offer an integrated basic and common education, whereas secondary schooling is composed of two different cycles: (i) the basic and common cycle, and (ii) the oriented cycle which includes different specializations related to knowledge and the social and working world. Primary schooling became almost universal in the 1990s, while secondary schooling has rapidly grown from a net school rate of 32.8% in 1970 to 81.4% in secondary education in urban areas in 2009 (Rivas et al. 2010; Duro and Perazza 2011).[2] Similarly to other Latin American and African countries, if pupils do not achieve the expected educational standards for a school year in primary or secondary education, they have to repeat it.[3]

There are no centralized entrance exams or final general exams on completion of either level. Furthermore, formally, pupils cannot be allocated to different types of schools or internal tracks within a school according to their educational achievement. Access to non-university institutions and to state universities is open: that means that any secondary school graduate is able to enroll in any degree without any further entrance requirement (Fig. 2.1).

Up until the 1960s, the Argentinean education system was highly centralized and monopolist (Narodowski and Andrada 2001). By mid 1990s,

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[1] The current structure of the national education system consists of four levels (early childhood education, primary, secondary, higher education) and eight 'types' (*modalidades*) amongst which is the Intercultural and Bilingual Education (Education Law 26.206: Art. 17).

[2] Primary schooling has been compulsory since 1884 (Law 1420), whilst lower secondary schooling and the last school year of kindergarten school became compulsory in 1993 (Federal Law of Education 24.195). The new Education Law 26.206 passed in 2006, increased the school leaving age by making upper secondary education compulsory.

[3] Since the 2000s, there are few secondary schools in several provinces where pupils do not repeat (such as *Escuelas de Reingreso* – Returning Schools – in the City of Buenos Aires, and the new university secondary schools created by the National Ministry of Education in agreement with different national state universities in the City and the province of Buenos Aires). Although these schools challenge the traditional academic regime of secondary education, their intake remains marginal.

provincial authorities directly funded, managed, staffed and supervised state primary, secondary and tertiary education, whilst the National Ministry of Education monitored the educational system by producing and evaluating data concerning educational achievement and by giving financial and technical support to compensate for inequalities between regions or social groups (López 2002; Palamidessi et al. 2007). From the mid-1990s onwards the national government has gathered data from schools and students through a national annual census (*Relevamiento Anual*) and an educational standards assessment survey (which has adopted different methodologies and sampling criteria over time), which have been called *Operativo Nacional de Evaluación Educativa* and since 2016 *Operativo Nacional Aprender. Evaluación de Aprendizajes*.

Regarding the participation of the public/state and private sectors in education, the educational transformation of the 1990s continued a process which started during the 1950s/1960s and which deepened in the 2000s: the increase of the private sector's powers and coverage. This trend has followed different patterns and rhythms across provinces. In 2010, in urban areas, 32.4% of the
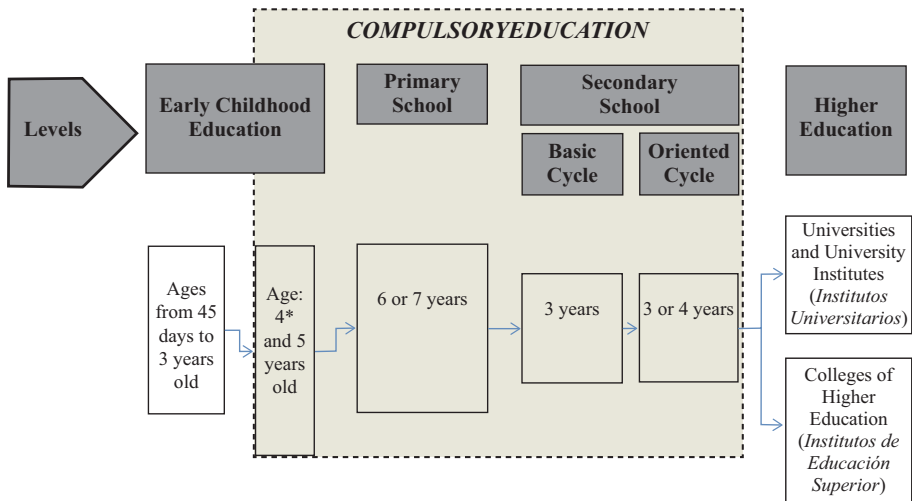
The Argentinean National Education System consists of 4 levels (early childhood education, primary school, secondary school and higher education) and 8 types (*modalidades*) (organizational and/or curricular options of common education within one or more educational levels). The Intercultural and Bilingual Education is one of them.

* The National Law 27.045, passed in 2014, increases the number of compulsory education by including the education for 4 years old.

Fig. 2.1 Structure of the Argentinean National Education System (National Laws 26.206 and Law 27.045)

pupils were enrolled in private primary schools and 21.2% in private secondary institutions – attending lower secondary education – (Bottinelli 2014). However, in the City of Buenos Aires (the richest jurisdiction in the country) around 50% of pupils enrolled in primary and secondary education were in state schools (UEICEE 2015) and there is evidence of socio-economic segregation between types of school sectors (Rivas et al. 2010).

Immigration to Argentina

Since the middle of the XIX century, specialist literature has identified different migratory patterns interwoven with wider socio-economic process that transcend national boundaries (Devoto 2003; Mármora 2002).[4] Up to the mid XIX century, the majority of immigrants were mainly from European origin (Italy and Spain). Poverty, wars, racism, and/or religious/ideological intolerance forced them to flee to Argentina (Oteiza et al. 2000). At the beginning of the XX century, they represented almost a third of the Argentinean population (see below Fig. 2.2). The World Wars, the 1930 crisis and the concomitant aggravation of the Argentinean economic situation dramatically changed this trend in the following decades (Devoto 2003). By 2010, non-border immigrants represented only 1.4% of the total population (INDEC 2012).

Border countries immigrants have historically represented around 2% or 3% of the total population (Devoto 2003). From the 1950s the decrease of European immigration made them more visible and easier targets of racism: they were not perceived or defined as 'immigrants' by the media and lay discourses. They were labeled as '*cabecitas negras*' (little black heads), derogatory term that refers to people migrating to urban areas attracted by the industrialization process that took place at that time. In the public opinion, border countries immigrants and Argentinean rural migrants were perceived as belonging to the same underprivileged social class and racially produced as 'black' (Grimson 2006). According to the last Population Census carried out in 2010, immigrants from border countries represented 3.1% of the population (795.358) (INDEC 2012).

Non-border and border immigrants have mainly settled in the central region of the country (City of Buenos Aires, the metropolitan area and the interior of the province of Buenos Aires, and Córdoba), and in the provinces of Patagonia (such as Santa Cruz, Río Negro, Neuquén, Chubut and Tierra

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[4] Only in the 19th century did immigration started to be systematically recorded (Devoto 2003).
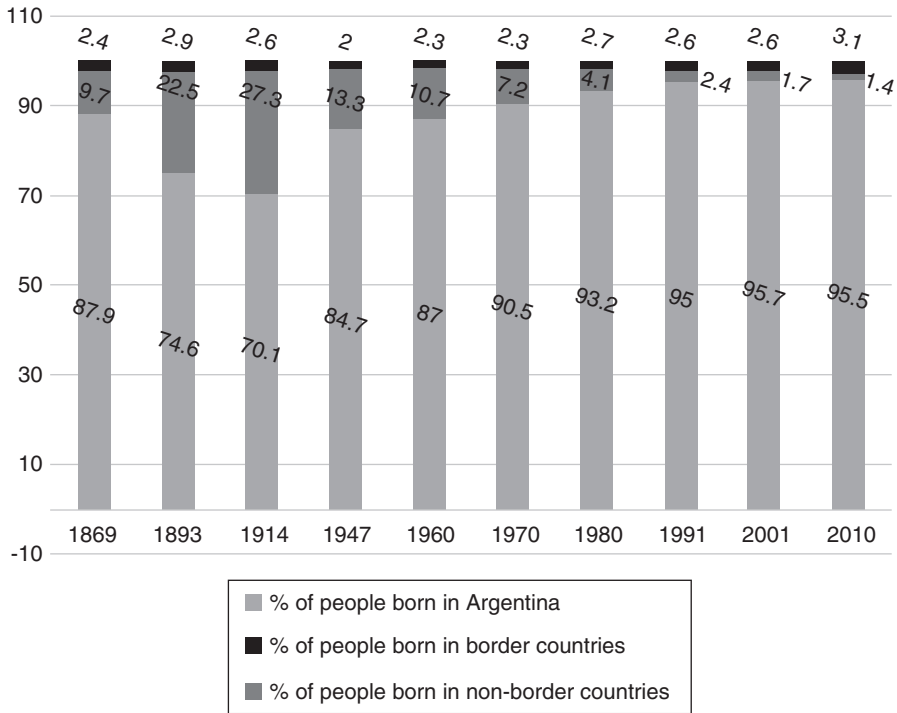
Fig. 2.2 Percentage of people born in Argentina, border countries, and non-border countries 1869–2010. (Source: Our elaboration based on the National Population Census 1869, 1893, 1914, 1947, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1991, 2001, and 2010)

del Fuego). In 2010, in terms of the region of origin, immigrants from South American countries represented the largest group, followed by European (mainly from Italy and Spain), Asians (largely from China and Korea) and a small percentage from different African nations. The largest groups of immigrants were from Paraguay (30.5%), Bolivia (19.1%), Chile (10.6%) and Peru (8.7%), which represented 68.9% of the foreign population (INDEC n.d.).

Unlike many other countries, in Argentina, immigrants are treated in a similar manner by the State (whether they are asylum seekers, legal or illegal migrants). In 2003, the normative framework that had regulated immigration was dismantled and a new Migrations Law (Law 25.871) was passed. It involved the recognition of migration as a human right (Novick 2017).[5]

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[5] Since 2016, new policies and official discourses are reframing migration as a 'security' or 'policy' problem instead as a human rights issue (Novick 2017). Due to the timeframe of this mapping exercise, this chapter will not include references to this changing scenario.

According to the latter, any citizen of a foreign state without criminal records could get the legal residency in Argentina just by proving their nationality. This law guarantees that every immigrant and their families have the same conditions of protection, shelter and rights than the Argentinean citizens in terms of access to public goods, social services, health, education, justice, social security and employment (Law 25.871, Article 6). Furthermore, according to the law, every immigrant child, independently of their legal status, has the right to be enrolled in a public or private primary and secondary school or higher education institution.

The National Population Census and the Household Permanent Survey gather socio-demographic data (including educational access) that could be broken down by nationality. However, there is not much information on educational achievement of immigrant pupils. According to the INDEC (2001), on average, border countries migrants have lower educational levels than those from the rest of the world and Argentinians. With regard to the enrolment rates, almost all children of primary school age from migrant families attend school (Cerrutti 2009). According to the *Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales 2002/2003,* educational access of migrant children decreases after the age of 14 and highly varied across nationalities (for example, Chilean and Bolivian immigrants have the higher enrollment rates, while the Paraguayan have the lowest).

Indigenous People in Argentina

Historically, there have been few official data sources recording the existence of indigenous people and communities in Argentina.[6] Ethnic groups have been misrecognized as such by the national and provincial states until the 1960s. The National Indigenous Census (*Censo Indígena Nacional*) was carried out in the mid 1960s. It geographically located different indigenous groups and gathered socio-demographic information about them. Although it was not fully implemented, the Census produced relevant information that lead to an estimation of 165.381 'indigenous' people in the country (Amadasi and Massé 2005).

Since 2001 the National State applied different surveys to recognize indigenous people into the national statistics system. In that year, the National Population Census (NPC) introduced questions to identify people who

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[6] For information about the past of indigenous communities see *Gobierno de la República Argentina* (2011).

consider themselves or someone else in their households indigenous.[7] In 2004, a special survey (*Encuesta Complementaria de Pueblos Indígenas, ECPI*) was carried out to gather information about a representative sample of indigenous households. It identified 30 indigenous communities. The largest ones are the Mapuche, Toba, Kolla and Wichí. According to this survey, in 2004, 600.329 people considered themselves or at least one of their antecessors indigenous. They represented 1.7% of the total country population. In terms of their geographical location, the majority of the indigenous communities were in the Northwest region (mainly based in the provinces of Jujuy and Salta). According to the most recent NPC (2010), 955.032 persons recognized themselves as indigenous or descendants from indigenous communities (*pueblos originarios*), which represented 2.4% of the country population (INDEC 2012). In terms of their geographical location, the majority was located in Patagonia (8.7% in Chubut, 8% in Neuquén, and 7.2 in Rio Negro), in the Northwest (7.7% in Jujuy and 6.6% in Salta), and Northeast (6% in Formosa). The NPC identified 32 indigenous communities. The seven largest ones represented 70% of the country indigenous populations: the Mapuche, Toba, Guarani, Diaguitas, Kolla, Quechua and Wichí. The significant difference of the number of people who define themselves as indigenous in the ECPI and the NPC could be interpreted as the result of political and social struggles of different communities that have led to greater public recognition of ethnic identities.

Regarding educational information of these groups, students in Bilingual and Intercultural Education (BIE) represented, in 2010, 0.6% of the total number of Argentinean students enrolled in common kindergarten, primary and secondary schooling (DiNIECE 2011). According to the most recent official publication, in 2006, 3.2% of primary schools (*unidades educativas*) had more than 50% of students identified as indigenous by schools, and only 2.2% of them in lower secondary education. Schools with more than 50% of pupils identified as indigenous have been officially labelled as 'indigenous'. Following general demographic patterns, the majority of these schools were in the Northern and Southern provinces (mainly in the borders of the country). Only 1.3% of primary school pupils and 0.6% of lower secondary schooling were classified as indigenous. In terms of the students' educational trajectory, also in 2006, pupils in 'indigenous' primary schools had high levels of repetition (25.4%) during the first school years. This trend decreases in the 7th grade (5.7%) due to mainly high levels of drop-out (28%). Regarding

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[7] The question about self-identification as indigenous person was only applied in small cities (with less than 25.000 inhabitants).

secondary schooling, repetition rates are lower in the so called 'indigenous' secondary schools than in rural state schools (which have worse educational indicators than urban ones). For instance, for the 8th grade, while the repetition rate is of 13.5% in rural schools, that represents 8.6% in indigenous ones. Analysts suggest that this lower level of repetition could be explained by previous high levels of drop-out of the indigenous pupils compared to non-indigenous pupils.

Educational Policies: From Homogenization to Partial Recognition of Difference

Up to the 1980s, the education system played a key role in the cultural assimilation and in the denial of linguistic and cultural differences of indigenous people and European immigrants (Quijada 2003). Central aspects of the educational policy have been the '*castellanización*' of its population (the inculcation through schooling of Spanish as the legitimate language), and the teaching of Argentinean national history (as the shared past of a wider community) (Acuña 2010). The institutional assumption that all children spoke Spanish, together with the symbolic and physical invisibility of indigenous communities and their social marginalization, has been part and parcel of the discursive production of Argentina as being a by-product of European immigration. Argentina has been defined as a 'melting pot' and Argentinean people as 'coming from the boats' (Quijada 2003). This metaphor contributed to the definition of Argentina as different from the rest of Latin American countries and comparable to white European countries, producing it as a white 'imagined community' (Anderson 1993).

With regard to indigenous communities, from the 1980s onwards, 'diversity', 'inter-culturalism', and 'multiculturalism' (amongst other concepts) became pivotal notions in educational, academic and policy debates. In this new scenario – triggered by global concerns around these issues and by historical political struggles in Latin America and Argentina–, indigenous groups, their ethnic identities and cultural differences started to be recognized. For example, during the 1980s, the City of Buenos Aires, Salta, Misiones, Río Negro, Formosa and Jujuy introduced different types of legislation recognizing them as political actors. At national level, in 1985, the National Law N° 23.302 declared that the state should respond to indigenous communities' needs and cultural specificities, and should promote their socio-economic participation. In 1994, the new Argentinean National Constitution not only recognized the ethnic and cultural pre-existence of the Argentinean indige-

nous communities, but also established that the state had to respect indigenous people's right to bilingual and intercultural education.

Educational policies were deeply shaped by this wider legal rights' agenda. For instance, the Federal Law of Education (1993)[8] promoted more freedom to develop curricular contents at provincial and school levels in order to reflect regional, provincial and local particularities. This paved the way to the development of indigenous curriculum in different jurisdictions. This Law also expressed the need to implement provincial programs oriented to the 'rescue' and strengthening of indigenous language and cultures. In addition to this, at the end of the 1990s, the national government executed various educational programs targeted at improving schooling and promoting curricular innovation in indigenous schools. In 1999, for the first time, national kindergarten and basic general education indigenous teaching degrees were established. In 2006, the new Education Law 26.206 created the educational type 'Intercultural and Bilingual education' for kindergarten, primary and secondary schooling. It aims to accomplish the constitutional right of indigenous communities to receive education that 'contributes to preserve and strengthen their cultural patterns, languages, vision and ethnic identity' (Education Law 26.206: Art. 52, our translation). Since 2006, the Educational Federal Council (*Consejo Federal de Educación*) passed different resolutions to favor the implementation of the Intercultural and Bilingual education and to integrate representatives of indigenous communities in the policy making process.

The historical production of official statistics concerning immigrants and indigenous people reflects the uneven interest of the State in these groups. As mentioned above, while population censuses had gathered basic socio-demographic and educational information on immigrants since 1869, indigenous people as ethnic groups remained statistically 'invisible' until the 1960s when the National Indigenous Census took place. However, only during the 2000s, the central government intensified the production of quantitative information on immigrants and indigenous people. With regards to educational statistics, although the National Annual Educational Census (*Relevamiento Anual*) has gathered since 1996 basic information on schools, teachers and students, and also on the number and nationality of foreign students, it only started collecting data on the numbers of indigenous students in 2007.

The methodological and analytical sections will show how the misrecognition of immigrants and indigenous people by the State (whether at policy or

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[8] This Law re-structured the organization and governance of the national education system (whose pillars were established in 1884 by the Law 1420).

data information production level) has strongly influenced the ways in which knowledge about ethnicity and educational inequalities have been produced.

Methodology

While some reviews of educational research focus on the context of Argentina (such as Milstein et al. (2007) on educational anthropology; Llomovate (1992) and Paviglianiti (1989) on educational research; and Palamidessi et al. (2007) and Gorostiaga et al. (2017) on the field of knowledge production in education), this is the first study to date that aims to (systematically) review research on ethnic inequalities in education in Argentina. As such, it maps 'what is out there', identifying highlights and tracing boundaries of a very complex and dynamic scenario. In developing a comprehensive review of research and in considering time and resource constraints and access and availability of literature, this study employs the following parameters in sampling literature for review: (i) Argentinean studies with a broad sociological approach, including studies primarily classified as anthropological and educational studies; (ii) research published between 1980 and 2015; (iii) analyses on basic and compulsory education; and (iv) different types of scholarly productions; books, peer-reviewed journal articles, and official reports.

The traditional low structuration of the sub-field of sociology of education in the country, as well as the marginal attention paid to ethnicity and education,[9] has demanded that this study includes other academic fields (anthropology and education sciences), and their questions, methods and contributions. In Argentina, since the 1980s the newly born field of educational anthropology has played a fundamental role in the development of studies on ethnicity and education, looking at developing critical interpretations of school life, and providing useful insights on topics related to sociocultural diversity and social inequalities (Achilli 2001; Milstein et al. 2007).

Due to the history of the educational research field in Argentina (which has until very recently promoted the publication of outputs only in academic journals in Spanish) (Palamidessi et al. 2007), we searched for articles in educational, anthropological and sociological journals written in Spanish and indexed in the most reputable academic journal database in Argentina (produced by the *Centro Argentino de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica,* CAICyT) and in the LATINDEX academic catalogue of publications (cre-

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[9] Studies on socio-economic inequalities and schools' daily lives in changing contexts have been at the center of the interest of sociology of education.

ated by an international network of academic organizations from Latin America, the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal). The initial search of indexed academic journals, carried out in 2012, led to the identification of 25 academic journals (10 educational, 6 anthropological and 9 sociological or social sciences journals). However, interviews with key researchers led to the detection of three more well-known educational journals that have yet to be indexed. Seventeen out of the 28 journals were initiated during the 1990s, 7 during the 2000s and only 4 during the 1980s or before. Every issue of each journal published between 1980 and 2015 was searched[10]; 5037 articles were checked and only 40 papers were focused on ethnicity and educational inequalities.

Due to the low number of articles identified at the beginning, the search needed to be widened to include other academic journals in sociology, education and anthropology and other publication types, such as books and government reports. Searches were performed in selected libraries and specialized book shops in the City of Buenos Aires and in the province of Buenos Aires together with academic browsers (such as Google Scholar, Scielo, Jstor and Redalyc) on the internet. Key producers of educational research in each discipline were identified, such as publishing companies, national universities, think tanks, non-governmental organizations, and central and provincial governmental agencies. Using this information, a multi-layered strategy was deployed to obtain further research outputs, ranging from requests to individual academics from different national universities for copies of their work and to research departments of provincial educational authorities, to visiting a wide range of institutional websites.

After identifying (in different stages) around 400 publications that seemed to fall under the general search criteria, a database with relevant research outputs had to be created. To achieve this, the relevance of each publication was assessed. Many of them were discarded because they did not report results from empirical studies. This multi-stage selection process resulted in a database containing 219 publications, including books, book chapters, journal articles and research reports. Although conference proceedings were excluded from the database, we finally decided to include few of them due to their unique and relevant character.

To analyze this set of publications, more detailed information regarding each one was gathered, such as its objectives, theoretical and methodological strategy, population described (indigenous and/or immigrants), level of education (initial, primary, or secondary), area (urban or rural), region of the

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[10] In some cases, it was not possible to check the complete collection.

country, key findings and institutional affiliation of the author/s. With this data, commonalities and differences were identified across the publications. This allowed significant aspects of each tradition to be defined and difference or nuances within them to be recognized.

The summaries of these articles, books and reports were analyzed and included in different provisional research traditions according to their research questions, methodological strategy and theoretical approaches. With these preliminary analyses completed, one matrix per research tradition was constructed and this included key data such as target population, area, educational level, methodological strategy, theoretical approaches and key findings. The majority of the identified publications were from the 2000s, with only a minority having been published during the 1980s and a larger group in the 1990s (see Table 2.1).

The composition of the assembled database also reflects the historical development of the education knowledge field in Argentina. In other words, research on ethnicity and educational inequalities follows the general development trends of this complex multi-disciplinary academic field. As mentioned above, the State's and academics' interest on ethnicity is recent and marginal. Since the return of the democracy in 1983, the field of educational knowledge has undergone major transformations that have impacted on the nature and scope of the research on ethnicity and educational inequalities. While at the beginnings of the 1980s insufficient and poorly trained staff, lack of funding, and severe organizational difficulties were key features of research institutions (Palamidessi et al. 2007), recent changes in the national Science and Technology and Higher Education policies as well as the growth of the research activity in general have positively influenced knowledge production (Palamidessi et al. 2007; Pérez Lindo 2005). This has contributed to the rapid expansion and consolidation of regional catalogues, academic journals, and collective research outputs (SPU 2008; Gorostiaga et al. 2016), and the slow but steady trend to tighten peer review processes (via self-regulation and indexing). In other words, state funding has fostered (at least, until 2015) a more dynamic and self-regulated educational research field, which has posi-

Table 2.1 Publications identified per period

Period	Number of publications	Percentage
1980–1989	8	3.7
1990–1999	30	13.7
2000–2009	113	51.6
2010–2015	68	31
Total	219	100

tively impacted on the pace of growth and the quality of the studies on ethnicity and education.

Research on Ethnicity and Educational Inequality in Argentina

Having described the methodological strategy and some aspects of the field of educational knowledge, the research traditions 'Mapping the educational access', 'Intercultural educational policies', 'Language conflict and schooling', 'Difference and Diversity', and 'School texts as means of othering' will now be examined in turn. The distribution of the analyzed publications according to tradition is presented in the following graph (Fig. 2.3).
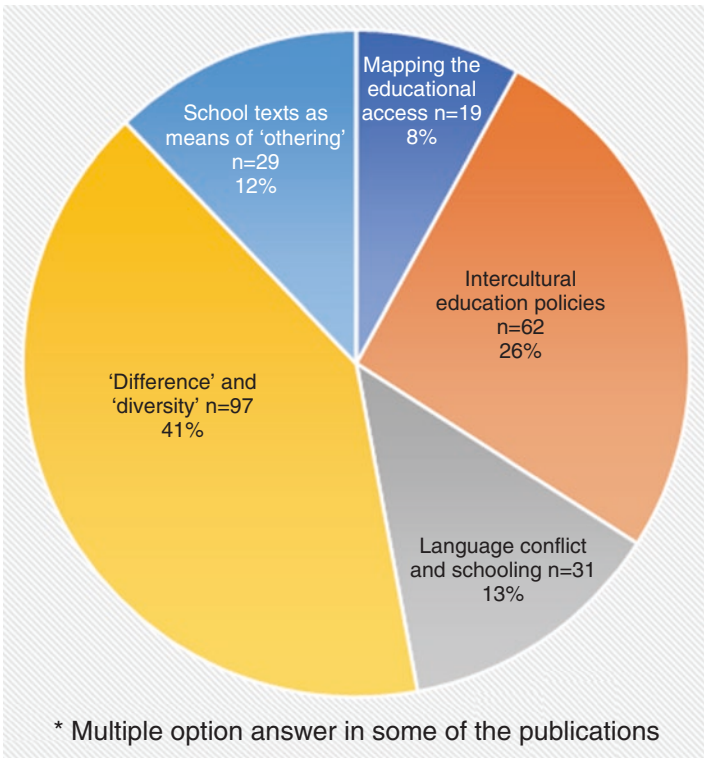
Fig. 2.3 Number and percentage of publications per research tradition (n = 219)

Mapping the Educational Situation of Indigenous and Immigrant Students: An Under-Developed Tradition

This body of research mainly depicts the levels of educational access attained by indigenous people and immigrants by examining quantitative data. These reports have mostly been produced by experts working within government agencies or international organizations. The type of knowledge produced is descriptive and oriented towards policy decision-making. Driven by an interest in guaranteeing indigenous people and immigrants educational rights, research acknowledge the lack of studies about these populations and aim at filling this gap. While some of them analyze pre-existent data, others produce their own by carrying out surveys. There are also few studies that use mixed methods and examine diversity of data (such as official stats together with information produced by researchers through surveys, interviews and participant observations). They interrogate the continuities and discontinuities between the collected evidence.

Compared with other research traditions, fewer studies were identified in this group (only 8.7% of the total of publications analyzed) and most of them were produced from 2000 onwards. The late and under-developed statistical information and datasets by government agencies and/or non-governmental organizations explains the weakness and slow development of this research strand. The availability of data restricts the types of questions researchers can formulate. These reports explicitly acknowledge the limitations of the existing data sources in producing more complex analyses of the educational situation of these groups. During the 1980s and 1990s, the reasons for so few reports were due not only to the underdevelopment of official data but also to the lack of tradition of using resources from research to inform policy decision-making in education (Hernández 1988; Paviglianiti 1989). However, from 1990s onwards, the persistence of the marginal impact of quantitative data analyses could be explained by the predominance of qualitative research approaches within the educational research field (as next sections of this article will show).

In this under-developed tradition, indigenous groups have been the focus of much attention. Reports using secondary data sources have examined a wide range of indicators, such as educational access, types (state or private) of schools with indigenous students, literacy levels, school attendance, drop-out rates, coverage of school grants and distance from home to school (Alonso et al. 2007; Avellaneda 2001; Costarelli 2008; Fischman 1993; Fulco 1980;

Ministerio de Educación de Corrientes 2008; UNICEF 2009, 2010).[11] Numerous studies examine the distribution of these indicators according to their geographical distribution and indigenous groups. Some of them have been produced to inform the development of Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) schools.

These analyses demonstrate the unequal access and completion rates of indigenous groups in the educational system (Cid and Paz 2004; Fischman 1993; UNICEF 2009, 2010, 2011a, b). For instance, at the end of the 1980s, Fischman examined the scant available data for the General Viamonte district, the only one in the Province of Buenos Aires recognized at that time as having an established indigenous community. Based on the scarce information available, he noted that this district had a higher primary school drop-out rate and larger levels of illiteracy than surrounding districts. More recently, UNICEF has published between 2009 and 2011 a series of studies portraying the educational situation of indigenous children and teenagers in Argentina. They show how access and continuance in the educational system vary across indigenous groups (UNICEF 2010). To deepen the understanding of these phenomena, quantitative and qualitative methods were used in three studies with the Toba (UNICEF 2011a), the Mbyá Guaraní and Wichí (UNICEF 2009) and the Mapuche and Kolla (UNICEF 2011b) communities. The quantitative component of these studies examines data from the *Encuesta Complementaria de Pueblos Indígenas* (implemented in 2004–2005). The UNICEF studies show that the great majority of indigenous children aged between 5 and 14 years attended primary school, a figure which is similar to national trends. However, in the case of the Mbyá Guaraní, Wichí, Pilagá and Toba communities, the enrolment rate of this age group was significantly lower (UNICEF 2009, 2011a). Based on qualitative in-depth studies, UNICEF (2010) identifies two main explaining factors of this trend. On the one hand, parents believed that children between 5 and 7 years are still too young to go to school. On the other hand, teenagers tended to start working at very early age (between 13 and 14 years old), which forced them to drop out of school. Furthermore, UNICEF (2010) shows that 64.5% of indigenous young people (between 15 and 19-year-old) attended schooling – compared to the 68.5% enrolment rate of the same age group at national level. However, unlike observed trends in primary schooling, while some indigenous communities (Comechingón, Guaraní, Huarpe, Kolla and Mapuche) had schooling

[11] Secondary data used come from the National Population Censuses carried out in the country since 1869, the National Indigenous Census (1966–1968), and the *Encuesta Complementaria de Pueblos Indígenas* (2004–2005).

rates like or even higher than that at the national one; others had significantly lower attendance rates. Young people from the Mbyá Guaraní, Pilagá, Toba and Mocoví communities have the lowest schooling rates (which vary from 33% up to 46%).

Studies that generated their own data are limited to small areas of the country. These have been undertaken to produce useful data for improving the educational situation of the indigenous population in the region analyzed. In so doing, they utilize surveys as the privileged data collection technique. For example, Moscato (1996) supplied a questionnaire to students and teachers attending an urban school that incorporated the indigenous population in Santa Fe in order to assess the perceptions of their students' bilingualism. Another example is a study carried out in the early 1980s as part of a wider international research project. The first part of the study described the drop-out, repetition and retention rates of indigenous children attending 55 schools distributed across two provinces of the country, Neuquén and Salta, using data from questionnaires completed by head teachers (Fulco 1980). Another research of this kind is the one carried out by the Ministry of Education in the province of Corrientes in 2007 (Ministerio de Educación de Corrientes 2008), which conducted a survey to determine head teachers', teachers' and students' attitudes towards the use of indigenous language in schools.

Although, as stated before, the majority of the quantitative analyses in this tradition is descriptive, the study of Cid and Paz (2004) is an exception to this trend and the only one identified that generates explicative models based on the concept of discrimination, defined as unequal treatment under similar conditions. The study explored determining factors of educational achievement with a focus on ethnic differences. Regression models were used to identify educational exclusion processes based on discrimination towards the indigenous population in Salta. The authors compared the indigenous and non-indigenous population in order to establish whether there was discrimination experienced by the former group that could not be explained by other variables, such as poverty. They focused their attention on 'school attendance' and 'educational achievement' and argued that there was evidence of discrimination towards students who lived in households with at least one indigenous person. The data showed that young indigenous people had to overcome more difficulties in order to attend school and to continue their education than their non-indigenous counterparts.

With respect to foreign students and immigrants, fewer reports could be identified. Some of them used secondary data from variety of sources, such as the *Encuesta Complementaria de Migraciones Internacionales* (ECMI), the Annual Census of Educational Institutions (*Relevamiento Anual de*

Establecimientos Educativos), and the Permanent Household Survey (*Encuesta Permanente de Hogares*). At the national level, Cerrutti (2009) analysed data from the ECMI and showed that, in 2002–2003, the enrolment rate of foreign students was almost 100 per cent for primary education but it dramatically decreased for secondary and higher education to around 50 per cent (with significant differences amongst nationalities). Another two studies were focused on the City of Buenos Aires and described the number of foreigners enrolled at each educational level according to their nationality and geographical distribution within the city, and the evolution of immigrant students' enrolment rate over the period 2000–08 (Catalá et al. 2009; Padawer et al. 2010). Padawer et al. (2010), for instance, showed an increase of 21.3% in the number of foreign students in primary schools during the period 2000–08 while the total number of pupils only grew 1.8%.

One recent study produced its own quantitative data. Cerrutti and Binstock (2012) aim at describing the educational and social situation of immigrant adolescents attending secondary schools in the City and in the province of Buenos Aires. These researchers compare the situation of native students with that of the first and second generation of immigrant students according to their nationalities. They carried out a collective case study in 17 state secondary schools in 2011, wherein they also surveyed 1558 students. From this survey, they obtained information of students' socio-economic origin, migratory experiences, social, economic and educational characteristics of their families, educational engagement, achievement and support, self-esteem, aspirations, life styles, and, in the case of the foreigners, the level of satisfaction with their lives in Argentina and their links with their communities of origin. According to this analysis, foreign students came from households whose heads have lower educational level than that of native students' (although the studied native population mainly comes from low and middle-low socio-economic groups). Furthermore, the participation in the labour market of foreign students was higher. However, despite these socio-economic disadvantages, foreign students had better educational results and less absenteeism than their native counterparts. Bolivian students studied on average more weekly hours and had the lowest rate of school absences than any other foreign group. According to this study, foreign students identify different types of discriminatory practices (such as verbal aggressions, everyday picking, and complete indifference). Bolivian girls and boys were the most discriminated against due to their foreignness, skin colour and physical appearance. Furthermore, three quarters of foreign students declared that they were discriminated by their own classmates and only a minority mentioned their teachers as aggressors.

In sum, this research tradition focuses on describing educational access attained by indigenous people and immigrants, mainly using quantitative data and recurring to mix strategies in some cases to interpret some of the data. Studies are generally carried out by government agencies and international organizations and tend to be used for policy decision-making purposes. The introduction of new quantitative data gathering instruments has promoted its recent expansion but it remains under-developed.

Intercultural Educational Policies

This rich research tradition focuses on the educational policies targeted at mainly indigenous people in Argentina from the inception of the Nation State onwards (Novaro 2004; Hecht 2007, 2015; Hirsch and Serrudo 2010; Unamuno and Raiter 2012; Liva and Artieda 2014; Medina and Hecht 2015). Only a few studies focus on policies targeted at immigrant people (see Barbero and Roldán 1987; Citrinovitz 1991; Finoli 2011). These two collections of studies have notably grown during the last fifteen years and they comprise qualitative analyses (mainly ethnographies) carried out by anthropologists. National and provincial governments, non-governmental organizations and more recently academic organizations have been their main funding bodies (e.g. Hirsch 2010; Hirsch and Serrudo 2010; Serrudo 2010; Liva and Artieda 2014; Medina and Hecht 2015; Unamuno 2015). Recent research lines of inquiry have been oriented by policy concerns around the implementation of the Bilingual and Intercultural Education modality, established in 2006 by the new National Law of Education (see Cervera et al. 2010; Wallis 2010; Unamuno and Raiter 2012; Maggi 2015; Unamuno 2015).

The research conducted, on the one hand, has examined policy texts or documents (such as national educational laws, educational programmes, and teachers' work statutes) and, on the other hand, has scrutinized the ways in which different individual and collective actors (such as provincial governments, teachers, and indigenous communities) interpret, redefine and resist official categorizations and understandings in different socio-economic, cultural and linguistic contexts.

The first strand of research is focused on studies analyzing policy texts and understand them as the outcomes of complex interpretative processes stemming from social, economic and cultural struggles between different social groups (see for instance Díaz and Alonso 2004; Hecht 2007; Hecht and Szulc 2006; Liva and Artieda 2014; Maggi 2015; Medina and Hecht 2015). Many focus on policy documents produced by the national and provincial states (see

Alonso and Díaz 2004a; Bordegaray and Novaro 2004; Falaschi et al. 2005; Arce 2011; Finoli 2011; Maggi 2015). Only a few pay attention to other 'producers' of educational documents (Medina and Hecht 2015; Liva and Artieda 2014). For example, Nicoletti (2002/2003) examined an educational document written by a key missionary within the Salesian Congregation of the Catholic Church, and Alonso and Díaz (2004b) produced an educational document together with the Mapuche community from Neuquén. Furthermore, Medina and Hecht (2015) explore teachers unions', policy makers' and indigenous representatives' perspectives on the provincial Law 7446 regulating the 'Bilingual and Intercultural Indigenous Community Management' of schools ('*Educación Pública de Gestión Comunitaria Bilingüe Intercultural Indígena*'), passed in the province of Chaco in 2014.

Two sets of educational policy documents have been closely scrutinised: a few produced at the turn of the 20th century, and those mainly introduced from the 1980s onwards by the national and provincial governments. Within the first period, research examines different educational documents produced by the Catholic Church (key policy player) and the central government; such as the Educational Law 1420 (Hecht 2007; Maggi 2015) and Franciscan codes and reports from 1900 to 1914 (Artieda and Liva 2014). In the most recent period, Bilingual and Intercultural Education (BIE) has established the policy horizon within which research has sprung out (see Briones 2004; Hirsch and Serrudo 2010; Lanusse 2004; Arce 2011; Maggi 2015; Medina and Hecht 2015). The term 'BIE policies' refers to a wide range of educational policies targeted at indigenous children and young people from the 1980s onwards. An example of this type of policy document research is the study of Serrudo (2010) on the legal frameworks that regulate the recruitment and training of indigenous teachers in different provinces. She scrutinized different sets of policy documents produced by the governments of the provinces of Formosa, Chaco and Salta. The author argued that each provincial state has deployed different policies towards the inclusion and training of indigenous teachers and each has a different scope, pace of implementation, and level of support. Moreover, this seems to foster different degrees of professionalization among indigenous teachers. Another recent example is the work of Arce (2011) examining the discursive meanings underpinning certain laws and regulatory frameworks (at provincial, national and international levels) related to the implementation of educational programs targeted at indigenous people.

The great majority of the studies agree in identifying two major types of educational policies concerning indigenous people: the so called 'homogenizing' (*homogeneizadoras*) and the 'focalized' (*focalizadas*) policies (see Achilli

2001; García and Paladino 2007; Hecht 2007; Soria 2009; Maggi 2015). While, as presented in previous sections, the former misrecognizes indigenous people, the latter both recognizes but reifies socio-cultural difference. Analysts have critically examined focalized educational policies emerged during the 1990s, considering them as part of a wider process of recognition of ethnic and linguistic diversity, that, paradoxically, contributed to a non-critical celebration of cultural differences in schools, its reification, othering and decoupling from social inequalities (Bella 2007; Bordegaray and Novaro 2004; Hecht 2007; Arce 2011; Maggi 2015). Few researchers have also highlighted the negative effects of the decentralization of the education system had on the focalized policies of BIE. Despite the optimistic official rhetoric highlighting its positive effects on the appreciation of regional and local demands, decentralization promoted greater inequalities between provinces and weakened the poorest which were the ones with the highest numbers of indigenous people (Hetch 2006; Maggi 2015).

With regards to immigrants, only Barbero and Roldán (1987) examined the educational policies towards immigrants in the 'foundational period' of the Nation State (1880–1910). They clearly demonstrated the central role of the state and the concomitant displacement of the Catholic Church from the educational policy-making process. The state's lack of attention to immigrants corresponds to the persistence of a 'homogenizing' approach, which permeated social, cultural and educational policies directed towards this group (Domenech 2003). Unlike indigenous communities, immigrants (unless they were poor) have not become the target of specific policies that construct them as a distinctive group in need of specific educational policies. Few studies have been concerned with refugees' educational situation (Finoli 2011). According to Finoli's research (2011), although a legal framework protects refugee children's right to education, administrative procedures hamper their access to schooling, which mainly depends on government agents' goodwill. The author advocates for clear and realistic mechanisms and procedures that avoid favoritisms or denial of rights.

A second strand of research within this tradition encompasses those studies which explore the ways in which educational policies targeted at indigenous people have been implemented, interpreted, and/or resisted by different actors in diverse socio-cultural and linguistic contexts (see Aguirre 2010; Gómez Otero 2001; Hernández and Kleinerman 1999; Ossola 2011; Unamuno and Raiter 2012; Unamuno 2015). Analyses have been concerned with improving indigenous children's education and granting their right to be educated (such as Acuña 2010; Hirsch 2010). Although the majority of such studies were produced during the 2000s, some foundational research was carried out

during the 1980s, such as that by Grimsditch et al. (1987) which examined the aspirations and needs of indigenous and Creole women from rural areas in Formosa. This study investigated the cultural transmission model of this community and focused on what they knew, how they learnt and what they would like to learn in the future.

Analyses engage with theoretical discussions to define the scope and nature of intercultural education, sometimes against other perspectives of social differences such as biculturalism and multiculturalism (Alonso and Díaz 2004b, c; Bertella 2006; Briones 2004; Enriz 2010; Hirsch 2010; Novaro 2004; Rodríguez de Anca 2004; Zidarich 2010; Unamuno and Raiter 2012; Serpe 2015; Unamuno 2015). These concepts operate as an analytical yardstick against which different experiences can then be critically examined.

The methodological strategy of this research strand is mainly qualitative. Although the majority of the publications do not include detailed information about how evidence has been gathered, ethnographies of communities and schools, individual and group interviews, participant observations of training courses, documentary analysis, and participatory methods such as workshops have all been used. Few studies include references to quantitative data on BIE experiences (see Bertella 2006; MECT 2004) and several authors make no reference to the year in which they have carried out their research.[12]

In this research tradition, studies mainly pivot around the bilingual and intercultural educational (BIE) policies targeted at indigenous people. They have traced their implementation in different provinces, communities and schools[13] and how different school actors, such as policy-makers, indigenous and non-indigenous teachers, teachers' unions and indigenous communities, have interpreted them. The focus has been on 'how' these policies operate. The study of Unamuno (2015), for instance, illustrates key aspects of this approach. She investigates how the meanings of BIE are produced by different discourses and practices and from distinctive positions. Based on a multi-sited ethnographic study carried out in the province of Chaco, the author argues that BIE is vaguely defined by legal frameworks and, hence, schools are crucial sites where its aims, target population and teachers' roles are defined. Nevertheless, head teachers and teachers do not necessarily share a common understanding around what BIE is or should be. In this sense, this policy is the result of everyday struggles between legal definitions, headteachers'

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[12] The lack of detailed methodological information is more common in chapters of books. The wider target audience could explain this tendency.

[13] Only one study (Citrinovitz 1991) examined educational policies targeted (bilingual literacy) at immigrants in frontier schools in order to determine the reasons behind their educational failure.

everyday decisions and engagements with current legal frames, and teachers' practices and positionings.

This research tradition highlights obstacles, gaps and contradictions between the principles and practices of BIE, and, made (implicit or explicit) policy recommendations. For instance, research have emphasized the need: (i) to develop non-indigenous teachers' socio-cultural awareness of indigenous cultures across BEI experiences (Carozzi 1983; Cebolla de Badie 2005; MECT 2004); (ii) to raise the status of indigenous teachers' pedagogic role in schools (Zidarich 2010); (iii) to promote indigenous and non-indigenous teachers training (Cervera et al. 2010; MECT 2004; Serrudo 2010); (iv) to develop alternative pedagogies that recognize cultural differences (Bertella 2006; Cebolla de Badie 2005; Gómez Otero 2001; MECT 2004; Novaro 2004); (v) to redefine indigenous teachers' pedagogic role without restricting it to translation (Bertella 2006; Zidarich 2010); (vi) to improve indigenous teachers' working conditions in terms of salaries and job stability (Arce 2007); (vii) to critically engage with the political nature of 'interculturality', which should contribute to problematize not only the 'other' but also the relationship between 'them and us' (Medina and Hecht 2015); and (viii) to carefully recognize headteachers', teachers', and students' ways to re-contextualize intercultural education in order to gain relevant policy knowledge (Ossola 2011).

Various studies also present the achievements of BIE experiences (Arce 2007, 2011; Hirsch 2010; Maggi 2015). Hirsch (2010) for instance, argued that bilingualism and interculturalism (although in different ways) have favoured school retention in one rural and one urban Guarani communities in Salta with different levels of predominance of indigenous language. Arce (2007) claimed that BIE has promoted the participation of indigenous teachers (*Auxiliar Docente Indígena*) in their schools and communities, fostered community participation and demands, and improved indigenous teachers' working conditions and access to training. According to Maggi (2015), an innovative aspect of the BIE modality is its distance from stereotypical representations of indigenous cultures. It aims at historicizing indigenous cultures and recognizing the role that pedagogical practice has in the development of student's social, cultural and linguistic identity. According to the author, this has been a turning point of the official understanding of difference.

This research tradition also evidences that BIE policies have been developed at dissimilar rates and have implied different degrees of indigenous communities' participation (Díaz et al. 2010; Wallis 2010). Wallis (2010), for example, showed that the implementation of BIE in Salta has been very difficult to achieve due to its divorce from the ways in which Wichí communities' understand education and knowledge production. Moreover, the author asserts that

this disconnection is also reflected in the fact that schools have misrecognized the negative impact that formal schooling has on Wichí's culture.

In sum, this collection of inquiries examines the educational policies directed towards mainly indigenous people and has two principal strands. While the first one is focused on the analysis of policy texts, the second strand comprises the analysis of how educational policies have been implemented and how different school actors have interpreted them.

Language Conflict and Schooling

This is a small but consolidated research tradition, where studies are guided by wider concerns originating from 'linguistic anthropology', 'sociolinguistics' and the 'sociology of language'. These perspectives emerged in the aftermath of World War II and have focused on language use and its implicit and complex rules rather than on its formal structuration (Unamuno 1995).

In Argentina, researchers have used a sociolinguistic perspective to study schooling from the mid-1990s onwards (see for instance Acuña 2001, 2005, 2010; Armatto de Welti 2005, 2008; Bigot 2007a, b; Gandulfo 2007a, b; Heras and Holstein 2004; Hecht 2006, 2010; Unamuno 2011a, b). Since 2000, this type of studies have flourished within anthropology. This research tradition interprets schooling as one, albeit central, socio-linguistic scenario, where conflicts, exchanges and power relations around the use of language/s take place (Acuña 2001, 2010; Bigot 2007a). Research has looked at how indigenous languages interact with dominant ones in particular socio-cultural contexts in order to explore their socio-cultural and economic consequences (Unamuno 1992, 1994). It examines different aspects of schooling such as teachers' and families' views and the linguistic aspects of educational policy *vis a vis* the socio-linguistic situation of indigenous communities and to a lesser extent, of immigrant students. Such studies draw upon concepts such as 'use', 'displacements', 'suffocation', 'replacement' and/or 'revitalization' of languages. Following Milstein et al. (2007), this research strand interprets communicational problems of certain indigenous and poor rural pupils as embedded in wider and conflictive relationships between different linguistic codes and socialization processes. This tradition evidences that, despite recent educational reforms (such as the creation of the Bilingual and Intercultural modality of education targeted at indigenous people by the National Law of Education in 2006), schooling remains a site of linguistic and cultural domination of indigenous people and their communities, or immigrants.

The majority of these studies are interested in examining the vitality of languages and their relationships with the complex production of ethnic identities in linguistic contact zones. During the last decade, some studies have also explored the complex relationships and tensions between different variations (*variedades*) of Spanish and some indigenous or immigrant languages. According to these researchers, focusing on Spanish is justified by its central role in the symbolic production of the Argentinean nation, and by the entanglement of its variations with processes of social hierarchization and with the reproduction of educational inequalities (Unamuno 2011a, b; Hecht 2011).

Only a few studies directly explore the relationships between language vitality and learning (Acuña 2001, 2010; Armatto de Welti 2005, 2008; Unamuno 1994). Some analyses focused on the relationship between language and educational trajectories for children living in bilingual Spanish-Guarani contexts (Gandulfo 2007a, b; Armatto de Welti 2005, 2008; Unamuno 1992, 1994).

Research is mainly ethnographic. Despite their particularities, studies of this tradition carry out detailed analysis of everyday interactions in particular locales to address: (i) how minority and majority languages, dominant and dominated groups, are routinely produced within and by linguistic and social practices, and (ii) how subaltern groups creatively resist to linguistic and social domination that others take for granted. Only a few have also drawn on sociological quantitative methods such as interviews or surveys to gather information on socio-cultural and linguistic aspects (see Bigot 2007b; Unamuno 1992).

Several inquiries were undertaken in rural communities in different provinces with relatively high proportions of indigenous communities, such as Salta, Corrientes, Misiones, Formosa, Neuquén, Santiago del Estero and Chaco. Other analyses looked at deprived urban areas (*áreas urbano-marginales*) in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Rosario (see, for instance, Armatto de Welti 2005; Bigot 2007b; Messineo and Hecht 2007; Unamuno 1992, 1994; Hecht 2011, 2013).

Analyses mainly scrutinises indigenous people and their communities (e.g. Acuña 2001, 2005, 2010; Bigot 2007a, b; Hecht 2006, 2010, 2013). Many pay special attention at children (in and outside schools) (e.g. Gandulfo 2007a, b; Hecht 2011, 2015; Heras and Holstein 2004). Some researchers reflect on the value of collaborative research projects with children and adults to unpack the complexities of bilinguism and to develop linguistic public policies able to address them (e.g. Gandulfo 2015). Primary schooling has been the main focus of attention and research has been conducted by individual researchers and interdisciplinary teams. In general, this has been linked

to the development of educational interventions such as teachers' training courses and school texts (Armatto de Welti 2008). In the last few years, Unamuno (2011a, b, 2012) has focused on indigenous teacher students and on representations on BIE in primary and elementary schools. She has used interviews, group discussions, class observation, and surveys. She argues that indigenous teachers and teacher students are routinely assessed by native teachers according to their Spanish linguistic competence, which is evidenced by the dominant linguistic practices in classroom interactions. This illustrates the distance between the official discourse of BIE and how they are interpreted by school actors. Certain changes in BIE (such as the formal requirement of being fluent in an indigenous language to get a bilingual teacher post) are resisted by the 'old teachers', who want to retain their privileged position in the educational system. This resistance could be linguistically traced: the 'old teachers' negatively assessed the 'new teachers' due to their Spanish linguistic competences and define the latter as 'translators' from wichí to Spanish (*castellano*), as 'mediators' between the white teacher and their pupils, or as a 'bridge' that will allow the '*castellanización*' or the linguistic imposition of the Spanish over indigenous languages.

Unamuno's (1992) and Acuña's (2001, 2010) studies illustrate how learning and educational failure has been examined in this research tradition. Unamuno (1992) analyzed the social representation of Argentina as a monolingual country which is promoted by schools receiving bilingual immigrant children from a slum in the province of Great Buenos Aires. The majority of pupils came from Paraguay and spoke Guaraní and Spanish. Interviews were conducted with female and male household heads and with children attending primary schools. Unamuno argued that linguistic conflict is associated with educational failure, mainly due the asymmetrical prestige of the languages used in school and at home, rather than the communicational competence of socially excluded children. Linguistic differences were ignored by teachers who viewed these children as '*villeros*', people who live in slums. On the other hand, Acuña (2010) argues that the educational failure of indigenous children, which surpasses that of non-indigenous people, is the result of teachers' misrecognition of the distance between their linguistic type of Spanish and the linguistic situation of indigenous pupils, which varies greatly in different regions of the country. This analysis provides evidence of how this distance is interpreted as a deficit, rather than as a linguistic difference that needs to be addressed in order to guarantee access to school knowledge.

In sum, this research tradition offers a rich perspective to unpack the relationships between language, power and schooling. Furthermore, it offers insights on the ways in which educational inequalities are produced on a daily basis in linguistic contact zones.

'Difference' and 'Diversity': Perspectives and Identities

This research tradition addresses the social construction of cultural difference in the education system. With regards to its main research questions, the majority of the studies have mapped how the 'other' is viewed, produced, perceived, judged and represented at schools (see, for instance, Achilli 1996; García 2010; Sinisi 2000; González and Plotnik 2011; Martínez 2011; Solari 2013). Research also examines how national and ethnic identifications and identities are produced in everyday interactions between teachers, families and students (Heras Monner Sans 2002; Martínez 2012; Diez and Novaro 2011; Borton 2011). Some have scrutinised the discontinuities between the schools' and children's interpretative frameworks to unpack school failure, which has included interactional and communicational styles, use of language, learning styles and conceptions surrounding knowledge production (Borton et al. 2010; Borzone and Rosemberg 2000; Cardin 2003; Novaro et al. 2008; Borton 2011; Diez and Novaro 2011; Hecht 2013). Few retrospective analyses of indigenous adults' and immigrant young people's educational trajectories have been carried out in recent years (García Palacios et al. 2015; Hecht 2014; Beheran 2011; Diez 2011).

Teachers' perspectives have often been the focus of attention (for example, Montesinos and Pallma 1999; Montesinos et al. 1999; Sinisi 1999; González and Plotnik 2011; Borton 2011; Domenech 2014). Many studies contrast the views of different actors, such as teachers, pupils and families (Borton et al. 2010; Domenech 2004; Neufeld and Thisted 1999; Pérez 2008; Sagastizabal 2006; Diez and Novaro 2015; Martínez 2011; Beheran 2011). Other actors' viewpoints have also been explored, such as teaching students, indigenous leaders, and professionals from interdisciplinary teams working in schools (see Heras Monner Sans 2002; Holstein 1999; Margulis and Lewin 1999; Novaro et al. 2008; Pérez 2008; Sagastizabal 2006; Diez and Novaro 2011). Since 2010, a growing number of researchers have focused on immigrant and indigenous pupils' perspectives (Diez 2011; Hecht 2013, 2015). 'Bolivian' pupils' interpretations of school discourses, teachers' practices and representations have been the most studied (Novaro 2011, 2012; Diez and Novaro 2011). Toba and mapuche children's views have also been scrutinized (i.e. Hecht 2011, 2015; Szulc 2015). Social discourses such as the official curricula (Bigot 2010; Heras Monner Sans 2002; Montesinos et al. 1999; Diez and Novaro 2015), national and international legal frameworks (such as national laws and the National Constitution, and resolutions of international non-governmental organizations such as United Nations) (Bigot 2010; Martínez 2008), and newspaper articles (Bigot 2010; Montesinos et al. 1999) have been problematized.

In relation to the groups examined, several studies have focused on the production of cultural difference of discrete ethnic groups: indigenous pupils (Bigot 2010; García 2010; Soria 2010; García Palacios et al. 2015; Hecht 2014; Szulc 2015) or immigrants (Castiglione 2007; Crosa Pottilli et al. 2009; Ghiglino and Lorenzo 1999; Margulis and Lewin 1999; Malegaríe 2009; Beech and Bravo Moreno 2014; Beheran 2011; Domenech 2014; Margulis and Lewin 1999). However, other researchers have also comparatively looked at how school processes of 'othering' encompass immigrants, indigenous and/or poor people (Montesinos 2005; Neufeld and Thisted 1999; Sinisi 2000). According to these authors, rather than compartments, these groups need to be interpreted as social positions that can be occupied simultaneously, as in the case of poor immigrant children. Authors have argued that despite particularities, these diverse groups are construed as 'different', inferior and subordinate by the daily, mainly unconscious deployment of symbolic and material practices of 'othering'. Only a few studies compare the situation of immigrants and indigenous pupils in schools (see Domenech 2004; Novaro et al. 2008; Alonso 2014).

Participant observations, interviews of different types, and document analysis have been the main research techniques for this tradition. Few researchers have also included, as part of a wider ethnographic strategy, 'biographic methods' (Diez 2011); 'biographic narratives' (Diez and Novaro 2015) and 'clinical interviews' (Martínez 2011). Some researchers have deployed participatory methods of data collection and analysis (Heras and Holstein 2004; Hecht 2007, 2013) and have argued that researchers and research participants have co-produced knowledge. Numerous researchers have developed theoretical tools, diagnoses and/or pedagogic recommendations, to address the complexity of diversity in the classroom (Achilli 1996; Heras and Holstein 2004; Novaro et al. 2008; Novaro 2009). State primary schools have been the most studied (only five examine secondary school and one kindergarten).

Analyses, although from different theoretical standpoints, have argued that representations and practices surrounding socio-cultural diversity and difference in schools are not produced in a vacuum. They are part and parcel of wider 'symbolic and material configurations' (Montesinos and Pallma 1999), 'socio-cultural matrixes' (Achilli 1996), socio-cultural fields (Margulis and Lewin 1999), and intercultural relationships (Heras and Holstein 2004; Neufeld and Thisted 1999). From this perspective, schools are unique sites for understanding and challenging discrimination, racism, and stigmatization of minority groups, including immigrants and indigenous people. These examinations interpret schools as a cultural sub-field with relative autonomy. Exploring connections and differences between school actors' perspectives

and practices, and other discursive and social arenas, together with enlightening the particularities of the former, has been a central task of this research strand.

In this research tradition, numerous studies have examined the processes of inferiorization, stigmatization and discrimination of immigrant and/or indigenous children from a constructivist perspective, recognizing their historical, situated and relational nature. Different theoretical perspectives and concepts have been deployed. Several researchers labelled the objects of their study as 'perspectives', 'prejudices', 'judgments', 'representations', and 'experiences' without making explicit their theoretical grounds. Some studies explore processes of ethnic and/or national identification (Hecht and García Palacio 2010; Novaro 2011; Martínez 2012). In many cases, definitions of these terms are lacking.

One particular rich group of studies use the concept of 'social representation' to explore school actors' perspectives and views (see Borton et al. 2010; Crosa Pottilli et al. 2009; Malegaríe 2009; Neufeld and Thisted 1999; González and Plotnik 2011; Borton 2011; Domenech 2014). Although there are theoretical nuances amongst these analyses, this concept refers to social actors' interpretative templates and their practical knowledge. They could be classified into sociological or anthropological examinations. Among the former, Crosa Pottilli et al. (2009) compared primary and secondary school teachers and young people's discriminatory social representations of foreigners (*extranjeros*). Here, semi-structured, in-depth interviews, and focus groups with teachers and young people aged 18–30 were carried out, from 2001 to 2008 and in the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires. The authors argued that teachers' and young people's' social representations concerning a selection of nations including Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Germany, Ukraine, Italy, Korean and Spain, are extrapolated to their nationals. In this manner, research participants associated 'rich nations' with 'desirable people', and 'poor nations' with 'unwanted people' (Crosa Pottilli et al. 2009). The authors assumed that this hierarchy permeates people's actions and strategies, which in turn contributes to the legitimation of the 'hegemonic moral code'. Amongst the anthropological studies, Diez and Novaro (2011) examine the ways in which 'migration' is represented by the school curriculum, teachers and pupils. This ethnography was done in a primary school in the City of Buenos Aires between 2004 and 2008. A key finding was that, despite the celebratory official discourse of cultural difference, contemporary migrations from Latin American countries are misrecognized by the curriculum and by teachers in their classroom interactions with pupils. This contributes to both hide their migratory experiences and be 'silent' in the classroom; and to foster learning situations

where native pupils openly discriminate their Bolivian counterparts (or those who are perceived as Bolivian, even though they were born in Argentina).

Other analysts have engaged with the concepts of racism and neo-racism as defined by Balibar, Menéndez and/or Wieviorka (see for example Bigot 2010; Crosa Pottilli et al. 2009; Margulis and Lewin 1999). During the 1990s, these studies found similar social and cultural trends regarding immigration. Comparable to the situation in Europe, a 'racism of crisis' emerged which was accompanied by an active search for a scapegoat to be identified and blamed for social problems such as unemployment and poverty. Immigrants became visible social categories that were expected to assume negative behaviours and features. This 'new racism' refers to a new type of discrimination based on the cultural traits of a group, such as language, religion, traditions and habits, rather than on biological differences. This requires that the 'other' be rejected due to its values and culture. Bigot (2010), for instance, compared current international and national legal frameworks against discrimination with how Toba people from the community *Los Pumitas* in Rosario city experienced racism. Following Wieviorka, Bigot argued that her concept of 'indigenous discrimination', defined as attitudes, discourses and practices that supposed mistreatment of people for belonging to indigenous groups, is a form of neo-racism, which is denounced by indigenous leaders as the key reason for their children's educational failure. Another illustration of this type of research is Margulis' and Lewin's (1999) study. They described in their study how (i) racism and discrimination take place in schools and in the school system, and (ii) the school and its actors contribute to or mitigate discrimination against immigrants. Research shows that schools, teachers' and children's perform racist practices. Similarly to numerous other studies, this analysis showed how teachers establish a hierarchy amongst different ethnic groups, locating at its top those that are 'like us', the 'normal', and classifying immigrant children and families according to racist and ethnocentric values.

A growing collection of studies focus their attention on the production of ethnic and national identities of different indigenous and migrant groups and how these take place in educational processes within unequal social contexts. Identities are conceived as fluid and dynamic, always becoming. Most of the researchers have interrogated the relationship between teacher's representations and practices, their ethnic or national interpellations, and processes of ethnic, national or ethnic/national identification of different groups of children and young people belonging to particular segments of the population, such as indigenous (Toba, Wichí and Mapuche) (García Palacios 2011), and migrants (in particular, Bolivians or children of Bolivian migrant families) (Beheran 2011; Diez and Novaro 2011; Martínez 2011). Other studies prob-

lematize how school nationalist discourse daily contributes to the construction of Argentine national identity, to the 'othering' of the foreigner and the disregard of regional and local children's knowledge, experiences, and interests (Novaro 2009, 2011, 2012; Zlachevsky 2013). These investigations unpack the ways in which teachers (particularly from the primary level) define these social groups as 'others' and to understand them from a 'cultural deprivation' perspective (Novaro 2009; Borton 2011; Domenech 2014; González and Plotnik 2011). Other researchers also inquire about how ethnic-national categorizations are experienced, interpreted and re-interpreted by children and young people in and out of educational institutions (see for example Hecht 2008; Heras and Holstein 2004; Novaro 2009; Martínez 2012; Diez and Novaro 2015). To understand the social construction of ethnic-national identities in children's and children's interactions with teachers, studies have explored: (i) the use of the indigenous language (Hecht 2008, 2011, 2013, 2015); (ii) the 'communication styles' and the 'communicative interactions' (including the 'silence' in their different interpretations, see Borton 2011; Diez and Novaro 2011, 2012; Novaro et al. 2008; Heras and Holstein 2004); (iii) the emotions, specifically 'shame' (see Martinez 2011, 2012); (iv) religious socialization and identification (García Palacios 2011; García Palacios et al. 2015); and (v) school knowledge and 'nationalist' school discourse (Diez et Novaro 2011; Novaro 2009, 2011, 2012; Zlachevsky 2013).

Drawing heuristic tools mainly from anthropology but also sociology, this research tradition mainly investigates how representations and practices around 'difference' and 'diversity' contribute to the production of social inequalities of various social groups. In so doing, it traces how 'difference' is produced and defined, and how it is intertwined with identity making processes.

School Texts as a Means of 'Othering'

This research tradition contributes to exploring the ways in which school textbooks and handbooks (*textos* and *manuales escolares*) have defined cultural difference in Argentina. Several studies were carried out in the 1980s. During the 2000s, this tradition steadily grew, following general trends in the field of educational knowledge production. The majority of the studies have analyzed how indigenous people have been discursively produced in school textbooks (Artieda 2002, 2005, 2006; Artieda et al. 2009; Saletta 2011; Nicoletti 2006; Novaro 2003). Other analyses have looked at the portrayal of immigrants (Alloatti 2008; Devoto 1993; Zelaya de Nader and Suayter de Iñigo 1990).

Few have focused their attention on how the image of Argentina and its national identity has been produced by defining different types of outsiders or 'others' (Cucuzza 2007; Romero 2004). Two recent studies focused on *negritud* (blackness) and afro-descendants (Balsas 2011; INADI 2014).

Primary and basic education has been the main focus of analysis (Alloatti 2008; Artieda 2002, 2005; Artieda et al. 2009; Novaro 2003; Zelaya de Nader and Suayter de Iñigo 1990; INADI 2014; Artieda and Liva 2011; Balsas 2011), with just a few examining secondary education (Devoto 1993; Romero 2004; Nagy 2013). Only a minority have looked at other types of educational texts, such as curriculum documents, school notebooks and educational policies (Díaz and Rodríguez de Anca 2004; Fischman 1993; Montesinos 2005; Nagy 2013). Few researchers have examined texts alongside other data sources such as interviews (Artieda et al. 2009; Novaro 2003; Artieda and Liva 2011).

Researchers have examined textbooks edited by a diverse range of institutions, such as the national government up to the decentralization of primary education in the late 1970s and secondary schooling in the early 1990s, provincial governments following the abandonment of the role by the central government, the Catholic church in the origins of the nation-state, private publishing companies, and, in specific regions of the country, non-governmental organizations, and individual schools – following the educational reform of the 1990s and in the introduction of BIE education, and the concomitant proliferation of different school text producers. One research has examined not only texts but also their indigenous authors' perspectives on the creation and circulation of texts produced between 1987 and 2007, in the province of Chaco[14] (Artieda and Liva 2011). According to Artieda and Liva, publications were mainly bilingual, used at schools with indigenous children, had between 15 and 20 pages, and were hand-made by teachers. With few exceptions, the majority of them were less attractive and of less quality (*calidad*) than those edited by publishing companies. With regard to the interviews, this research shows that indigenous teachers who co-authored books interpreted authorship as a collective endeavor wherein they were collaborators of the eldests of their communities, who embodied the stories finally included in their texts. Moreover, it argues that indigenous authors/teachers highly valued the production of these texts as a way to present their own perspectives (with-

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[14] In the province of Chaco, the Law 3258 'On Indigenous Communities' (1987) established the first normative framework for BIE. It recognized indigenous people's right to study their own language and culture. It acknowledged, for instance, the need to adapt the school curricula to their world-view, to include indigenous educators in schools and to train indigenous teachers. In 1995, the provincial legislature passed a resolution recommending the Ministry of Education to explore the possibility of producing and editing school texts for indigenous education. Few books were published.

out being mediated by others' views on them). In so doing, they aspired to contribute to a 'new education'.

This body of research looks at different periods of Argentinean history. Numerous analyses have examined textbooks during the emergence and consolidation of the National Education System,[15] whether as a stand-alone period or from a comparative perspective. Several examinations focus on more recent times, such as the last dictatorship, the return of the democracy, and the recent period inaugurated by the introduction of the Intercultural and Bilingual Education modality at national level in 2006. Many researchers have adopted a historical perspective and have traced continuities and discontinuities between different periods. In general, the so called 'foundational period', which we have referred to as the early period of the hegemony of the cultural homogenization, has been taken as the baseline (Novaro 2003; Romero 2004). Artieda (2007) and Artieda et al. (2009), for instance, compared the symbolic construction of the relationships between ethnic groups in this 'foundational period' with other crucial historical moments, such as Peronism, the last military dictatorship, and the 1980s onwards with the return of democracy and the discursive dominance of 'cultural diversity' and multiculturalism. Other bodies of research carry out synchronic examinations. The study of the National Institute against Discrimination, Xenophobia and Racism (*Instituto Nacional contra la Discriminación, la Xenofobia y el Racismo*, INADI) best illustrates this trend (INADI 2014). This organization examined around 40 school texts for primary education, by using a 'guide' or template with questions. This research is the result of an agreement held in 2012 by INADI with six of the most important publishing companies in Argentina to encourage the development of textbooks and instructional materials that promote inclusive education and contribute to preventing discriminatory, xenophobic and racist behavior. Several themes were explored (such as gender, disability, and religious diversity). Here, only three groups are relevant for our analysis: afro-descendants, indigenous and migrant people. Key findings are: (i) references to afro-descendants were scarce and linked to the past (only 5% of the handbooks refers to the contemporary culture of this group). The production of their invisibility has been part and parcel of the process of 'whitening' (*blanquear*) Argentina; (ii) almost half of the texts associated migration with European origins (47.5%), a quarter also referred to Latin American migrants, and a minority acknowledges the existence of Asian

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[15] Alloatti (2008) argued that during the second half of the 19th century, primary education school texts started to be published in Argentina. School textbooks and school acts were crucial aspects in the production of a 'national identity'.

(7.5%) and Afro-descendants (2.5%) migrants. The study shows the persistence of a Eurocentric interpretative matrix around migration despite the multicultural configuration of Argentinean population; and, (iii) 75% of the handbooks address various issues linked to indigenous people in different subject areas (such as social sciences, geography, and history). The INADI states that there have been very positive 'developments' (*grandes avances*) with regard to the recognition of indigenous communities. For example, around a third of the school handbooks labelled indigenous culture as 'rich'; twenty percent of them referred to indigenous culture as 'alive and contemporary'; and 5% of the texts mentioned discrimination when addressing these groups.

School texts have been interpreted as 'discourses' (Artieda 2005, 2006, 2007), 'devices' (Nicoletti 2006), 'state's representations' (Nicoletti 2002/2003), 'means of formal socialisation' or 'ideological containers' (Zelaya de Nader and Suayter de Iñigo 1990), 'curriculum in act' (Romero 2004), and 'means for subjectivity production' (Artieda and Rosso 2009). The great majority of studies look at the written language. Images included in school texts have been scrutinized by few researchers (Saletta 2011; Balsas 2011). For instance, Saletta (2011) considers photographs as documents and as visual representations of '*pueblos originarios*' (native people). He understands photography as a social product, rather than as an objective reproduction of reality. In this sense, he describes the contents of images and interprets their connoted meanings.

Despite the theoretical nuances, this research body assumes that textbooks are part and parcel of wider social representations which are enmeshed in particular social, economic, cultural and political contexts. Moreover, these analyses assume that textbooks are important tools to produce legitimate meanings and representations of the past and present. Via this view, school discourses play a key role in the production and reproduction of socio-political and symbolic domination of indigenous people and/or immigrants. Their findings point to striking continuities between the 'foundational period' up to the late 1970s and the coexistence of contradictory discourses around cultural difference from the 1980s onwards, a mixture of cultural 'sediments' and new and emerging ways to define difference. However, recent research also identifies some changes: there is a growing presence of indigenous related topics in school texts (INADI 2014).

Artieda (2006), who is one of the most prolific authors in this tradition, illustrates key findings of this tradition. She examined basic education school texts from two periods: the last military dictatorship (1976–83) and from the return of the democracy (1983) onwards. With regards to the last dictatorship, the author identified the emergence of a religious and moral discourse,

which was utilized to explain the relationship between indigenous people and 'society'. While the role of the state in the 'homogenization' of indigenous communities is misrecognized, their evangelization is highlighted. Following the return of democracy, these discourses disappeared from school texts. Narratives concerned with the evangelization of indigenous people were displaced by the centrality of the past and present role of the state. Unlike the school texts of the dictatorship, school texts used in democratic times have started to explore the asymmetrical relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous people, as well as the history of their suffering and oppression.

In sum, this research tradition has identified different ways of 'othering' indigenous people and immigrants by: (i) making them invisible, (ii) asserting the qualities of 'being Argentinean' and demarcating its virtues, qualities and common history and future, (iii) 'othering' those who did not comply with these criteria, and (iv) recognizing and celebrating cultural difference, although on many occasions in contradictory ways. These discursive identity-making mechanisms have had a different centrality over time. While the production of a white Argentinean masculine nation and the parallel 'othering' of indigenous people and/or immigrants was dominant up until the end of the 1970s, the recognition of cultural difference, in particular in the case of indigenous people, together with the persistence of essentialist, apolitical and ahistorical perspectives was a feature of the period which began in the 1980s with the return of the democracy and the introduction of a multicultural educational agenda. One small but relevant group of studies has examined school texts published after the passing of the new National Educational Law in 2006 (see INADI 2014; Artieda et al. 2009).

Discussion and Final Remarks

Despite their particularities, the five research traditions reviewed above share a common interpretative matrix to unpack key aspects of the relationships between ethnic groups and education. On the one hand, they all agreed in identifying a dominant homogenizing paradigm in education from the inception of the Argentinean nation-state to the early 1980s. This paradigm involved a cultural assimilation approach and implied the denial and marginalization of cultural and linguistic differences of a variety of immigrant and indigenous groups. On the other hand, from the 1980s onwards, researchers coincided in recognizing a new period where key educational policies revolved around cultural differences and diversity. The introduction of the BIE modality represents a hallmark of this policy process. Moreover, many of

them evidenced both continuity with and break from previous essentialist and ahistorical conceptions about cultural difference. Others focus on the obstacles, challenges and recent changes that the implementation of BIE by closely scrutinizing policies, statistical trends, actors' interpretations and practices, and policy artefacts (such as school texts). They offer clues about how social, policy, and educational discourses contribute to disadvantage some minority ethnic groups' educational experiences and schooling. Some of them also shed light on resistances, appropriations and redefinitions of official labels and discourses.

Few researchers asked questions about ethnic and educational inequalities during the 1980s. In line with the general growth of research outputs, the 1990s witnessed a considerable increase and from 2000s onwards these different research strands have blossomed. This growth not only reflects the centrality that cultural difference, diversity, and multiculturalism have had in shaping the educational agenda (both at policy and school levels), but also the increase of state funding in social sciences, the improvement of the working conditions of numerous researchers, and the consolidation of research teams. State educational policies have strongly shaped what has been researched. In particular, the emergence of national, provincial and local bilingual and intercultural education normative frameworks and initiatives have configured a fertile ground for researchers to look at. Educational anthropology has had a significant influence in the development of this research field. Unlike other national research traditions, sociologists of education have played a marginal role in asking questions about ethnicity and compulsory schooling.

The majority of the research traditions have predominantly looked at indigenous people and their educational experiences. The 'intercultural educational policies' tradition, for instance, have focused on how BIE policies largely targeted at indigenous pupils have been interpreted by different policy and social actors. The 'school text tradition', on the other hand, has unfolded how school texts portray mainly indigenous communities in different historical periods. The quantitative research tradition and the 'sociolinguistic' one have also mainly looked at indigenous groups. The exception is the 'Difference' and 'diversity' tradition which looks at both immigrants and indigenous people.

Qualitative research is dominant in the majority of the research traditions. Policy-making, teachers' and students views, language conflict, and discursive production of cultural difference have been scrutinized using interviews of different types, participant observations, ethnographies, and document and discourse analysis. School actors' perspectives (mainly teachers) have been at the center of attention. However, in the last few years, a growing number of analyses have examined children's and young people's voices. Only one tradi-

tion revolves around quantitative research methods. This set of research is descriptive and largely uses official secondary data sources. Few researchers produce their own quantitative data and triangulate them with qualitative evidence. Up to the 2000s, statistical information about indigenous pupils at national level was nonexistent. Despite the availability of general educational information about immigrants, educational researchers have tended – with few exceptions – to overlook the use of secondary data sources to examine the levels of educational participation of different immigrant groups.

Several research traditions unpack how certain aspects of (largely primary) schooling operate to discriminate against certain groups of students. The 'school text' and the 'difference and diversity' traditions investigate how different types of discourses contribute to the 'othering' of certain minority ethnic groups. The 'sociolinguistic' tradition focuses on how language conflict is linked to the production or dissolution of ethnic identities and, in some cases, to learning. 'Intercultural educational policies' studies look at how BIE has been interpreted by policy texts and by different school and non-school actors (in particular, teachers). They show that is necessary to look at local contexts to recognize the diversity of BIE policies. Moreover, researchers identified different types of challenges that these initiatives imply for the provincial education system and the schools. The nature, scope, and challenges of indigenous teachers have been at the center of attention.

Research addressing the social construction of cultural difference in the education system is by far the strongest research tradition in Argentina within the field of ethnicity/race inequalities in education. Around 40% of the publications included in our database were clustered in this tradition. Research on BIE policies is a growing and promising field, although in general it has not yet taken full advantage of all the conceptual frameworks involved in policy studies. The 'school text' and the 'sociolinguistic' traditions comprise fewer publications. However, they have clearer research questions, designs, and conceptual frameworks than other traditions. Finally, as we pointed out earlier, quantitative approaches examining immigrants and indigenous education, is the smallest tradition in number and it also encompasses studies combining quantitative and qualitative methods.

Mapping the production of knowledge on ethnic and educational inequalities allows us to identify some challenges and potential areas for further research and collaboration. First, future research would benefit by examining indigenous and immigrants' experiences at kindergarten and secondary schooling. Second, research strands could benefit from engaging with sociological concerns, theories and concepts such as social class, gender, and ethnicity. Although constructivist perspectives are dominant amongst local

researchers, looking at how schools promote the inclusion or exclusion of girls and boys of ethnic minority groups with different levels of economic, social, cultural, and linguistic capital could contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the production of, reproduction, and challenge to educational inequalities. 'Whiteness studies', for example, could offer a fruitful lens to unpack racism in the education system and to further examine the role of nationalist discourses in education. Third, it would be fruitful if future studies explore the reasons behind diverse educational trajectories of indigenous and immigrant students. Qualitative approaches could offer a richer understanding of some minority ethnic students' educational engagement. Studies within the sociolinguistic tradition are already working in this direction. Fourth, it would be valuable if future research interested in scrutinizing 'intercultural policies' follow researchers within the 'sociolinguistic' and the 'diversity' and 'difference' strands and examines children's and young people's views and perspectives. Educational anthropologists have started to do so (although not yet to unpack ethnic and educational inequalities). Fifth, it seems that more attention should be paid to the schooling of immigrants. Some studies have mainly focused on border country immigrants, misrecognizing national groups such as the Peruvians and Koreans. Sixth, the quantitative research tradition could be furthered developed. The role of state agencies and funding in its development is paramount. Official educational surveys and census should include data on access, performance and completion rates according to ethnic or national identification, and nationality. Nowadays this information is nonexistent. This information could help to assess the achievement gap between ethnic and/or national groups over time in the education system. Seventh, studies would benefit from making visible the role that researchers' relationships with research subjects have in the production of knowledge. With some exceptions and in line with dominant perspectives in the field of educational knowledge, this issue has been overlooked. Finally, future research needs to reflect on the power of academic knowledge to reify socio-cultural differences, and on the risk of imposing its categorizations on the phenomena under study. In this sense, the promotion of collective and individual reflexive accounts on how we produce knowledge on ethnic and educational inequalities is paramount.

While writing up the last section of this chapter, the educational policy agenda of the National Ministry of Education is pivoting around the establishment of '*Escuela Secundaria del Futuro*' (Secondary Schooling of the Future), which is defined as the solution to all the pitfalls and failures of secondary education (such as the persistent levels of drop-out during the first two school years). These promises of radical transformations and innovations (that

could be really traced back to the 1990s) go in tandem with the shaming and blaming of teachers and their unions for what goes wrong in a decentralized, diverse and unequal education system. These reforms draw upon key principles of the human capital perspective, which has been harshly criticized by Western sociologists of education. The assumption that education should be organized around the needs of the economy is not new. However, in Argentina, this implies a shift from a more nuanced understanding of the production of educational and social inequalities to a simplistic explanation of their relationships. In this scenario, official discourses recognize key aspects to guarantee equal educational opportunities of ethnic groups (with particular reference to indigenous communities). For instance, the 'Plan Maestro' (key law proposal that aims to regulate central aspects of basic education in the country) establishes eleven priorities for education, the last one states that Argentina should have 50% of bilingual teachers by 2016. They could be bilingual in English, Portuguese and/or in indigenous languages (*idioma del pueblo originario*). In the 'Plan', there are different references to indigenous communities, such as the government's commitment to increase the schooling rates of children and young people from indigenous communities and to provide (by 2021) every school working with these groups with inspectors, headteachers and teachers specially trained to deal with intercultural education.

Despite the official discourse, current legal, political and social debates evidence conflicting views about the rights that immigrants and indigenous people should have in Argentina. Local research examined in this chapter offer evidence of the pre-existent nature of these symbolic and material struggles as well as of their historical roots. However, there are signs of the deepening of these conflicts echoing in legal, social, political and educational debates, contradictions and controversies. For instance, various legal frameworks protecting indigenous communities and immigrants have been challenged and proposals to curtail them are already in place. Moreover, political and social conflicts around indigenous people's rights have been central from September until November 2017. The disappearance and death of Santiago Maldonado during a picket line organized by Mapuches has evidenced a dramatic turn in some state agencies' discourses. For example, during the two months that lasted the search of Santiago Maldonado, the Ministry of Defense portrayed indigenous people as the 'enemy' of the state and defended the role of the National Border Policy (*Gendarmería Nacional*) in the violent repression of the Mapuches. At this time, the National Ministry of Education forbade teachers and their unions to talk about Santiago Maldonado due to its 'political' nature. These circumstances have been accompanied by street manifestations, marches and different sorts of public and critical interventions wherein

social and human rights movements, teachers' and workers' unions and hundreds of thousands people participate. Furthermore, in November, Rafael Nahuel (a 22 years-old Mapuche man) was killed during a raid carried out by one of the Federal Police Forces (*Prefectura Naval*) to evict a Mapuche activist group from a legally disputed land nearby Bariloche (Patagonia). While the official discourse has labelled this group as 'terrorist' and 'violent', Mapuche leaders and communities, as well and human rights organizations have denounced the Federal Police Force's intervention as a violation of human rights. Although it is difficult to imagine how this complex symbolic and material territory will unfold, it seems that social and political struggles over what matters in education and how educational inequalities should be addressed and recognised will be dominant.

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Australia: A Multicultural Education Experiment

Lawrence J. Saha

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to critically review the Australian research literature which focuses on the relationship between race and ethnicity, education, and social inequality. The chapter updates and reviews that which appeared in the 1st edition of this collection. As such, it updates the education, immigration, refugee, and indigenous figures, and extends the coverage of the literature from 2010 to 2017. However, in some instances, new material on the period from 1980 to 2010 is also included. With few exceptions this review is limited to secondary schools, although some research on primary schools and universities is included where relevant.

The chapter begins with an introduction to the Australian national context within which research on this topic takes place. Here it is essential to recognize the importance of immigration and immigration policy, particularly since World War II to the present, because this explains both the source and numbers of immigrants who have arrived in Australia and the extent to which research has been directed to their settlement experiences and attainments. Alongside that of migration, a separate treatment of refugees is also provided since they represent a different kind of immigration, both in the characteristics of the migrants, and their circumstances. Finally, research on indigenous Australians is also included, as their profile regarding education and inequality represents a different set of sociological variables and processes. The

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literature is presented within the context of different research traditions which guide the investigations. These research traditions include both theoretical and methodological perspectives, and the many policy-related programs which have affected the salience of racial and ethnic research questions in education.

Education in Australia

In order to understand the relationship between immigration and education in Australia, it is important to understand the education system itself. Prior to federation in 1901, when six separate colonies came together to form the Commonwealth of Australia, each colony had developed its own educational system. Although there were variations in the evolution of education in each colony during the 19th century, beginning in 1872 with Victoria and continuing until 1893 with Western Australia, all the colonies passed education acts whereby they provided education to its citizens which was 'free, compulsory and secular'. However what was, and continues to be important, is that when federation occurred, many powers were transferred to the federal government, but the powers over education remained with the states (McKenzie 1994).

One important difference in educational structures is the range of ages for compulsory schooling, which begins from age 5 or 6, depending on which state or territory the student lives, or the student's date of birth. For example, children start school at age 5 in Tasmania, but age 6 in the other states and territories. The students are required to stay in school until at least age 15 to 17, depending on the state or territory. Overall, in 2015, 74% of Australian youth had completed secondary school (Year 12), normally at age 19. In addition to compulsory schooling, there are differences in cut-off points which separate primary from secondary schooling, and for Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory, Years 11 and 12 are separated into senior secondary colleges in which students are given greater independence and the ability to begin specialization.

What is most important in the educational structures for our concern is that each state and territory can pass its own legislation regarding some educational policies. Thus, for example, in 2008, the Northern Territory decided to abandon its bilingual education policy for some schools, thereby bringing to an end the possibility of indigenous children being able to study part of each school day in their native language. Similarly, in New South Wales, the state government policy for education for refugees was an initiative of that

state alone. A further example is that the state of New South Wales introduced, in 2010, a policy to extend compulsory schooling to age 17, in spite of the implications for some ethnic groups (Reid and Young 2012).

Although there are trends whereby the Australian federal government is increasing its influence over education in the states and territories, mainly through funding and the push for a unified national curriculum, the legacy of the colonies continues to exist in Australian schooling. This structural arrangement does have real and potential implications for the educational experience of all migrants, refugees, and the indigenous Australians.

Another unique feature of education in Australia, independent of the states, is the growing private sector. In 2016, 70.5% of primary and secondary schools in Australia were government schools. Of the 29.5% non-government schools, 62.5% were Catholic and 37.5% were independent (Independent Schools Council of Australia 2016). In terms of total student enrollments, 65.4% were in government schools, 20.2% in Catholic schools, and 14.4% in independent schools (Australian Bureau of Statistics-Schools 2016). Between 1977 and 2014, the proportion of total enrollments in government schools decreased by 14%. However, since 2012 this trend ceased and since then the proportion of government enrolments increased by 1%, with Catholic and independents schools sharing the decrease.

During the period of the six colonies, many schools were private and were denominationally linked. However, with the passage of the Education Acts in the late 19th century, the only schools to receive funding were the colonial government schools, and this continued after federation. Private schools existed, but with little or no assistance from the state or federal governments. In recent years, in the interest of equity, the Commonwealth has begun to provide funding for private schools on a need basis. This binary system does have implications for the school experience of migrant students and indigenous students, as they are not equally represented throughout the educational system, and many of Australia's highest performing schools are in the private sector which tends to be dominated by Anglo-Australian students.

Given the above, Australia does strive to maintain as equitable an education system as possible. As has happened in many other countries, especially in the United Kingdom, some European countries, and North America, the introduction of standard high-stakes testing and accountability measures have been adopted, although with some modification. Every year since 2008, standardized tests in literacy and numeracy are administered in Grades 3, 5, 7 and 9. The "National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy" (known as NAPLAN), provides the basis for assessing every school in the country according to reading, writing, language conventions (spelling, grammar, and

punctuation), and numeracy. The results of these tests for Australia's almost 9500 schools are made publically available on the internet at a website known as My School (Australian Curriculum and Reporting Authority (ACARA) 2012). A profile is provided for each school, which includes the percentage of students whose language background is other than English, and the percentage of students who are of indigenous origin. Although a low ranking on the four NAPLAN scores does not draw punitive consequences as do low standard test scores in some other countries, the public availability of school performance represents a form of transparency and accountability.

Australia also participates in the "Programme for International Student Assessment" (PISA) of the OECD. The results and rankings of Australia with respect to the various assessment tests receive high national visibility and debate. In recent years, a longitudinal study, funded by the federal government, known as the "Longitudinal Study of Australian Youth" (LSAY), has been combined with the PISA tests so that a growing body of data is becoming available for more sophisticated and longitudinal analyses of Australian education. The performance of migrants and indigenous students are included in these data.

Overall, recent developments in education in Australia have been very much influenced by global trends, particularly with respect to monitoring, assessing, and maintaining transparency and accountability in the performance of schools. The development of educational policy has a unique cultural and structural form, given the characteristics of the system described above, but at the same time it reflects the influence of outside institutional and globalized pressures which have become a large part of the wider educational world (Rizvi and Lindgard 2010).

Immigration in Australia

There are two major groupings when one discusses race/ethnic issues in Australian society, namely those of the indigenous people and the migrants. The indigenous people are normally divided into the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders because of the social structural and cultural differences between them. They are not normally regarded as 'migrants', as they have been the inhabitants of the Australian continent for at least 50,000 years, and possibly longer. On the other hand, apart from the origins of the first colonizers from the United Kingdom and Ireland, ethnic minorities in the form of 'migrants' did not occur in any sizeable number until after World War II, when a large-scale program for migrants began, many of whom were displaced war refugees.

In fact, it was only in 1945 that the first Commonwealth Department of Immigration was established, and since then more than seven million people have come to Australia as permanent migrants. In 1945 Australia's population was a little more than seven million, by September 2011 it was 22.7 million, and in June 2017 it officially passed 24.4 million. Of this growth, many were migrants (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017).

Migration to Australia during this 70 -plus year span was not evenly distributed, nor was it the result of specific demand. During this period there were numerous government policies and international agreements about the amount, and from where, this migration would occur. Although not officially espoused in government documents, Australia had, from colonial times, a 'white Australia policy' which effectively reduced the number of immigrants from non-Anglo-Saxon or non-European backgrounds. In fact, one of the first acts of the new Australian Parliament in 1901 was to enact the Immigration Restriction Act (Jupp 2002). This policy is perhaps why, prior to the 1970s, migrants were assumed to more or less 'assimilate' into Australian society with relative ease. According to Martin (1978) migrants 'were to become more like us'. If migrants encountered any problems in schools or the workforce, it was because 'their main problem is that they can't speak English' (cited in Foster 1990, p. 227). This, however, did not mean that they performed equally well in school, and indeed many migrant children in the post-war period found themselves placed in technical rather than academic schools, or in government schools which were crowded and under resourced. Only in the late 1960s and early 1970s did Australian schools become comprehensive, and attention to disadvantaged children and disadvantaged schools began to result in extra funding (Whitehead 2014).

However since 1979 when 'multiculturalism' was formally adopted by the Australian government, migrants were recognized as distinct minority groups who had the right to maintain their own languages and cultures (Australian Ethnic Affairs Council 1981). At the same time, migrants began to arrive in small numbers from Asian and other countries. In addition, another form of migration occurred in April 1976, with the arrival of the first 'boat people' from Vietnam following the conclusion of the war in that country. This phenomenon has continued to occur sporadically, involving many countries of origin, to the present day, and remains a social and political issue, with educational challenges.

The Selective Immigration Program

The current immigration policy is largely the product of the Migration Act of 1958 and the Migration Regulations Act of 1994, and consists of two parts, the Migration Program and the Humanitarian Program. The Migration Program has three components, the Skilled Stream, the Family Stream and the Special Eligibility Stream. The Skilled Stream is based on a point system whereby applicants for a residency visa are awarded points based on their qualities, which then determine their eligibility to migrate. For example, English language ability is categorized in terms of IELT or OET scores and is weighted as follows: "Competent English" = 0 points, "Proficient English" = 10 points, and "Superior English" = 20 points. In a similar fashion, Education is weighted as follows: a Doctorate or equivalent degree of recognized standard = 20 points, a Bachelor, Honours or Masters Degree of recognized standard = 15 points, and a Diploma or trade qualification of recognized standard = 10 points. There are a number of factors which accrue points, such as age and previous level of skilled employment either overseas or Australia. Eligibility is determined by one's score, which currently is 60 to qualify. In 2012–2013, 68% of the Total Migration Program visas came through the Skilled Stream.

The Family Stream operates on the basis of one's family relationship with a sponsor already in Australia. There are no tests or points. There are four main categories: partner, child, parent, and other family. In 2014–2015, 32% of total migration came from the Family Stream (Australian Government, Department of Home Affairs 2018).

The Special Eligibility Stream is the smallest stream, and in 2017–2018 it consists of 565 places, out of approximately 190,000 to 200,000 places in the total Migration Program (Australian Government, Department of Home Affairs 2017–2018). It includes persons in special circumstances, for example people who were permanent residents at an earlier period, and are returning after a lengthy time overseas.

The second part of the migration program, the Humanitarian Program, consists of two components, as follows:

- "the <u>onshore</u> protection/asylum component fulfils Australia's international obligations by offering protection to people already in Australia who are found to be refugees according to the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees"

- "the <u>offshore</u> resettlement component expresses Australia's commitment to refugee protection by going beyond these obligations and offering resettlement to people overseas for whom this is the most appropriate option." (Australian Government, Department of Home Affairs 2015–2016)

Between 2011–2012 and 2015–2016, the Humanitarian Program varied in the number of visas granted, with 13, 744 in 2011–2012 to 17,555 in 2015–2016. The peak year was in 2012–2013 when 19,888 visas were granted. Given that the migration program in recent years has been set at around 190,000 per year, the humanitarian component, including offshore refugees, has fluctuated at about 10% of this figure.

The importance of examining the current migration program is to understand its composition and selectivity. The largest component, the Points-Skilled Stream, ensures that many new migrants to Australia already possess skills such as language and educational background so that they are able to fit in with society more quickly. Similarly, with the Family Stream, it is assumed that there are similarities between the migrants and the families they are joining. Therefore, in the case of parental education and children in schools, it implies that parental support of children in school will minimize school-related problems, at least compared to children from the Humanitarian Program who might come from completely different cultural and language backgrounds from the Australian, and possibly with less well-educated parents. The importance of these various components of the immigration policy for the performance of migrant children in schools will become apparent later in this review.

Multiculturalism in Australia

One of the events that had a profound effect on the experience of all migrants in Australia occurred just prior to 1980. The two major documents which set the stage for a new era of migrant and minority conditions were the Galbally Report (*Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants. Migrant Services and Programs*, 1978) and the McNamara Report (*Report of the Committee on Multicultural Education, Education for a Multicultural Society*, 1979). The first of these has been called a 'watershed' in Australia's ethnic relations policy, because it moved away from the idea of migrants as 'assimilable', or if they could not, as 'people with problems', and it moved toward a multicultural policy whereby the preservation of ethnic languages and practices was seen as a benefit to Australian society (Foster 1990, pp. 228–229). The second

of these reports, the McNamara Report, focused on education as the main driving force in implementing multiculturalism. In schools, the promotion of the awareness and understandings between cultures was to take place both in the formal curriculum as well as in the informal curriculum. Various other agencies, such as the Standing Committee for Multicultural Education and the Curriculum Development Centre, incorporated the policy of multiculturalism in their work, particularly in the development of language programs and other multicultural activities in government schools, and also the establishment of ethnic schools.

The ethnic schools functioned independently of the formal education system, and met in the evenings or weekends. Their purpose was to maintain the language, culture, and identity of children of ethnic parents while growing up in Australia (Kringas and Lewins 1981; Smolicz 1984). Once established, ethnic schools, with assistance from local governments, became a mainstay of multiculturalism in Australia. Although Australia-wide figures are difficult to obtain, by 2017 in the state of South Australia, for example, there were about 100 funded ethnic schools which taught 49 ethnic languages with an enrollment of about 7200 students (Government of South Australia 2017).

Thus by 1980 the stage was set for four decades of multicultural education in Australia's schools, which had a significant effect on the educational performance and attainments of some migrant groups and indigenous Australians. However there continues to be much discussion about Australia's multicultural policy, and particularly the theory underlying it, the policy itself, and its practice in schools (Rizvi 1987). Indeed, the policy was virtually 'closed down' during the late 1990s and early part of the 21st century with the absorption of the Department of Multicultural Affairs into other government departments. It has been suggested by some that multicultural education in Australia has been too 'culturalist' and sometimes 'victimizes' and 'problematizes' different cultural values and norms (Leeman and Reid 2006; Keddie et al. 2013). Indeed, the policy of multiculturalism has been related to Australia's immigration policy, sometimes referred to as the 'Ethnic Movement', with the consequence of adding a welfare and status dimension to tolerance and understanding. Thus, rather than integration, multiculturalism and subsequent immigration, these policies have been seen by some as producing 'ethnic separatism', and with subsequent costs to the federal and state governments for the maintenance of migrant and ethnic services. Indeed, it has been argued that rather than multiculturalism and ethnic difference, Australia might have been better served by a policy to promote a new Australian identity (Birrell 1995). Nevertheless, multiculturalism remains to this day an official

government policy, and it is frequently endorsed to promote tolerance and understanding between cultures, as well as multicultural activities in schools.

It is with this social and political backdrop that the relationship between ethnicity, race, and educational inequality in Australian must be understood.

Methodology

Literature on race and ethnicity in Australia is extensive. Hardly any aspect of migrant and minority experience has been ignored in a wealth of material about migrants. This material ranges from the journalistic, autobiographical, and anecdotal, to, of course, academic. Within the academic sphere, the research has cut across almost all disciplines. The literature on migrant schooling occurs primarily within educational research and therefore emanates from departments of education. In this respect 'sociological' studies on ethnicity and education appear in a variety of journals and types of publications. The early searches for research findings to be included in this review covered a wide range of sources, including Proquest and the Australian Education Index (AEI). The latter, which is published by the Australian Council for Education Research, is the most comprehensive and sophisticated source for identifying research on all aspects of Australian education. The AEI includes the scanning of over 200 Australian journals and a total of 500 Australian and international journals in the search for Australian educational research studies. The index also includes books, conference proceedings, technical reports, theses, and legislation. The index includes more than 130,000 entries relating to Australian educational research, policy, and practice. It covers the period from 1979 to the present.

More recently, for the second edition, other sources also have been used to identify publications for this review. Not only the increasing availability of online databases, but also the use of published bibliographies and reference lists were included in the search for relevant studies, particularly for those since 2010.

The criteria for selecting research for inclusion in this review were as follows: (i) the literature had to focus on Australian education; (ii) the literature had to have a sociological perspective, taken broadly, and focus on educational inequality and race/ethnicity; (iii) the research should focus primarily on secondary education; and (iv) the journals should be restricted to those which are peer reviewed. Using these criteria, the two literature searches identified a total of about 35 key articles, of which eleven focused on educational inequality among Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. Thus this highly

selective set of research studies represents the work of key sociologists of education in Australia who focus on race and ethnicity and educational inequality. In addition, other literature has been included, such as journal articles and books, which are closely related to the topic. These are intended to contextualize and to enrich the empirical research studies. As such, this review provides perhaps the most reliable picture of this aspect of inequality in Australian education between the years 1980 and 2017.

History of the Research

There is a long history of sociological research on migrant educational attainment. In 1971, eight years before the policy of multiculturalism was officially introduced, Smolicz and Wiseman (1971) acknowledged that 'there is more or less tacit pressure put upon migrants, but more especially on their children, to shed their cultural skins' (p. 3). This observation is even more apparent in a statement made by a state minister of education who, in the mid-1960s, explained:

> we deliberately refrain from collecting any statistics in regard to school pupils from overseas. Once they are enrolled in school they are, from our point of view, Australian children. (Cited in Smolicz 1987, p. 318)

This comment probably was driven by the changes in migration patterns in Australia following World War II. As Smolicz and Wiseman (1971) noted, in 1947 immediately following the war, one in five Australians was a migrant. However in that year, of the 700,000 non-Australian-born about 75% were British-born. By 1970 the number of non-Australian-born had risen to 2.2 million, of which less than half were British-born. Thus over the 23-year period there occurred a large number of mostly European migrants who were either displaced persons from the war, or migrant workers who had been brought to Australia to work on major post-war projects, such as the Snowy Mountains hydro-electric scheme. These latter waves of migrants were from linguistic and cultural backgrounds which were European and not Anglo-Saxon. Thus the attention to language and cultural differences, and their effects, came to the forefront of the migrant 'problems'.

Because of the rapidity and size of this post-war migration, a large body of research occurred from the late 1950s to the 1980s, which is where this review begins. There were many researchers who made valuable contributions in this early stage of understanding the issues of educating migrant children,

particularly given the assimilationist assumptions and expectations that were held about the European migrants at that time. Remember that this research was done before multiculturalism became a federal policy. It was also done before the point-based system, and although these migrants were primarily European in origin, some were also war refugees. Surveys of that research literature can be found in Sturman (1985) and Smolicz (1987), and some of the themes of that period continue in this review.

In addition to the content or themes of the research, attention is given to the methodologies and research designs used by the researchers. The categories used here are quantitative, qualitative, case studies, and mixed methods, Sometimes it is not easy to categorize these methodologies in a clear manner, but the purpose is to appreciate the extent to which the findings of a particular study can be generalized across a population, or whether it provides us with a deeper (and some would say 'richer') understanding of the experiences of migrant children in a new cultural environment.

Review of Research

This review is divided into four ethnic and racial groups which form the target populations: (i) early European migrants, (ii) Asian migrants, (iii) refugee or humanitarian migrants, and (iv) indigenous Australians. The discussion attempts to identify and cluster the research into themes which share a common subject and goal, for example family factors, or language deficit, and so on. Each section has a short conclusion, before the final discussion and conclusion of the review as a whole.

The Early Studies of European Migrants

It is ironic that following the adoption of multiculturalism, early studies of inequalities in educational attainment and subsequent careers did not focus on ethnic differences at all. It was during this period that attention was directed to school types and the importance of a number of background sociological variables. A good example of a study which covered the transition into our period of interest is that conducted by Carpenter (1985a, b). Carpenter followed a sample of Queensland Year 12 students in 26 schools over a period of four years, from 1978 to 1982 and was able to demonstrate that both school type (government, Catholic and independent) and sex streaming (single-sex and co-educational) had independent effects on

academic attainment, defined as retention or staying longer in the education system.

With respect to type of school, Carpenter found that contrary to public perception, of those students still in school in Year 12, those in government schools performed just as well, if not better, than students in independent schools, and about the same as students in Catholic schools. More importantly, he found that academic performance was primarily a function of four sociological variables, namely mother's occupation, father's occupation, the study of science in the final three years of high school, and friends' higher educational plans. Carpenter's methods were straightforward in the first of his reports of his project in that he used cross-tabulations and weighted percentages. His results seem to have been based on a sample of around 1100 students, although this figure varied from table to table. The use of weighted percentages allowed Carpenter to confirm the findings using simple cross-tabulations.

Carpenter's study of girls in single-sex and co-educational schools (Carpenter 1985a) was based on 503 girls in the longitudinal sample, and they were divided into girls attending co-educational (428) and single-sex (75) schools. The number of sociological variables was expanded, and included the mother's occupational status, the student's academic self- concept, and whether the student lived in the capital city as compared to the rest of the state. Cross-tabulations and regression were used to investigate the relationships. The findings did not allow a straightforward assessment of advantages for either type of schooling. For example, girls in government schools were advantaged because they were more likely to receive teacher encouragement regarding their achievement. Conversely, girls in private schools were more likely to take science courses, which in turn gave them an advantage in academic achievement. However, just as in the first of Carpenter's study, the ethnic background of the students was not taken into account. Nevertheless the approach by Carpenter in this study laid the foundation for later studies of the importance of ethnicity in explaining educational inequalities.

Social Psychological and Family Factors

Some early studies not only adopted a sociological perspective, but also included social psychological variables, such as parental satisfaction with school, and also parental aspirations for their children. The shift to aspirations, both of parents and students, was grounded on the assumption that these social psychological dispositions are related to later educational and

occupational outcomes, and not mere 'flights of fancy'. A later review of the relationship of the aspiration variable of parents and students with long-term educational and occupational outcomes ranged from correlations of 0.42 to 0.62 (Saha 1997), which indicates that Marjoribanks's design was well founded.

Marjoribanks (1980) rejected the deficit model which had been so popular in the 1960s and 1970s in examining educational inequalities among children, and argued that schools and families were of more importance. He also regarded the transmission of cultural capital as a primary mechanism whereby the family is partly responsible for the educational inequalities among children.

In the beginning of the multiculturalism period, Marjoribanks reported on what was probably one of the most methodologically sophisticated sociological studies of the achievements of children from ethnic families. Using the concept of 'ethclass' (a combination of ethnicity and social status), Marjoribanks drew samples of Anglo-Australian (250), British (120), Greek (170), Southern Italian (120), and Yugoslavian (50) families. The four non-Australian groups represented the largest ethnic groups in Australia at the time of his study.

Using multiple regression procedures, Marjoribanks found that independent variables such as parental aspirations, achievement orientations, press for English, individualistic value orientations, and press for independence, did differ between the ethnic groups and were related to academic performance. As Majoribanks concludes, 'for non-Anglo children being taught in English-speaking contexts, low press for English, high press for dependence, and collectivistic value orientations may act as environmental obstacles restricting high parental aspirations, and in the case of Greek and Yugoslavian families, moderate achievement orientations, from being translated into successful children's academic performance' (p. 62). In a subsequent study, Marjoribanks (1991) limited his analysis only to Anglo-Australian, Greek and Southern Italian families and, using discriminant analysis, he found that two discriminant functions differentiated between the three groups. In effect he found that Anglo-Australian families were more likely than both the Greek and Southern Italian families to manifest a stronger press for English, greater press for independence, and an individualistic orientation. On the other hand, the Greek families were more likely than the Italian to manifest a greater press for English and a more collectivistic orientation than the Southern Italian families (p. 88).

A common policy concern emanating from the early work of Marjoribanks was the importance of the English language for academic success in Australian

schools. This concern was consistent with that of the Galbally Report which recommended 'new multicultural and English language programmes' (Galbally 1978, p. 40, cited in Marjoribanks 1980). During this period there was considerable research and policy development on the educational performance of migrant children, in particular their apparent lower achievement orientations. In effect, Marjoribanks's findings pointed to the family environment, and its cultural context (or what he called their environment group profiles) as a major explanatory variable for the lower academic performance of migrant children throughout the 1960s and 1980s. In particular, parental aspirations for their children were seen as a major part of that family environment (Marjoribanks 1984).

In his subsequent research Marjoribanks (1984) was able to differentiate between the migrant backgrounds with high and low levels of 'environmental press' on children regarding long-term aspirations. What is particularly interesting is that some migrant families had higher levels of aspirations for their children than parents of Anglo-Australian children. In effect, Marjoribanks found that the children of Greek origin perceived their parents to have higher educational aspirations for them than did the Anglo-Australian and the Italian children. Importantly, he saw this as an area of possible intervention from teachers. As he stated: 'There is a challenge for teachers, therefore to create school contexts that will assist in reducing social group differences in the educational and occupational aspirations of adolescents' (Marjoribanks 1984, p. 171).

During a number of years Marjoribanks continued to explore this direction of research, as long as the major composition of Australian migrant children remained the same. With the use of multivariate analytic strategies, his early research focused on social psychological dimensions of attainment. The cumulative contribution of his studies was in the better understanding of the factors which were found to affect the aspirations of young Australians, be they Anglo-Australian or migrant children. Perhaps more importantly, he identified key aspects of the family environment, in particular what he called 'environmental press', to explain the effect of ethnicity on school-related outcomes.

Marjoribanks later expanded his earlier studies by incorporating the notion of family human capital, parenting style, parents' aspirations and parent practices on student cognitive outcomes, which consisted of performance in mathematics, word knowledge, and word comprehension, as measured in standardized tests constructed by the Australian Council for Educational Research (Marjoribanks 1996a). His sample was composed of 800 sixth grade students from government and Catholic schools in South Australia. The

ethnic groups included were Anglo-Australian, English, Greek, and Southern Italian. Overall, the Anglo-Australian students and the English students had higher levels of all family environment variables, including independence-oriented parenting styles, and these were important in explaining the higher levels of student cognitive performance. Marjoribanks concluded that family environment factors, rather than any other factors, were responsible for the lower performance of migrant children, or at least those from the migrant backgrounds that he studied. In this respect, the focus of his approach differed considerably from the earlier studies in the 1960s and 1970s especially, which focused on the lack of proficiency in the English language as the major cause of migrant student problems.

Because of the research findings from the family-oriented studies of Marjoribanks and his colleagues, policy implications which emanated from this body of knowledge pointed to further research. This research needed to focus on factors which explain how family environments might become more consistent with the demands of schooling in a culturally different environment, and promote school success. In this regard, he also acknowledged that there are some family environments which may be oppositional in nature, that is, unwilling to adapt, or what he calls 'involuntary' minority groups.

> What is required now are studies of ethnic group variations of young adolescents' school outcomes that involve voluntary and involuntary minority groups and that include refined family models that examine both the parents' and young adolescents' perceptions of those environments. […] If such analyses were undertaken, then parents and teachers would have a greater understanding of those manipulable environment variables that account for differences in young adolescents' performances in school. (Marjoribanks 1996a, pp. 356–357)

Additional research on European migrants during this period is consistent with the general findings of Marjoribanks, but added two further dimensions to understanding the educational and occupational ambitions of ethnic students, namely gender and academic versus vocational education plans. In a representative sample study of 2153 secondary school students from 125 schools in the capital cities, who were planning to leave at the end of the year, Saha (1985) was interested in how occupational aspirations and expectations affected the plan to pursue further academic education, or vocational education, and early schooling leaving. The focus was less on family press and more on the student's socio-economic background and own preferences. Grouping students into Australian, United Kingdom, and European, and replicating analyses for each group, Saha found that ethnicity was not related to the

choice of vocational education and early leaving. Furthermore he found that the ambitions were strongly related to remaining in school through Year 12 for all groups, including United Kingdom and European. In other words, it was the socio-economic status which made the difference and not ethnicity. However what was also interesting, is that of all the groups, the male Europeans had the highest aspirations while females from all groups had the lowest. These findings were confirmed in a more elaborate study of educational plans, where the male migrant students had the highest occupational plans, and these in turn most strongly affected educational plans (Saha 1987).

In conclusion, these studies strongly concentrated on the social psychological dimensions of educational plans and attainments. The general findings were that migrant students, for the most part, were as ambitious as Australian students, and for migrant males, even more so. However in those cases where migrant students did not achieve as highly, it was generally due to the family-related factors.

Structural Family Factors

Subsequent research in this quantitative tradition continued to build on the social psychological orientation of Marjoribanks and others. However, researchers also have since begun to consider structural as well as cultural/family variables. Bowden and Doughney (2010) did exactly this in their online study of 2189 students from 80 secondary schools, both government and private, in the western corridor of Melbourne. The researchers chose this area because of its diversity in ethnic groups. They operationalized 'structural' as the socio-economic status of the student's home background. Their dependent variables were the aspirations and expectations of the students after leaving school. Bowden and Doughney were particularly interested in the interplay between socio-economic status and ethnicity, and they incorporated a wide range of theoretical perspectives in their research, in particular those of Pierre Bourdieu, for the notion of 'cultural capital', and Raymond Boudon, for his notion of decision pathways, modified by socio-economic status. Bowden and Doughney had 62 different countries represented in their 2006–2007 Melbourne school survey, measured by country of birth of student or parents. What they found was that, of the most recently arrived non-English-speaking migrants, those from Africa, Asia and the Middle East had the highest aspirations for higher education attainment. The weakest aspirations were among students "who were, or their parents were, born in Oceania (principally New

Zealand and the Pacific Islands), followed by Australia." (Bowden and Doughney 2010, p. 122).

However, unlike Marjoribanks and others years before, they found no difference between the non-English and English-speaking students in perceived parental support. However they attributed the non-English and English differences in educational aspirations to differences in socio-economic status. In particular, they found that low socio-economic status English-speaking students had the lowest level of aspiration for higher education, thus partly explaining the ethnic differences.

The Bowden and Doughney study is particularly important since it captures in part the changing nature of migration to Australia. Unlike Marjoribanks, Smolicz, and the early researchers into the educational experiences of migrant students in Australia, Bowden and Doughney could incorporate more recent migrants into their study by focusing on the western corridor of Melbourne, in particular migrants from Africa, Asia and the Middle East. They found these migrant aspirations to be very high. Clearly the landscape of migrant education in Australia was already changing by the 2000s.

One characteristic of the above studies is that they tend to aggregate migrant categories to a greater or lesser degree. They are also all quantitative and in the political arithmetic tradition. They also are consistent in that migrant children, with some exceptions, do pretty well in school, and where they do not, the explanation can be found in some deficit, either in the English language or some aspect of family background. To this extent, they endorse the 'ethnic success' thesis which was espoused by Bullivant (1988), Birrell (1995), and Birrell and Seitz (1986) during this period. Bullivant and Birrell argued that European migrants shared many of the values of the Australians before migration, and therefore, apart from language, their children were able to adapt reasonably well to the values of Australian schooling. This conclusion was supported in a recent study by Marks (2010) who found, using the 1995 cohort of the LSAY study, that migrant students from an English-speaking background, such as Hong Kong and India, actually do better than Australian students throughout their schooling. He attributed this to 'more positive attitudes to their schoolwork, more homework and, more importantly, a more strategic selection of subjects' (p. 151). They also recognized that education is the 'key to life chances'.

However, Windle (2004) argued that the tendency to aggregate ethnic categories by many quantitative researchers has masked some ethnic groups' failures to achieve in education. Drawing on quantitative data of Turkish migrants, and comparing them with other, mainly Asian, students, Windle

argued that their difficulties in school stem from far more complex factors than normally included in earlier migrant studies. He argued for a more dis-aggregated approach to the study of migrant education experiences.

> The vastly differing school experiences of Australia's current heterogeneous mix of labour migrants, refugees, fee-paying overseas students, skilled professionals and business migrants, demand of future research attention to specific conditions of arrival and differential demands made by educational systems. (Windle 2004, p. 283)

From the above, it is clear that there were some limitations in the aggregation of migrant categories in the quantitative studies, and pockets of migrant failure might not have been so apparent. Nevertheless, the large body of data and knowledge about migrant children in schools made a major contribution during that period of research on the factors which contributed to migrant student ambitions and achievements in schools.

The Changing Diversity of the Australian Population

As already mentioned above, the composition of the migrant population began to shift by the 1970s, particularly with the Vietnam war and the beginning of the "boat people". Not only the Vietnamese, but other Asian people began to migrate to Australia, and slowly the composition of the Australian

Table 3.1 Top 10 overseas countries of birth in Australia, 2016 compared to 1954; Percentages are of total population for each of the two years

	1954		2016
UK(a)	664,200 (7.39%)	UK[a]	1,198,000 (4.87%)
Italy	119,900 (1.33%)	New Zealand	607,200 (2.47%)
Germany	65,400 (0.73%)	China[b]	526,000 (2.14%)
New Zealand	43,400 (0.48%)	India	468,800 (1.91%)
India	12,000 (0.13%)	Philippines	246,400 (1.00%)
China (b)	10,300 (0.12%)	Vietnam	236,700 (0.96%)
South Africa	6000 (0.06%)	Italy	194,900 (0.79%)
Malaysia	2300 (0.02%)	South Africa	181,400 (0.74%)
Philippines	0200 (0.00%)	Malaysia	166,200 (0.68%)
Vietnam	na	Germany	124,300 (0.51%)
Total Australian population	8,986,500		24,598,900

[a]Includes Ireland in 1954: includes Channel Islands and the Isle of Man
[b]Excludes SARs and Taiwan
Constructed from Australian Yearbook of Statistics 1301.0 – Yearbook Australia, 2012, and Australian Bureau of Statistics, 3412.0 – Migration Australia 2015–2016, March 2017. Percentage computations are added

population began to change. This shift is reflected in Table 3.1, which shows the proportion of the various countries represented in the birthplace of the Australian population in 2016 compared to 1954. The percentages represent the proportion of the total population for that year for each migrant country.

First of all, the table shows that the United Kingdom has been the top migrant country of birth in both 1954 and 2016. However, during the 62 year period, the proportion of United Kingdom migrants living in Australia has declined from 7.39% to 4.87%, which indicates that migration from other countries has increased relative to the United Kingdom. A close examination of the figures further indicates that compared to 2016, the 1954 migrant country of birth was higher for the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and New Zealand than the Asian countries of India, China, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam. However during the 62 years there was an increasing presence in Australia of people from the Asian and Southeast Asian countries, which raised the proportion of migrants from these countries above those from Europe. Thus, during this period, Australia has become more diverse and more multicultural.

The Studies of Asian Migrants

It is clear from Table 3.1 that one of the major shifts in migration trends in Australia has been the increase in Asian migrants. Between 1954 and 2016, the proportion of the Australian population who were born in the five top Asian countries rose from 0.27% to 6.69%. Given the extensive research on the presumed high achievement orientation of Asian migrant students or students of Asian origin, compared to that of Western students, particularly with respect to the importance of effort rather than ability, one would expect the educational ambitions and attainments of Asian migrant students to differ considerably from that found among European migrant children. This is in line with the research of McInerney (2006), who found that Asian students in Australia had higher levels of achievement motivation than Australian students. However results from the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) suggests that students across all countries share views about the importance of hard work for mathematics attainment (Leung 2002).

Martin and Hau (2010), in their comparative study of samples of Hong Kong and Australian students, found that there were no differences in the kind of achievement motivation, but there were differences in degree. In effect, the Australian students reported higher levels of 'adaptive' achievement

motivation (planning, task management, and persistence), and lower levels of 'maladaptive' achievement motivation (self-handicapping, and disengagement). In contrast, Asian students have been found to have higher standards and a desire for self-perfection, and feel shame and guilt when they fail to attain these goals (Li 2002, 2005). It would seem, therefore, that comparisons between Asian and Australian students in educational achievement attainments are more complex than have been assumed.

The documentation of these similarities and differences between Asian and Australian students forms a backdrop to understanding the academic performance of Asian migrant students in Australia. Tan and Yates (2011) argue that the primary cause of the effort that Asian students give to their studies lies in their Confucian cultural heritage. Students from countries such as China, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea share the values of hard work and filial piety which is deeply embedded in Confucian teaching. Therefore it is as much their cultural background, as it is the characteristics of their family environment, which explain the high expectations, the determination, and the perfectionism which typify the educational engagement and achievement of Asian students.

However, Tan and Yates also argue that these values create a highly stressful environment for Asian students which dominates their schooling and also the attainment of a high status job. Other studies, such as that by Ho and Yip in Singapore (2003) have documented the extent to which students considered education to be 'the most stressful aspect of school life' and that they were 'least satisfied with the grades they had received' (pp. 390–391). The study by Tan and Yates on Singaporean students confirmed the extent to which their sample of Asian students felt subjected to the high expectations of their teachers, their parents, and themselves, and that they experienced high levels of stress as a result.

The characteristics of migrant Asian students in Australia were confirmed by a qualitative study by Matthews (2002). Focusing on interviews with female Asian students in a co-educational Australian state school she argued that the 'pro-school conformity of Asian-Australian young women sets them in a problematic and precarious relationship to the material and symbolic processes of racialization' (p. 194). Matthews accepts the cultural argument which explains the high attainments of Asian migrant students, but she points out that while this might bring about 'ethnic success', it also brings with it racialization and, in the case of Asian females, sexualization. She argues as follows:

> Stereotypes and practices of racialization and sexualisation sustain pro-school culture and Asian female group associations. While they have the effect of securing Asian female educational success, they are also problematic because they limit girls' educational possibilities and employment opportunities. (Matthews 2002, p. 194)

Ironically, it is the very value system, and its pressure for achievement, which brings about a form of 'new racism' which accentuates 'difference' and thus brings with it forms of disparagement.

Once again, it is useful to recall ethnic success theory (Bullivant 1988) which is based on the notion that educational success can be explained by the consistency between student cultural values and those espoused by the Australian school. It can therefore be assumed, for example, that the success of Asian students in Australian schools is due to the consistency of their values (which Tan and Yates would call 'Confucian' values) and some of the values adhered to in schools. Examples of these values are hard work, respect for teachers, self-discipline, motivation, deference and politeness, a desire for perfection, and not questioning the teacher. These are typically Asian values, and not the same as identified in the research of European migrants. The main problem that Matthews finds with this theory is that Asian students in Australia are not a culturally homogeneous category, and that the category 'Asian' 'conceals national, cultural and "racial" distinctions, and does not refer to the same categories of people in Australia' (p. 195).

Nevertheless, as a label Matthews argues that it may be advantageous because being 'Asian' means being smart and pro-school, and thus provides an advantage with regard to academic success. Teachers expect Asian students to be 'smart, passive and polite', and they therefore give them more attention and are 'favored' in many ways, including tolerance from the teacher regarding lateness or other 'off-task' behaviors. However, as Matthews notes, Asian students, especially female students, may not receive help when they need it because they are assumed to be 'smart'. Thus the label 'Asian' may have disadvantages. This form of disadvantage is augmented by Australian students who respond to the 'Asian' label with a subtle form of racism, involving harassment and exclusion, especially toward Asian female students.

There is yet little systematic data which has tested, or could test the arguments made by Matthews. As Sweetnam (2003) has noted, test scores by ethnicity are not routinely compared in Australia (unlike in the United States) because 'improvement of student achievement is not an apparent motivation in Australia' (p. 209). However what Matthews has demonstrated with her qualitative data is that the stereotypes of 'being smart' and 'being motivated'

are not the advantage that culture theorists assume, and that these stereotypes can bring about negative consequences of racism.

Research on Asian migrant students in Australian schools is far less developed than that of the European migrants. This may be due to their more recent arrival, or perhaps the fact that they have not been identified as 'problematic' in their educational experience and performance. However Matthews argues, like Windle did earlier regarding European migrants, that Asian students need to be disaggregated in research. Recent research by Chesters (2015) would seem to confirm this to some extent. Using data from the 2003 cohort of the Longitudinal Survey of Australian Youth (LSAY), she found that first and second generation migrant students from non-English-speaking backgrounds (NESB) compared fairly well with Australian students in both aspirations and achievement at age 15. Indeed, for some outcomes, the second generation students did better. However, it remains difficult to argue that these patterns are true across all ethnic backgrounds, in particular between Asian and non-Asian. Thus it is necessary to examine the national, cultural, and 'racial' distinctions which may in fact mask differences in the educational experiences and outcomes of students of Asian origin in Australia.

Studies of Refugee Migrants

The study of 'refugee' or 'humanitarian' migrants is a variation of the study of migrants generally, since they represent movements from one country to another on a permanent basis. However in Australia they do differ in that they have not come through the normal recruitment or selection system as do other migrants in Australia, and nor do they come from the same countries. Since World War II to 2011, Australia has been a country of refugees with a total of 750,000 people from many different countries having arrived in response to global resettlement and humanitarian needs (Australian Government 2011). Since that time, approximately 65,000 visas were granted in the humanitarian program, of which almost 33,000 were refugees (Australian Government 2015–2016). In the early years, most of the refugees were from Europe as a result of the war. However during the 1970s many refugees arrived as 'boat people' from Vietnam as a result of the war there, and starting in 1998, the waves of refugees increasingly arrived from Africa and the Asia/Pacific region. From 2003 to 2005, 70% of refugee arrivals came from Africa, and in 2009–2010, approximately 32% of all visas granted on a humanitarian basis were to people affected by conflicts in the Middle East and South West Asia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012). This is illustrated in

Table 3.2 2015–2016 offshore visa grants by top ten countries of birth

Countries	Number of Visas granted
Iraq	4358
Syria	4261
Burma (Myanmar)	1951
Afghanistan	1714
Congo DRC)	657
Bhutan	515
Somalia	437
Iran	337
Ethiopia	337
Eritrea	291
Other	694
Total	15,552

From: Australian Government, Department of Home Affairs (2015–2016)

Table 3.2, which shows the top ten countries of birth from which refugees came who were granted offshore visas in 2015–2016.

The importance of focusing on the refugee component separately is clearly stated by Australian researchers Willis and Nagel (2015) in their study of children caught in the consecutive civil wars in Northern Uganda from 1971 to 2006. The Ugandan school teachers and school leaders who they interviewed used words like "fragmented" and "hijacked" to describe the interruptions to childrens' learning in a conflict and violent environment. Furthermore the war-related stress and trauma created such "gaps" in their learning that neurological and social psychological rehabilitation is a necessity for them to resume a normal educational life. Willis and Nagel found that teachers could play a central role in this rehabilitation process. Much of their argument underlies the studies of the education of refugee children in Australia.

Taylor (2008) is another example of a researcher who has been concerned with refugees from Africa, who have been considered to have 'greater settlement needs than people from previous source regions' (cited in Department of Immigration and Cultural Affairs 2006). One of these needs was access to an education system which would respond to students who had 'lower levels of English proficiency [and] lower levels of literacy in their own languages' (p. 58). Taylor argued that three factors have worked against the full settlement of African refugees: (i) a climate of fear among Australians toward asylum seekers and refugees, (ii) a move away of Australia from the policy of multiculturalism, and (iii) the neoliberal policy trends which have resulted in a reduction of funding for schools.

In a small study of government policies toward refugees in Brisbane, as reflected in websites, Taylor found that refugee education was rarely mentioned

and was virtually 'invisible' or conflated with other issues, such as policies regarding English as a second language (ESL) or 'students at risk', with the result that the education of refugee children was 'left to chance' (Taylor 2008). From the analysis of data based on semi-structured interviews with 11 community-sector and 14 ESL teachers, Taylor concluded that only the Brisbane Catholic schools, and not the government schools, had developed a policy for the support of refugee students.

In addition to the 'left to chance' status of the education of refugees, Fozdar and Torezani (2008) found, in their study of 150 refugees, which included Yugoslavs, Middle-Easterners, and Africans, that in spite of feeling discriminated against, these refugee migrants felt generally a sense of well-being and were satisfied with life in their new country, and perhaps only mild disappointment but no serious dissatisfaction. Although Fozdar and Torezani's study was primarily concerned with perceptions of negative life events related to employment, one could ask whether there are implications for the experience of refugee children in Australian schools. Fozdar and Torezani did point out that refugees place value on opportunities for their children, and therefore their sense of well-being might have been due not to their own negative discriminatory experiences, but in the hope and expectation that life would be ultimately better for their children, compared to where they came from (Fozdar and Torezani 2008, p. 54).

Studies of the actual achievement of recent refugee students are not yet available, although there is research on the experiences that these students have in Australian schools. Using interviews and focus groups, Cassity (2007) studied 65 African refugee students from Sudan, the country which constituted 47% of humanitarian refugees allowed into Australia in 2003–2004. There were 2775 admissions in that year, but this had increased to 5654 in 2004–2005. Other countries represented in the admissions at this time were Ethiopia, Congo, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Burundi, and Rwanda. Many of the refugee students had experienced considerable trauma due to violence and conflict in their home countries. The students who were studied were in three government schools in Western Sydney, and were making the transition from their home country with little education or interrupted education, and poor English language skills.

According to Cassity, 'the NSW [New South Wales] school system is not working for recently arrived African children' (p. 92). Various programs were in place to assist the students in her sample, for example the Intensive English Course (IEC) and the Young Africans in School Project (YASP). However the immense gap between the preparedness of the African refugee students, and their traumatized condition, were such that few were succeeding. For many

refugee students, schooling in Australia was seen as directed towards 'coping up', or catching up for lost time, for the periods when they were not in school because of conflicts or refugee flight (p. 101). Furthermore, even though they perceived themselves to be in a new and 'safe' country, the trauma of past experiences continued to interfere with their return to schooling through memory distractions and loss of concentration. Many of these concerns are reported in greater detail in the earlier report by Cassity and Gow (2006).

The findings of Cassity and Gow are similar to another study in Victoria. Brown et al. (2006) interviewed in depth eight Sudanese refugee students in two schools and found that they had experienced significant gaps in their schooling before coming to Australia. As the largest African refugee group in the schools, the Sudanese students represent '… an extremely high risk group, which faces great challenges in terms of adaptation to the school system, acculturation, social adaptation, English language learning, and eventual academic success' (p. 150). Brown and her colleagues identify one of the main problems for the Sudanese students is learning the 'highly specific form of English' that is used in Australian classrooms. Furthermore, oral fluency in English is not sufficient for academic study. The students themselves identified their discomfort with subject-specific language (for example, biology and science generally), cultural knowledge about Australia, various teaching approaches such as group activity, and the use of textbooks. The researchers found that the students had high aspirations, but their career aspirations sometimes were based on misunderstandings of Australian society. Brown and her colleagues conclude that new strategies are needed, mainly in the form of more teachers, more help with English in specific subjects, peer support from one's own culture, and time to learn before coming to school.

But academic problems are not the only obstacles to educational attainment. A study by Correa-Velez et al. (2017) of 47 Melbourne refugee youth, 8 to 9 years after arrival in Australia, found that the two most important factors which explained successful completion of Year 12, were younger age at time of arrival in the country, and low experience of discrimination in either the school or community. More specifically they found that for one each year decrease upon arrival, youth were approximately two times more likely to complete secondary school. If they did not experience discrimination while living in Australia, they were about 4.9 times more likely to complete secondary school. The researchers concluded that more intense support programs for older refugee students, and programs to address racism in schools and the wider communities are necessary to overcome obstacles to refugee educational attainment.

The specific focus on teachers in the education of refugee children is also emphasized by Wilkenson and Langat (2012), who studied the integration of refugee children in a small regional high school in the state of New South Wales. Five percent of the students in the school were refugee children from Sudan, but with a small number from Congo, Burundi and Sierra Leone. Using focus groups and semi-structured interviews with teachers and staff, the researchers concluded that the needs were: (1) a whole school approach to foster inclusion, (2) teacher access to professional development, (3) dealing with increasing diversity in the classroom, in addition to refugees, and (4) an enhanced role of English as a Second Language (ESL) in the school. In other words, leadership and practice were seen as possible solutions to the issues relating to refugee children.

It is precisely the absence of these practices that are part of the problem. Uptin et al. (2013) found, in their in-depth study of twelve former refugee students from a wide range of backgrounds, that fitting into the Australian school was essential. They felt that racialist discourse, particularly in the social rather than academic sphere, was an obstacle to their inclusion. As one dark-skinned female student commented:

> When I arrived here in Australia, in school you know, that's when I felt like I didn't belong here. – It felt like I was a black dot on a white paper. … They can't miss you, you see everyone just staring, turning and looking…" (p. 129)

From the above, it is apparent that there has been insufficient concern about the difficulties for refugees to "fit in" into both the social and academic environment of Australian schools, and in particular their lack of knowledge in English among researchers and education authorities. Nevertheless it has been argued that their education has been 'left to chance' (Sidhu and Taylor 2007). For the most part, efforts to remedy this disadvantage have taken the form of ESL teaching, and a study of the language teachers of refugees found that for the most part, they used sound educational practices (Windle and Miller 2012). However, Windle and Miller (2012) argued that additional attention needs to be directed to the inculcation of 'autonomous learning', or the ability of students to take more control over their own learning. They found that most teachers simply did not have the resources to include this skill in their teaching (p. 328).

Another solution to the problems relating to the education of refugees is reported by Pugh et al. (2012). They focused their attention on one primary school in South Australia which had a New Arrivals Program (NAPs) which had developed a "whole school" approach in the education of refugees. They

explain whole school reform as the adaptation of "…all aspects of schools – structure, culture and pedagogy" in a way that promotes better outcomes for the students. Using an ethnographic approach and interviews, they studied a school which had 17 new arrivals classes, mostly made up of African and Afghanistan refugee students. The students spent at least 6 months in the new arrivals classes before transitioning into mainstream classes. Pugh et al. (2012) demonstrate how the school used integrated space and activities outside of class (for example, assemblies, sports and other playground activities), leadership through inclusive policies and programs, especially prepared teachers, and a more prescribed curriculum appropriate for the refugees to achieve eventual integration of refugee students into the mainstream. The authors concluded that the program was effective and could be a model for other schools to follow.

The education of recent refugees continues to be problematic in Australia. There are many programs which have been implemented and studied to overcome the educational and social disadvantage of refugees, even at the university level (See, for example Kong et al. 2016). There are others which continue to focus on intensive language programs (Due et al. 2015). Just as with the migrants and refugees following World War II, the cause of the problem has been seen by some to be the lack of adequate English. However there is growing awareness that more than English teaching is necessary if the disadvantages of refugee experience and refugee status are to be overcome.

Studies of Indigenous Australians

Although Australia is home to many migrant groups whose ancestry can be traced back to early British settlement in the late 18th century, it is also home to one of the ancient cultures of the worlds, namely the Australian Aborigines, who have inhabited the continent for at least 50,000 years. In one sense, Aborigines also were the first migrants, having arrived across a land bridge which then connected the Australian continent with the land masses of South East Asia. The Torres Strait Islanders are another indigenous group who inhabit the far north of Queensland, and who are regarded as distinct from the Aborigines, being culturally and genetically linked with Melanesian peoples. The word 'indigenous' is commonly used to refer to both groups, and this is the way it is used in this section.

The education of Australian Aborigines throughout the 19th and 20th centuries was sporadic. This was, in part, due to the view that the Aborigines would eventually die out, or be absorbed into the dominant white majority.

The government policies during this period were motivated primarily to 'smooth the pillow of a dying race', and therefore little was done to promote their education on a large scale. Furthermore, because of the belief in fixed intelligence and use of IQ tests in the 1930s, it was thought that the education of indigenous children was problematic (Whitehead 2014). Indeed, it was only in the 1960s that the Aborigines began to be taken seriously as a part of mainstream society, and it was only in 1971 that they were counted as citizens in the official census. Because of their disadvantaged condition regarding health and well-being, relative to indigenous groups in other Western countries, the indigenous Australians are regarded as some of the most disadvantaged (Cooke et al. 2007).

Determining the exact number of Aborigines has always been difficult because of definition. In recent years there has been an increasing propensity for people identifying themselves as Aborigines. Nevertheless, the official figure given by the 2011 Census for those who identify as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander is 669,900, which represents 3% of the total Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013). In general, the indigenous population is younger than the rest of the Australian population, due to increasing birth and survival rates. While the state of New South Wales has the largest number of indigenous people (28.7% of the indigenous population), they comprise 31.6% of the total population of the Northern Territory (Australian Human Rights Commission 2008).

In terms of geographical distribution in 2006, 32% lived in major cities, 21% lived in 'inner regional' areas, 22% in 'outer regional' areas, 10% in 'remote' areas, and 16% in 'very remote' areas. This distribution is important because it explains in part why many young Aboriginal children do not have normal access to educational facilities (Australian Human Rights Commission 2008).

Over the period from 1980 the retention rate for indigenous children has steadily increased, so that by 2007 the retention rate from Year 7/8 to Year 10 was 91%, and to Year 12 it was 43%. While these figures are far below the figures for non-indigenous Australians, the disparity is lessening. Nevertheless, in 2006 indigenous people aged 15 or older were only half as likely as non-indigenous to have completed Year 12, the figures being 23% compared to 49%. In higher education, the non-indigenous people were four times as likely to have a bachelor degree or above, 21% compared to 5%. So even though the educational status of the indigenous had improved considerably over the years, by 2010 they still lagged far behind the non-indigenous Australians. And the indigenous people living in remote areas were less well off, educationally, than those living in cities, the figures for those completing
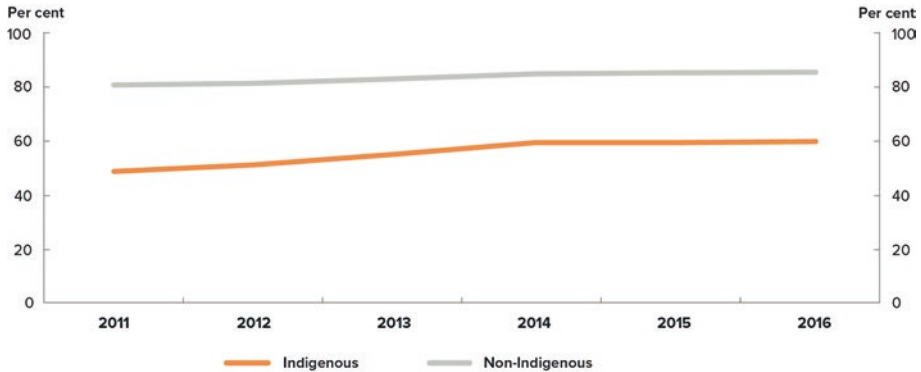
Fig. 3.1 Year 12 apparent retention rate, Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. (Source: Australian Government (2018). Department of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, *Closing the Gap: Prime Minister's Report, 2018*)

Year 12 being 22% compared to 31%, but only 14% in very remote areas. (Australian Human Rights Commission 2008). However in 2012 the number of indigenous students who were staying on to Year 12 reached an 'all time high' to 50% (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013). Nevertheless, this is considerably lower than the figure for non-indigenous students, who have a retention rate of around 85%.

But overall, the retention rates continue to climb. The data in Fig. 3.1 show, over time, the improvement of the educational attainment of indigenous students. By 2016 the retention rate had improved to 59.8%, while the non-indigenous rate remained about the same. The gap is closing, but very slowly.

Whichever way one examines the data, in spite of improvements in indigenous educational attainment, they not only lag far behind their non-indigenous counterparts, but the differences within the indigenous peoples in differing geographical areas is also great. It should be noted, however, that in some areas of performance, there are no differences between males and females.

The performance of indigenous children in schools has been studied for many years. For a review of research which was conducted in the 1960s and 1970s, see Gale et al. (1987). Here we will examine recent studies and discuss some of the factors which have been regarded as explanations for their low educational attainment.

Political Arithmetic Studies

In spite of the fact that the educational attainments of Australia's indigenous population had been of concern to the country for some time (Long et al. 1999), many of the studies on the issue were of a qualitative or case-study nature. Indeed, Bodkin-Andrews et al. (2010) commented that many of these studies lacked generalizability and sufficient scope of methodologies to fully investigate the many factors which contributed to the performance of the indigenous children in school. However with the emergence of larger data sets and the ability to meaningfully measure concepts such as self-concept for both indigenous and non-indigenous Australians, a better understanding of the educational disadvantage of indigenous students will be better understood and appropriate interventions to improve their condition might be introduced.

Bodkin-Anderson and colleagues (2010) have noted that self-concept and a stronger sense of self-determination had been found related to studies of indigenous mental health. However they have argued that it is important to progress beyond one-dimensional or global measures of self-concept, to those which differentiate between self-concepts regarding education, family relations, peer relations, and career aspirations, to name just a few. They used this self-concept approach in a study of four high schools (rural and urban) which had at least 10% indigenous students in Years seven to ten, which resulted in 1369 participants. Data were gathered on a range of self-concept measures, as well as school aspiration and school achievement in English and mathematics. They found that indigenous students 'in comparison to non-Indigenous students, displayed significantly lower scores for general self-esteem, mathematics self-concept, verbal self-concept, home educational resources, English grades, and mathematics grades' (p. 289).

Bodkin-Anderson and colleagues (2010) concluded that the self-concept variables had the strongest effect on the educational outcomes for both indigenous and non-indigenous students, although there were variations between the domain-specific concept measures. However the results were sufficiently strong to prompt them to comment that 'no teacher is wasting his or her time in enhancing specific domains of self-concept in order to influence schooling outcomes' (p. 299). They advocated a culturally inclusive pedagogy, and supported Purdie's (2003) observation that 'The challenge for educators is to ensure that schools are places where Indigenous children want to be, where their presence and participation is valued, where they feel successful and where they see value in completing their schooling' (p. 299).

In addition to self-identity, another social psychological dimension of indigenous orientation to education is broadly that of ambition. A number of researchers have focused on the aspirations and plans of indigenous youth for higher levels of education and occupations. The importance of these orientations is that they are factors which lead to actual attainments. Furthermore they can be developed and fostered among youth and thus facilitate increases in eventual educational and occupational attainments. For example, Sikora and Biddle (2015), using data from the 2006 and 2009 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), focused their attention on the gender differences in the university plans and the occupational ambitions of indigenous youth. They found that indigenous girls are more ambitious in this regard than the boys, but that their expectations in terms of monetary rewards were lower. Even more interesting, they found that the gender gap between the indigenous girls and boys was greater than it was for the non-indigenous. Gore and her colleagues (Gore et al. 2017a) emphasize the importance of research on indigenous aspirations to attend university. In their analysis of data from New South Wales government schools, they found that indigenous students were much less likely to aspire to university, even though they wanted the same occupations. In another study of the literature on indigenous ambitions, Gore et al. (2017b) concluded that much more needs to be known about the aspirations of indigenous students, in particular to understand their views about higher education, if the gap between the indigenous and non-indigenous is to be reduced.

Clearly, in these quantitative studies the concepts of self-identity and ambition emerge as important for understanding difficulties that indigenous children have in schools. But self-identity and ambition regarding education, whether it is positive or negative, is also related to culturally linked practices which take place in the classroom. What are some of these?

Cultural Studies

As with studies of immigrants, many researchers have seen culture as the main factor which explains the low educational attainment and performance of the indigenous students in Australian schools. Much of this research is a response to greater cultural diversity in schools and universities and represents an effort to understand academic performance issues. (See Omeri et al. (2003), and Ramburuth and Tani (2009) for reviews of both qualitative and quantitative research about culture in the classroom.) In a qualitative study of indigenous students in South Australia, Rahman (2010) found that the attendance,

retention, learning, and achievement of indigenous secondary school students were related to 'culturally responsive schooling, culturally responsive pedagogy and cultural safety' (p. 67). Based on interviews with indigenous secondary school students, Rahman noted that, in addition to responsive and supportive teachers, and the encouragement of parents, that teachers 'in particular the way that they relate to students, can significantly impact on student interest in school, their learning engagement and levels of retention, attendance and achievement' (p. 74). This finding is supported by a study by Baxter and Meyers (2016) of a primary school in urban Victoria. Using multiple methods over the years 2009 to 2011, the researchers found that the attendance of indigenous children was almost as high as the non-indigenous students, and largely not within the educational at-risk range. They concluded that the incorporation of a whole school approach with a program embedded with indigenous knowledge and culture, and a family friendly approach to school engagement, has large benefits. As one Senior Indigenous Educator explained, "…people cannot appreciate how welcoming and embracing those symbols are and 'what that does to the heart of an indigenous person until you are with them or you hear it explained'" (p. 214).

The conclusions regarding the unique effects of culture are mixed. However, in a major report on cultural dimensions and indigenous participation in education, Dockery (2009), for example, argues that traditional Aboriginal cultures are not necessarily a barrier to educational participation and attainment, but may, in fact, be complementary. Using statistical data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Dockery demonstrates that the maintenance and respect for traditional Aboriginal culture, and a greater sensitivity on the part of teachers, especially for students from non-remote areas, can have positive effects.

There is a growing body of literature which has tested the dominant cultural deficit theory with quantitative data for progression to university studies for Aboriginal students. For example, even at the university level, White and Fogarty (2000–2001) found, with samples of indigenous and non-indigenous students, that the former tended to hold collective values while the latter espoused individualist values. In addition, and in a similar vein, other studies, such as that by Teasdale and Teasdale (1992), had found that indigenous students tended to be informal and incidental in their learning as part of day-to-day experience, whereas non-indigenous students, with individualist values, tended to more self-directed, independent, and in general more motivated and ambitious. These latter are values more consistent with the Australian schools. Fogarty and White (1994) argued that as a minority group, not

sharing the values of the wider society could be a cause for educational disadvantage.

However the same authors replicated their study with a new sample of indigenous and non-indigenous students, and they added a larger number of control variables, including dimensions from Schwartz's Values Survey (1992) (Fogarty and White 1994). Drawing samples of 202 Aboriginal and 194 non-Aboriginal students in a southern Queensland university, they found significant differences in educational performance, as measured by 'progression rate', that is the ratio of passed courses to total courses attempted. The Aboriginal students had a progression rate of 38.72, compared to 84.83 for the non-Aboriginals. This means that the Aboriginal students passed about four out of ten courses, while the non-Aboriginals passed between eight and nine courses out of every ten that they attempted. The authors also found that the Aboriginal students scored higher on the 'security', 'conformity' and 'tradition' scales, all of which indicated a collectivist orientation. Furthermore they found that the tradition and conformity scales correlated with low progression scores. However, when a regression analysis was conducted, and the variable 'race' was included, the strong relationship between these values disappeared, except for a small effect for conformity. The authors concluded that 'the greater collective orientation of the Aboriginal students…is not a barrier to success in education' (p. 266). They concluded that it was lack of preparation for university which eventually explained their poor performance. This was reflected by the fact that most of the Aborigines had been admitted to university under 'special or alternate entry procedures and had not completed the normal twelve years of schooling prior to university entry' (p. 262). This, they concluded, was a downside of the access and equity policies in Australia which encouraged acceptance of non-traditional students to university. But most importantly, this body of research calls into question the culture and values argument for the low performance of indigenous students in Australian schools. It also emphasizes the importance of effective and high quality education at the primary and secondary levels for the indigenous students, if they are to progress to post-secondary education.

Language Studies

Language maintenance is important for educational success with respect to the indigenous peoples of Australia. There are about 150 languages spoken by the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islander people (Cavallaro 2005). Although there are some who argue that language maintenance is not important for the

integration of the indigenous peoples into Australian society, others argue that language maintenance is important for a wide range of reasons, including group identity, cognitive development, and academic achievement. However, rather than seen as a disadvantage, current research suggests that bilingualism is an advantage. The argument regarding bilingualism among the indigenous Australians is based on the notion that maintaining the native language, alongside English, contributes to self-identity, self-esteem, and self-confidence, and therefore to educational attainment.

The acquisition of English literacy skills is generally seen as a way of getting ahead in contemporary Australian society. Without knowledge of English, it has been argued that indigenous youth will not be able to succeed in contemporary Australian life (Clancy and Simpson 2002). A number of policies have been enacted regarding the education of Aborigines, beginning with the New South Wales Aboriginal Policy Act (1982). This act advocated that the inclusion of Aboriginal culture in the curriculum would serve both the Aborigines as well as the white majority (Clancy and Simpson 2002).

A much more broad policy was introduced in 2000 regarding the English literacy of indigenous people, with a focus on improving their English literacy, the *National Indigenous English Literacy and Numeracy Strategy 2000–2004* (2000). This policy was intended to heighten the awareness of those in education of the issues relating to Aboriginal literacy and numeracy.

Training Prepared Teachers

In 1986, Marjoribanks and Jordan (1986) did a study of the stereotypes that Anglo-Australian and Aboriginal adolescents had of each other. They found that the stereotype that the Anglo-Australians had of Aborigines 'was unfavourable, uniform, and characterized by an intensity that reflected extreme negative feelings'. On the other hand, the stereotype Aboriginals had of Anglo-Australians 'was particularly favourable and defined by intense positive orientations' (p. 17). This study of differences in stereotyping highlights a major issue in the preparation of teachers for interacting with indigenous students. Partington (2003) advocates having indigenous teachers in indigenous classrooms. The practice of having Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teaching aides, he argues, has not been successful. Clancy and Simpson (2002) also note that often teachers of indigenous students are not well equipped, and this leads to misunderstandings by both teacher and student, and contributes to student 'shaming' and a lower self-esteem.

In a study of beginning Australian teachers, Bornholt (2002) found that moderately positive and negative stereotypes toward Aborigines were indeed held. However, she also found that the teachers felt 'worry and guilt with little anger' and that they had 'intentions for positive action' and 'intentions to gain experience with Aboriginal people'. Her conclusion was that the attitudes of Anglo-Australians toward Aborigines were very complex, but that it would be possible to design 'attitude change events' in the process of teacher training, and that these should include contacts to reduce stereotyping.

There is a growing awareness of teachers as part of the problem and the solution of indigenous schooling, and some research such as that of Bornholt on how to better prepare teachers for diversity in the classroom, and particularly for schools with indigenous students identifies possible input into teacher training programs which might improve teacher–student interactions and understandings with indigenous students.

Conclusion

Educational issues related to Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders are highly complex. Although until the 1960s, the general view has been that the issues would go away, with the dying out of the indigenous people altogether, or their assimilation into Australian white society. However neither of these have happened. Furthermore, the issues relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education performance has become very complex as well, with increasing knowledge about the many factors related to their educational attainment. In this section, based on both quantitative and qualitative studies, social psychological variables, such as social identity and self-efficacy, collectivist cultural orientations, and finally English-language literacy, have been recognized as important factors in explaining why the indigenous Australians have a lower level of educational attainment, compared to white Australian students. In addition, there is growing awareness that the preparation of better-equipped and better-trained teachers, both indigenous and non-indigenous, will further improve the educational achievement and attainment of Australia's indigenous peoples.

Conclusion: Migrants, Refugees, and the Indigenous as an Australian Educational Mosaic

This chapter has attempted to identify and describe the knowledge that we have about the educational experiences and attainments of migrants and racial groups in Australia. We have divided our discussion in terms of the different relevant groups, namely the early British and European migrants, recent migrants mainly from Asia, refugees or involuntary migrants, and Indigenous Australians.

In each group of migrants or racial groups discussed in this chapter we have seen the general evidence which suggests, perhaps with the exception of the Asian migrants, that at least in the past, some migrant students have not achieved as well as Anglo-Australian students. However, the evidence also makes it difficult to generalize on a large scale. The migrant and indigenous populations in Australia are extremely diverse. Thus some migrant groups, particularly those from European countries, have tended to do well in schools during the period covered in this study (for example, see Meade (1981, 1983) and Cahill et al. (1996)), so much so that they have virtually ceased being an object of study. The current Australian immigration policy, with its point system and the family stream, more or less guarantees that migrant children will do well in Australian schools. They already have the sufficient command of English and parental education which are essential determinants for educational success. On the other hand there continues to be evidence that some migrant groups, and especially refugees, struggle in keeping up with other migrants and Anglo-Australians, especially given the fact that these refugees continue to arrive, and the turbulence, violence and traumatizing experiences in their home countries continue to occur. Furthermore, given the length of time these events have continued, the intake of refugees, although relatively small in number, is cumulative with each additional year.

In 1965, John Porter, the Canadian sociologist, described the class and power structure in Canada in the context of ethnic stratification as a 'vertical mosaic'. What prompted Porter to use the adjective 'vertical' was the fact that the English and French 'charter groups' in Canada have never been equal, with the English occupying higher social class positions and also holding most positions of power. This 'vertical' analogy does not seem to fit well within the Australian ethnic and racial landscape, except perhaps the comparison between the indigenous and nonindigenous school children. On the other hand, the major growing divide in Australia seems to be between the new involuntary

or "forced" migrants, the refugees, and the others, except for the indigenous. In other words, there are three distinct groups: the Australian/Asian, the indigenous, and the refugees. While the original Anglo-Australians of British/Irish origin continue to occupy the dominant position in terms of culture, politics, and institutions, it would be difficult to argue that the paths to upward mobility through education are closed to migrants, or to the indigenous people. In spite of the evidence for various impediments to some ethnic groups in schools, as Windle (2004) pointed out, by and large most voluntary migrant groups eventually seem to succeed reasonably well, and according to Chesters (2015) this is true of all non-English-speaking migrant children. In fact in some cases, as Marks (2010) and Chesters (2015) both pointed out, some do better than the Anglo-Australians.

What about multiculturalism? Although the discourse of multiculturalism has fluctuated over the years, it nevertheless is the adopted national policy, and multicultural festivals both inside and outside the school continue to exist. Thus the various programs directed to the refugee programs in schools are not designed to assimilate the students, but to include them and yet allow the preservation of their cultural heritage.

In fact one might make the case that the ethnic and racial landscape, at least in the area of education, is more like a 'horizontal mosaic', in which various ethnic and racial groups study side-by-side with the Anglo-Australians to make their way up the educational ladder. The issues which the groups need to confront in the classroom are varied, ranging, as we have seen, from English-language deficiency, cultural incompatibilities, trauma, lack of self-identity and confidence, lack of parental support, and most of all social and economic disadvantage. These issues are not in competition with each other, and thus the migrant students and the indigenous students coexist with Anglo-Australian students in a patchwork type of relationship, with educational policies at the federal, state, and territory levels attempting to address them in a way which will bring about greater equality in schools for all ethnic and racial groups. Also included is an attempt for greater tolerance and understanding between teachers and students, and between the students themselves. Multiculturalism, as an official policy, may be disputed and debated, and even rejected by some, but the evidence of the research in this review suggests that it continues to affect both policy and practice in Australia's classrooms.

But where does research progress from here? In Australia, given the changes taking place both in migration patterns, including those who are refugees, and also the changing nature of educational practices and societal requirements for educational credentials, there are gaps in our knowledge that need to be filled. For example, future research needs to give more attention to the

meaning of migration itself, namely the aspirations and expectations of the migrants themselves, both for the adults and for the children. Second, research needs to focus on processes of identity and integration. In the Australian setting, more needs to be known how to integrate young people from widely diverse and different backgrounds into Australian culture, while preserving their identity and pride in their former countries and cultures. The challenge today is not like that following World War II with the integration of mainly European war refugees to an already culturally Western Australian society. Many new migrants do not share this culture. Third, much more research needs to be done regarding the Australian indigenous students, especially those in remote communities. The incorporation of their native languages and knowledge into the school curricula, and the confirmation of their identity and pride in their own heritage, continues to be a challenge in their educational experience. Are these contradictory goals? Once again, only more research which is focused on these sociological and social psychological issues can provide us with the answers. The cumulative research since 1980 on these issues has been enormously beneficial, as hopefully this review has demonstrated. But the challenge for future researchers is to continue addressing the new issues which arise with new migration patterns and with new research knowledge discoveries. Only then will some answers, and relevant policy developments become available.

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4

Austria: Equity Research Between Family Background, Educational System and Language Policies

Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger and Philipp Schnell

Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to describe how researchers in Austria have studied ethnicity and educational inequality between 1980 and 2016 as well as critically assess the reasons for specific research activities and the lack thereof. Even today, Austria still lacks a systematic overview of research in the field of ethnicity/race and educational inequality (for an exception, see Herzog-Punzenberger and Schnell 2014). This is in direct contrast to countries like the United Kingdom or the Netherlands where a strong interest developed in this particular field of enquiry from the 1980s onwards. In recent years, Austrian research on educational inequality has sharply increased parallel to Austria's participation in international large-scale studies such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). Furthermore, since 2012 the nationwide standardized surveys (Bildungsstandard-Erhebungen, BIST) were introduced in Grade 4 and Grade 8, covering also proficiency in Mathematics,

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German and English. These large scale data collections stimulated an additional number of studies on ethnicity/race and educational inequality in Austria.

This contribution is structured as follows: we first provide background information on the Austrian educational system, main immigration periods and outline the most important developments of social policy between 1980 and 2016. Next, we describe how the data gathering for this literature review was applied. The centerpiece of our review is the analysis of five distinct research traditions on ethnicity/race and educational inequality in Austria: the political arithmetic tradition, the family background tradition, the structures of educational systems tradition, the intercultural education and discrimination tradition, and the multilinguality tradition. We concentrate on their major focuses, methods, findings and implications for debates within this field of inquiry. We conclude by summarizing and critically assessing the research traditions explored and provide suggestions for future research on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality in Austria.

National Context

This section offers a brief overview of the main characteristics of the Austrian educational system, immigration patterns to Austria after World War II, and the development of relevant policies in this field.

Educational System

Full-time compulsory education in Austria starts at age six and lasts nine years until age 15. Primary education takes four years and is the most comprehensive phase in the Austrian system, except for the small percentage selected into special school (*Sonderschule*) for remedial education. Most primary schools (*Volksschule*) operate on a half-day basis. Pupils who are classified by teachers as 'not ready' spend an additional year in preschool. Since 2008, children have to take a German language test 15 months before entering school. If their German is not at the defined level they are provided with German language support in kindergarten (Stanzel-Tischler 2011). Since 2010, kindergarten attendance is compulsory one year before schooling begins. These measures were introduced with the aim of all children starting their school-career with a reasonable level of German language proficiency. Obligatory kindergarten attendance also for the second year prior to school-start (age four) for children not at a defined level of German language proficiency is subject to on-going educational reforms.

After primary school, at the age of ten, pupils in Austria are streamed into two separate types of school: vocationally (*Neue Mittelschule, NMS*)[1] or academically oriented (*Allgemeinbildende höhere Schule, AHS-Unterstufe*) lower secondary education. The NMS represents the lower tier (formally *Hauptschule*) and is open to everybody after primary school. In contrast, admission to the academically oriented track, which prepares students to continue in the academically oriented upper secondary school finishing with the university entrance certificate 'Matura', depends on marks of the last year of primary school. The scale of assessment ranges from 1 (very good) to 5 (inadequate) and only pupils assessed as 'very good' or 'good' in German and mathematics may be admitted to the academic secondary school. Teachers can also give a recommendation but these do not have a binding character. Additionally, during compulsory schooling pupils can be classified as not fit for regular school at any time and are consequentially streamed into special school where they receive specific instruction and support. Besides downward streaming, students have to repeat class if they do not meet the demands for a specific year. In the Austrian educational system, most exams are developed, administrated, and evaluated by teachers. Exceptions are the proficiency test carried out in the framework of the standardized national surveys (*Bildungsstandardüberprüfung BIST*). Those are developed, carried out and analyzed by the Federal Institute of Educational Research, Innovation and Development of the Austrian Education System (BIFIE). They are conceptualized as a monitoring instrument for educational governance and feedback for teachers and administration. Different from other countries, they are not used for evaluative purposes regarding individual pupils. The first standardized national survey took place in spring 2012 in Grade 8 covering mathematics. The survey is designed to cover all students attending a specific grade, except for those with special support in the test-domain, e.g. mathematics. Until then, further standardized tests took place in mathematics Grade 4 (2013), in English Grade 8 (2013), and in German Grade 4 (2015) and Grade 8 (2016). Contrary to other countries, results are not used for evaluative purposes on the level of the students. Students, teachers and school principals can access their individualized results through an individually password-secured web portal. Additionally, results are made public through a series of research reports but only on national and province-level, not at the level of schools. School results are reported to the respective school administration and should

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[1] Lower secondary school (Hauptschule, 4 years) is fading out as a school type.

also be discussed among parents' and teachers' representatives within each school (Schulgemeinschaftsausschuss).

Since compulsory education in Austria lasts until age 15, students who finish Neue Mittelschule (and did not repeat a grade) have to attend another year. Those heading for the labor market attend a one-year preparatory class (*Polytechnikum*) before continuing with an apprenticeship position to become a skilled worker. The apprenticeship system is a combined three-year period, in firm training with one day per week in school. The pupils streamed into the academic track in lower secondary education predominately move on to the upper secondary level (*AHS-Oberstufe*) within the same school. In Austria the majority of youth in the upper secondary level is in vocational education and training (VET) whereas only a minority (around 20% of peers in their age group) is in general academic education. VET consists of three separate paths with varying content and credentials. Among them is the apprenticeship path, which trains young adolescents in a certain profession (four days in an enterprise and one day in school) as mentioned above. The apprenticeship path was, for decades, the main path into adulthood for the male population, albeit with widely varying prestige accorded to firms and professions. A parallel path without a position in an enterprise is provided in medium vocational schools lasting three years (*BMS*). Only the higher technical and vocational colleges (*BHS*) provide access to tertiary education through the 'Matura' diploma. However, from medium vocational school you can change into higher vocational colleges and the apprenticeship path was opened up to a combined path with "Matura" as well. While "upstreaming" was made possible and is advertised a very small minority tries and succeeds.

In 2015, the first centralized graduation exam leading to a university entrance certificate took place (*Zentralmatura*). Every graduation exam in academic secondary schools (*AHS-Oberstufe*) and higher technical and vocational colleges (*BHS*) is now held on the same day. In fact, only one out of three parts is standardized and correction of the standardized part is still undertaken by the classroom teachers themselves.

Tertiary education is two-tiered, consisting of classical universities and so-called '*Fachhochschulen*'. The former offer university programs while the latter are full-time schools where students can extend and refine their skills with a strong labor-market orientation. Once the general university entrance certificate 'Matura' is obtained, the student is free to choose their study program and university. Binding entry exams at this point in time only exist for specific study programs, such as medicine and law.

In short, until 2016 the Austrian educational system was characterized by a minimum of one year of compulsory preschool education, early selection at
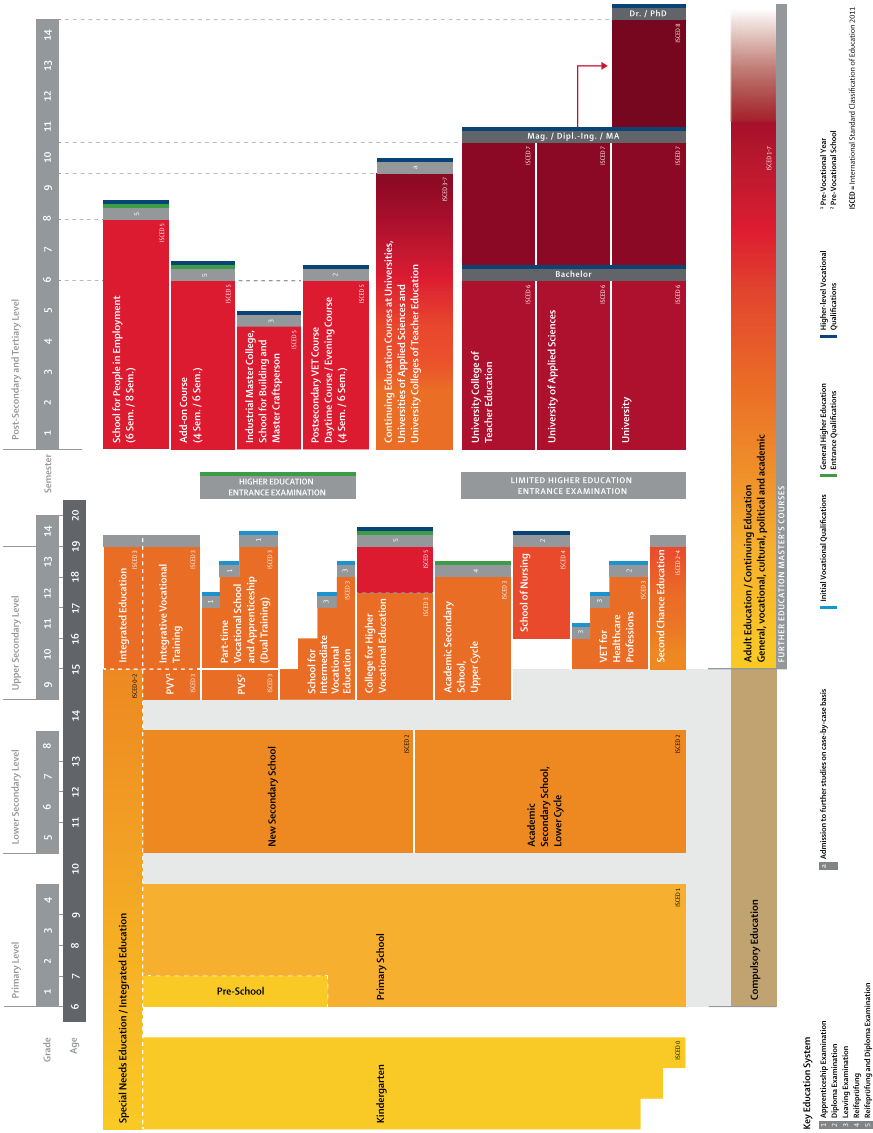
Fig. 4.1 The Austrian educational system. (Source: Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in Education and Research (OeAD-GmbH))

age ten and highly stratified secondary education (Fig. 4.1). The main selection point within the Austrian education system appears at the end of primary education when students are streamed into different ability tracks in lower secondary education. This makes the beginning of the school career an important period that sets the course for subsequent stages. Additionally, ability grouping within or across classrooms was common in non-academically oriented schools, such as lower secondary education or Polytechnikum until recently. With the introduction of the "Neue Mittelschule NMS" a more inclusive orientation was introduced renouncing structures such as ability grouping. Finally, the proportion of private schools accounted around 10% in 2016 (Statistik Austria 2017), the majority of these run by religious congregations.

Migration to Austria

Between the end of World War II and the signing of the State Treaty 1955 approx. Half a million refugees mainly from Eastern Europe were naturalized as Austrian citizens (Fassmann and Münz 1994). Soon afterwards economy was expanding to such an extent that specific industrial sectors required more workers than the domestic labor market could supply. Accordingly, unemployment rates decreased at the end of the 1950s and the recruitment of unskilled labor increased during the 1960s, with official recruitment agreements signed with Spain (1962), Turkey (1964), and Yugoslavia (1966).[2] The recruitment period finished in 1973 when the oil price shock cut back the economic boom throughout Europe. From 1975 until 1990, migration to Austria and the employment of foreign workers was regulated (and restricted) by the employment law for foreigners and the residence law. Until the breakdown of the Eastern bloc in 1989, Austria mostly attracted migrants from Yugoslavia and Turkey. Up to this point, immigration policy was purely conceived as labor market policy and continued to rest on the assumption of the temporary nature of the presence of 'guest workers' (Perchinig and König 2003).

After the fall of the iron curtain in 1989 and the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991, an influx of refugees and immigrants reached Austria. The size of the foreign-born population increased from 5% to almost 9% between 1989 and 1993. Austrian politicians reacted by implementing restrictive migration laws which led to a sharp decrease of inflows from 1994 onwards. In the early

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[2] In the year 1961, the first agreement to recruit a maximum of 47,000 foreign workers was decided but many fewer came until bilateral agreements with the sending states had been signed (Wimmer 1986).

2000s, immigration from other European countries increased (from Germany in particular), including Eastern and South-Eastern European countries which had joined the European Union in 2004 and 2007.

In 2015 and 2016, Austria experienced a large increase of asylum seekers. The situation of violent conflict in many countries of the Middle East but also Afghanistan leads to high levels of migration from the affected regions. Numbers of people travelling overland through Southeastern Europe towards Northwestern Europe rose rapidly during this period. The net inflow of foreign citizens to Austria was + 113,100 in 2015 (Bundesministerium für Inneres 2016, p. 8), with refugees constituting more than half of the influx. The majority of asylum seekers came from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. The Austrian government decided to curb the inflow of asylum seekers by setting a ceiling of 37,500 for 2016.

Recent statistics classify 21.4% of the current Austrian population as persons with a 'migration background' (Bundesministerium für Inneres 2016). This statistical category contains foreign-born as well as native-born with both parents being either foreign-born or holding foreign citizenship (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 displays the population with a migration background broken down by generation and parents' country of origin. Foreign-born persons represented 15.7% of the Austrian population in 2015. Among them, the majority originates from non-EU-27 countries. Table 4.1 additionally provides the percentages of first generation immigrants from (former) Yugoslavia (6%) and Turkey (3.2%), who still represent two of the largest labor migrant groups in Austria. The predominance of former Yugoslavian immigrants in the Austrian population is also reflected in the size of second-generation immigrants with 1.8%, and the second-generation Turkish population as somewhat smaller, comprising 1.4% of the Austrian population. Compared to other North-Western European countries, the number of children of immigrants in Austria is still small (5.6% of the total population).

The classification available is by 'first language', 'first' in this case refers to the biographical timing of language acquisition.[3] As shown in Table 4.2, almost 23% of the total population of pupils in Austria had a first language other than German (234,901 pupils). The proportion has more than doubled within the last 20 years, indicating that children of immigrants are entering schools in steadily increasing numbers. This trend is reflected to differing extents in different school types and tracks. In primary schools, the percentage of non-German mother tongue pupils grew from 11% in 1994 to 28% in 2015 and from the considerably higher level of 18% to 32% in special schools

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[3] Recorded in administrative data by the school principal at the moment of enrollment.

Table 4.1 Austrian population with a migration background (2015), by generation and parents' country of origin (number of persons in 1.000)

	Total population	Migration background					
		Total	% of total population	1st Generation	% of total population	2nd Generation	% of total population
Total	8,491	1,813	21.4	1,333	15.7	479	5.6
Austria	6,678	Country of origin parents					
EU-15, EEA, CH		253	3.0	223	2.6	30	0.4
EU-10		251	3.0	197	2.3	54	0.6
EU-2		198	2.3	149	1.8	49	0.6
Former Yugoslavia		513	6.0	359	4.2	154	1.8
Turkey		273	3.2	155	1.8	118	1.4
Other countries		324	3.8	250	2.9	74	0.9

Source: Own calculations, based on Bundesministerium für Inneres (2016)
Note: Definition of migration background and generational status according to Statistics Austria: First generation immigrants are born abroad; Second generation immigrants are born in Austria. Both generations have both parents born abroad

Table 4.2 Proportion of students with colloquial languages other than German by school-type across selected years

		1993/1994	2000/2001	2009/2010	2014/2015
Primary school	Volksschulen incl. Vorschule	11.3	14.4	23.2	27.6
Lower secondary education	Sonderschulen	18.4	23.3	27.8	32.3
	Neue Mittelschule (Hauptschulen)	10.2	13	20.9	26.6
	AHS-Unterstufe allgemeinbildende höhere Schulen	Na	7.9	15.2	17.0
	Polytechnische Schulen	15.9	12.5	23.2	30.0
Upper secondary education	BPS berufsbildende Pflichtschulen	8.0	5.5	8.8	13.7
	BMS berufsbildende mittlere Schulen	4.6	10.7	18.2	23.9
	BHS berufsbildende höhere Schulen	3.2	6.6	11.7	17.1
	AHS-Oberstufe allgemeinbildende höhere Schulen	Na	7.3	12.7	17.2
	N (all schools)	100,407	131,494	201,275	234,901

Source: 1993–2010 BMUKK (2011). 2014/2015 own calculations based on Statistik Austria (2016)

Note: Percentages show proportion of pupils who also speak other languages than German in their everyday life within each school type. *na* not available

(Sonderschulen); however, although the percentages of pupils with a first language other than German in academic-oriented educational tracks (BHS and AHS-Oberstufe) has increased fivefold, it still lags behind with 17%. As in many metropolitan cities, the situation in Vienna is quite different. The majority is multilingual, so that, on average, monolingual German-speakers are the minority. This pattern is also reflected among Viennese pupils. Every second student in Grade 4 in 2015 was multilingual (Breit et al. 2016).

The number of refugee children (refugee youth or descendants of asylum seekers) has more than doubled between fall 2015 and summer 2016. By the beginning of October 2015, around 5800 refugee children were enrolled in Austrian schools. In June 2016, the number of refugee children in compulsory education increased to around 14,200. The largest proportion of school aged refugee children can be found in Vienna, followed by Lower and Upper Austria (Bundesministerium für Bildung 2016).

While migrants and their descendants are sometimes called 'new' minorities, Austria also has a number of 'old' minorities. Following gradual recognition in legal texts, there are now six officially recognized minorities: Carinthian

Slovenes, Burgenland Croats, Hungarians, Roma, Czechs and Slovaks. They are a reminder that state borders are artificial lines of separation and that settlement patterns have been mixed concerning linguistic and ethnic diversity. There is no reliable data on the size of the minorities and it appears, given the estimates on language use, that none of these groups exceeds 50,000 people, while some probably comprise less than 10,000 people (Luciak 2008, p. 46). The 'old' minorities have special rights in Austria to date which are built on either the 1955 State Treaty or the 1976 Ethnic Minorities Act. In school matters, the respective provinces adopted Minority Schools Acts in 1959 (Carinthia) and 1994 (Burgenland) so that instruction in designated primary and secondary schools can be either bilingual or in one of the minority languages of the region. Interestingly enough, the share of students attending these schools or classes is rising, even when teachers report that a majority of the pupils have little or no knowledge of the minority language upon registration (Landesschulrat für Kärnten 2016).

Policy Development in the Field of Education and Research

In the field of education and ethnic diversity, the Austrian school system offers – at least since the beginning of the 1990s – three distinct approaches (cf. Luciak and Kahn-Svik 2008): (a) minority language schooling for autochthonous ethnic minorities, (b) educational provision for migrants, and (c) intercultural education for all pupils. Until the beginning of the 1990s, policies towards foreign nationals were characterized by the 'guest worker' idea, which was originally built on the rotation principle, i.e. that migrant workers will stay for one year, and then return home. Therefore, their children, if not ignored by educational politicians, were to be prepared for their return home even when they stayed for many years. As the number of migrant children steadily increased from the 1970s onwards, three measures were applied: (i) support in learning the language of instruction, i.e. German, (ii) support in learning the mother tongue and knowledge about the country of origin, (iii) extra-matricular status for those who could not follow instruction in German. The extra-matricular status was meant to protect children that could not understand the language of instruction and comprised a first phase of 12 months with the possibility of prolongation for another 12 months. Additional support in learning German was offered for two to three hours per week on average while legal provisions allowed for 11 hours per week with up to 18 hours in special cases. The implementation of the defined legal provision

generally failed due to lack of resources. In 1980/1981 the Viennese school administration reacted to the growing numbers of migrants, who tended to cluster in specific neighborhoods and schools, by installing an additional model: the accompanying teacher (*Begleitlehrer*). This meant that a second teacher worked with the migrant children in the classroom during regular teaching hours where possible using the pupils' mother tongue (Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian, Turkish).

From the mid-1970s until 1990, instruction in Serbo-Croatian or Turkish language, history and culture was provided by the two 'sending' countries of the 'guest workers', Yugoslavia and Turkey, for three to five hours per week. Not only textbooks, but also teachers were sent to Austria by the two state administrations. Finally, in 1992, the above mentioned instruments of extra-matricular status, support in German language learning and mother tongue instruction, were regularized in the Austrian school-system, therefore decoupling it from the sending countries. Adding onto 12 existing principles of instruction, such as health, peace, environment, and traffic, a new one was introduced: intercultural education. As it became part of the curriculum's general objectives it had to be implemented in the didactic process of each subject (Bundesgesetzblatt II 277/2004).

As neither the German remedial classes (or the alternative form of accompanying multilingual teachers in classrooms) nor the mother tongue courses were compulsory nor guaranteed, their implementation in school was dependent on organizational matters such as the number of children in need and the individual commitment of teachers or headmasters. Without any justification, funding for the different forms of support was cut every few years between the mid-1990s and the mid-2000s. Only in 2006/2007 additional funds for remedial teaching in German were made available, with the Ministry of Education being required to biannually apply to the Ministry of Finance for continuation. Despite the persistent rhetoric about the importance of German proficiency the implementation of these instruments and funds never was monitored by school administration or made accessible for research. Most pupils with a non-German mother-tongue report that they have never received special support in learning German (as a second language) in school (Herzog-Punzenberger 2017c), only half of the teachers in classrooms with multilingual pupils have had training in the topic "German as a second language" (Salchegger et al. 2015).

In recent educational reforms it has been decided that the time-span for evaluating the proficiency in German and other competencies of children will be expanded. From 2016 onwards, children aged 3.5 will receive an educational compass (*Bildungskompass*), a document in which accumulated needs

are recorded for each child. The early notification of needs should help to set up individualized support measures before entering primary school. After kindergarten, the educational compass will be carried on by the school personal until the end of compulsory schooling.

Between 2007 and 2017 the Austrian ministry of education had a strong emphasis on inclusive education in its broad understanding of individual needs and support encompassing students with migration background (Fraundorfer 2011). Among other things the aim was to include language sensitive teaching as a basic competence in the professional self-understanding of teachers in general. The Federal Center for Interculturality, Migration and Multilinguality (Bundeszentrum für Interkulturalität, Migration und Mehrsprachigkeit), a new resource center, was established to organize related activities in teacher education institutions. Another resource center, the Austrian language competence center (Österreichisches Sprachenkompetenzzentrum ÖSZ), formerly only targeting foreign language instruction, was reorganized subsequently focusing on instruction in multilingual classrooms, developing material and offering courses. Additionally, in the new teacher training introduced in 2015 language- and culture-sensitive teaching as part of the principle of inclusion should be a cross-cutting topic in all subjects. Little is known, however, about the implementation in the different teacher education institutions and courses so far.

Finally, in order to support schools with a high number of refugee children and their additional needs, supplementary school funds of around 64 Million € (2016) and 80 Million € (2017) were made available (Budgetdienst 2016). Provision is made for German literacy classes, language assistance, extra pedagogical personal and further integration measures in schools. Supplementary funds will be allocated based on a weighted formula (*Sozialindex*), taking into account the percentage of pupils having a first language other than German as well as the percentage of socioeconomically disadvantaged families at the respective school.

Methodology

In order to achieve a systematic sampling approach of relevant literature on educational inequality and race/ethnicity between 1980 and 2016 in Austria, this study followed the guidelines developed by Stevens (2007) and Stevens et al. (2009). Five major criteria of inclusion guided the first steps in our review process. First, only literature focusing on Austria as a research context is included. Second, the review investigates studies that primarily research

educational inequalities and race/ethnicity within a sociological framework. At the same time, the academic production in Austria has been quite limited and dominated by particular personalities who were also situated in disciplines other than sociology. In fact, as the boundaries between the disciplines are rather blurred in cross-cutting topics such as migration and ethnicity, we include researchers and contributions from neighboring disciplines. Third, this review captures both 'old' and 'new' minorities in Austria, highlighting the importance of the political framework and historic development of group-relationship for the situation of children from ethnic minorities in Austrian schooling. Fourth, we review studies on primary as well as (lower and upper) secondary schooling since research was not differentiated into educational levels. Finally, we take peer-reviewed journals, (edited) books, book sections and official reports as primary sources. For the time periods until the end of the 1990s, we additionally consider unpublished but officially available reports that had an impact on educational inequalities and race/ethnicity research in Austria.

The sampling of specific research contributions consisted of four specific steps: As suggested by Stevens and colleagues (2007, 2009), we started with the major databases (i.e. ERIC, JSTOR, etc.) and went on to the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), where only one relevant journal appeared.[4] In order to maximize our sample, we identified a list with over ten journals which were frequently cited in relevant studies on race/ethnicity and educational inequality in Austria. On the basis of this selection, we identified further relevant and important studies that were cited in the journal articles. As a last step, we employed detailed research on Austrian-specific bibliographic databases to classify additional studies, books, and reports relevant to our field of inquiry. Based on the publications found through this first round of sampling, we developed a detailed list with search strings to be used for re-contacting the above-named databases, which yielded a number of additional sources found within this second round of sampling.

Most of the contributions cited here were published in books or pedagogically oriented journals and mostly only from the 1990s onwards with a sharp increase during the 2000s. The dominant language of the publication in the sample is German rather than English. It is further important to note that cross-country studies are important for the context of Austria in relation to the literature on race and ethnic inequalities, which is why we included key publications in this review.

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[4] This journal is the *SWS Rundschau für Sozialwissenschaften*.

Research on Race/Ethnicity and Educational Inequality in Austria

Now we will summarize the result of our literature review. We identified five research traditions over the last 36 years.

The first research tradition, which we call (i) political arithmetic tradition (PA) due to great similarities with equivalent research traditions in countries like the United Kingdom and the Netherlands (Stevens 2007; Stevens et al. 2009), examines studies and reports that describe rather than explain how students of different race/ethnic backgrounds perform and participate in the Austrian educational system. While this tradition started with the very first publications on migrant education in Austria at the beginning of the 1980s, it is overwhelmingly based on quantitative analyses with large-scale surveys following either Austria's participation in international studies (PISA, PIRLS, TIMSS) or the recent implementation of national tests (BIST). This tradition has also gained importance over the past fifteen years outside the specialist discourse due to the prominence of representative surveys on educational outcomes in public media.

The second research tradition, (ii) family background tradition (FB), primarily investigates underachievement in education by considering the socioeconomic position of the parental generation as well as related resources (cultural and social capital). This tradition has grown, side by side, with the prominence of large-scale surveys within the last decade. Thus, the great majority of studies in the FB tradition employ quantitative research designs, while qualitative and ethnographic studies are scarce.

The third research tradition investigates the impact of features and institutional arrangements of the Austrian educational system in producing educational inequalities. Therefore, we call it the structures of educational systems (SOES) tradition (iii). In this category, we include research on organizational structures like age of first selection, duration of schooling and half- or whole-day schooling. This is mostly analyzed with statistical methods.

The fourth research tradition, entitled (iv) intercultural education and discrimination tradition (IED), is centered around intercultural learning as a principle of instruction and includes topics such as the (lack of) implementation, teachers' actions and attitudes, and discrimination in textbooks. It builds on concepts of cultural anthropology and employs participatory observation, interviews, questionnaires, and discourse analyses.

The fifth and final research tradition is the (v) multilinguality tradition (ML), which focuses on the development of multilinguality in Austrian

schools either by concentrating on the language development of multilingual children or by depicting the implementation of the support measures for the language development of the pupils and their multilinguality. While the first strand in this tradition builds on linguistic methodology complemented by sociolinguistics, the second strand is following a broad social-science approach which uses document analyses, case analyses, and thick description.

The boundaries of these research traditions are not always clear cut. Most traditions interact with each other and in some cases it is quite hard to decide which tradition is more dominant in the particular research. Similarities, influences, and overlaps will be pointed out in the analyses and highlighted in the conclusion. An additional remark concerns the time dimension. Most of the traditions are particularly strong in a specific period closely tied to political developments and public discourse. Therefore, it is necessary to provide information on the historical context in which these traditions unfold before they are described in terms of methods, outcomes and related debates.

Political Arithmetic Tradition

In the 1980s many European countries began to examine several types of inequalities and evaluate social policy initiatives: national governments stimulated and financed large-scale surveys which allowed quantitative analysis of the educational attainment and progress of ethnic minority groups; yet, similar developments were almost non-existent in Austria. However, the few publications on the education of the children of 'guest workers' did not fail to show the detrimental situation in schools or reference the discriminatory societal structures (Matuschek 1982; Fischer 1986; Viehböck and Bratic 1994). Based on accessible datasets from school administration, censuses, or micro-censuses, social science researchers from different disciplines described the situation of migrant children in Austrian schools; namely, unequal distribution across school types, over-representation in special schools, high repetition rates, large presence in low-prestige vocationally oriented schools, and large numbers leaving the educational system without any degree at all. Parallel to similar research traditions in the UK and the Netherlands, we call this research the political arithmetic tradition. It is defined by quantitative analyses with large datasets either with full coverage from school- or census-statistics or representative samples taken from national (micro-census) or international surveys (European Household Panel). Studies in the PA tradition increased substantially with the availability of national samples from large-scale assessment studies, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment

(PISA), Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), and nationwide test-data (Bildungsstandardsüberprüfung BIST).

These phenomena were most pronounced among the children of the labor migrants from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia. Academically oriented schools (those granting a university entrance certificate) were called 'foreigner free' until the beginning of the 1990s (1980–2000) (DeCillia 1994), with only 4% of pupils having a mother tongue other than German in 1992 (Perchinig 1995, p. 133). The national averages, however, are fictitious values as there are and always were pronounced regional differences, with the federal state Vienna showing much higher proportions of immigrant children in schools. Nevertheless, large unequal distribution among different groups of origin have been observed in Vienna too: 33% of all pupils attended academically oriented schools in Vienna but only 8% of ex-Yugoslavian and 4% of Turkish pupils did (own calculations based on Gröpel 1999, p. 301).

In the early 2000s, Austrian researchers from various fields (sociology, political sciences, and econometrics) started to show different aspects or changes over time. Herzog-Punzenberger (2003a) showed that at the beginning of the 2000s school success among the adult second generation was colored by the segregated school system. Among young adults aged 15–34 years born in Austria to Turkish parents or having immigrated before starting school, less than 0.5% held an academic degree, only 4% a university entrance certificate (AHS, BHS), and just as few a medium-level degree from a vocationally oriented school (BMS) (cf. p. 33). Finally, she was the first to look at the numbers of students with a migration background undergoing teacher education. At that point in time there were two students with Turkish citizenship heading for the teaching profession while the number of pupils with a Turkish migration background in Austrian schools had reached 30,000 (cf. p. 26). Starting from an alarming situation Biffl (2004) documented an increase in participation rates of the Turkish and former Yugoslavian student population (aged 15–24) in the Austrian educational system and a decrease of educational inequalities during the 1980ies and 1990ies (1981–2002). She further observed a shift in highest school-certificates from lower basic towards vocational-oriented medium and upper secondary schools among immigrant origin students. As in many other cases (Felderer and Hofer 2004) she based her trend analysis on a broad categorization of children of Turkish and former Yugoslavian foreigners without considering the age of the children on arrival or the effect of excluding naturalized children.

Later on, through the availability of the census data from 2001 and the question on everyday language use allowing for more than one language,

more precise analyses were possible targeting the second generation born in Austria (Herzog-Punzenberger 2007). It was shown that the share of female second generation in higher education was larger than that of their male counter-parts in all ethnic groups observed (Turkish, former Yugoslavian, natives) (cf. p. 94). These studies conclude that while progress compared to their parents' generation (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003a, b) and the first cohorts of the children of migrants (Biffl 2004) can be observed, striking disadvantage is continuing especially among academic-oriented tracks. In the first survey focusing on second generation immigrants (*n* = 1000) in Austria in the age-group 16–26 years old, findings on the over-representation of immigrants in lower tracks were confirmed (Weiss 2007) and regional differences were observed with lower disparities occurring between majority and minority youth in Vienna than in the western federal states of Salzburg, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg (Unterwurzacher 2007). Although these studies were of great importance in continuing to highlight trends in ethnic educational inequalities, no information on competences, marks, or prior experiences were available for ethnic minority students.

The PA Tradition in the Large-Scale Assessment Period

The number of studies that can be classified within the PA tradition in Austria sharply increased from the mid-2000s onward through the use of large-scale assessment (LSA) studies like PISA, PIRLS, and TIMSS. Those studies not only consist of standardized achievement tests but also include context questionnaires with a wide range of information on school and family. A second advantage is the possibility to statistically differentiate pupils with migration background according to country of birth, parents' country of birth, age of arrival, participation in kindergarten and citizenship.

Starting with the first PISA survey (2000), achievement differences between immigrants and the majority of the student population aged 15–16 were reported for reading, mathematics, and (natural) science, and socio-economic and other information on migrant families was described in a new way (Blüml 2002; Burtscher 2004; Reiter 2002a, b). These analyses occurred for every PISA wave in short one year after the survey and in depth in more substantial reports usually three years after the survey (based on PISA 2003; see Breit and Schreiner 2006; Schreiner 2006; Schreiner and Breit 2006; based on PISA 2006; see Breit 2009; Herzog-Punzenberger and Unterwurzacher 2009; Schmid et al. 2009; based on PISA 2009; see Schwantner and Schreiner 2010; based on PISA 2012; see Schwantner et al. 2013; Schreiner et al. 2014; based on PISA 2015; see Suchan and Breit 2016).

The findings of the PISA studies revealed that the proportion of 15–16-year-old immigrant students in Austria has grown over the last fifteen years. In 2000, they represented around 11% of the total student population, while, according to 2015 data, they account for 20.3% (Salchegger et al. 2016). Among them, the proportion of second generation immigrants has increased over time while numbers of first generation immigrants has decreased. From 2000 to 2015, the number of second generation immigrants aged 15–16 grew from 4% in 2000 to almost 13% in 2015 (cf. p. 91).

Much of the analytical emphasis has been on reading literacy, observable achievement differences, and co-occurrence of diverse factors. Within the six PISA waves to date, children of immigrants have been found to significantly underperform against the majority of the student population. Special attention has been drawn to children of immigrants born in Austria, the so-called second generation, who were found to perform on average among the worst in Europe (OECD 2006). Overall, the findings on the reading abilities of second generation immigrants did not show substantial progress between the years 2000 and 2006 (compare Table 4.3). The picture changes from 2009

Table 4.3 Average achievements by survey, immigrant generation, type of achievement and year

Assessment field		Survey (students age)									
		PISA (15/16)						PIRLS (9/10)			TIMSS (9/10)
		2000	2003	2006	2009	2012	2015	2006	2011	2016	2007
Reading	Natives	502	501	499	482	499	499	549	537	552	–
	1st gen	**−104**	**−73**	**−48**	**−98**	**−56**	**−86**	**−56**	**−37**	**−44**	–
	2nd gen	**−73**	**−76**	**−79**	**−55**[a]	**−48**	**−51**[a]	**−47**	**−44**	**−54**	–
Mathematic	Natives	–	515	515	507	516	512	–	–		513
	1st gen	–	**−63**	**−65**	**−76**	**−62**	**−85**	–	–		**−51**[a]
	2nd gen	–	**−56**	**−80**	**−57**	**−58**	**−61**[a]	–	–		**−36**
(Natural) Science	Natives	–	502	523	508	519	510	–	–		538
	1st gen	–	**−80**	**−88**	**−103**	**−74**	**−82**	–	–		**−84**[a]
	2nd gen	–	**−68**	**−92**	**−74**	**−68**	**−63**[a]	–	–		**−62**

Sources
PISA: Own calculations
PIRLS: Suchan et al. (2007) for 2006, Salchegger et al. (2015) for 2011, Salchegger et al. (2017) for 2016
TIMSS: Breit and Wanka (2010 for 2007)
Bold: significantly different to majority group
[a]Significant group differences between immigrant generations

onwards with literacy test results indicating a reduction in the achievement gap between migrant and native students. While average reading competencies remain constant for the majority student population in the last fifteen years, reading skills improved significantly for children of immigrants. Breaking the achievement gaps into ethnic groups, findings revealed that children of Turkish origin in particular face the greatest literacy problems. At the same time, trend analysis across PISA waves reveals that children of Turkish origin did show the greatest improvement in reading skills between 2009 and 2012 (Salchegger et al. 2015). Although achievement gaps have been found to decrease in the last 10 years, children of immigrants still significantly underperform against the majority student population in Austria (compare Table 4.3).

With other international large scale studies investigating reading (PIRLS), mathematics and natural sciences competencies (TIMMS) of students in their final year before leaving primary school (aged nine to ten), reporting on ethnic educational inequalities among younger age-cohorts became feasible on a quantitative and representative basis (Bergmüller and Herzog-Punzenberger 2012a, b; Breit and Wanka 2010; Herzog-Punzenberger and Gapp 2009; Salchegger et al. 2015; Salchegger et al. 2017; Unterwurzacher 2009). Similar to PISA, the analyses of these data suggest that children of immigrants show on average lower competencies in reading, mathematics and natural sciences than their Austrian counterparts (compare Table 4.3). More precisely, according to the most recently available national PIRLS report (Salchegger et al. 2017), children of immigrants are more than three times as often represented in the 'at risk' group of students in reading (around 35% in the group at risk compared to 10% in the overall peer group).

An almost identical result is found in the nationwide BIST-survey. According to the most recently available national report (Breit et al. 2017), 27% of all children of immigrants do not meet the school-standards in reading (German) in Grade 4 compared to 10% in the overall peer group. Instead, the group of 'high achievers' (exceeding the standard levels in reading) is composed of 94% non-immigrant students. Standardized national tests have been carried out since 2012, when all students in Austrian schools attending Grade 8 have been assessed in mathematics for the first time. Until then, further standardized exams took place in mathematics for Grade 4 (2013), in English for Grade 8 (2013), and in German for Grade 4 (2015) and Grade 8 (2016). These nationwide school-standards have three goals: (1) monitoring outcomes of classrooms and schools for political decision-makers and administrations, (2) providing feedback to teachers and head-masters through comparable results, (3) navigating paedagogues towards competence-based teaching.

Findings are used for quality development purposes in schools as well as for regular reports on educational performances and related inequalities. (Schreiner and Breit 2013; Schreiner and Breit 2014a, b; Breit et al. 2016, 2017). Ultimately, they are the most important data-bases for equity-related analyses and interventions.

Unlike in large scale assessments of international studies where sample-sizes do not allow break-downs in different school-types, several language-groups or administrative units the BIST-test is a full census of the Grade and therefore allows fine-grained analyses. It is worth noting that achievement differences appear between school tracks in Grade 8. The performance gap in German (reading), for example, is larger between children with and without migration background in new secondary schools (*Neue Mittelschule)* with 76 points. than in the academically orientated track *AHS-Unterstufe* (54 points). Another BIST finding reveals that competences in mathematics vary among children of immigrants to a very large degree depending on country of origin/ language (Herzog-Punzenberger 2017a). While children from Eastern European migrants show higher competences on average in several cities or smaller administrative units than monolingual native students in mathematics this is less the case among children from Turkish migrants. In English multilingual pupils from specific language-groups have higher results on a national level than monolingual native students with Polish, Hungarian, Czech and Slovak-speaking pupils performing best. Besides these findings on test results, the BIST reports and related BIST analyses shed light on many other details in education, i.e. language diversity and bilingualism among children of immigrants in Austria. Findings reveal that the proportion of children who are bilingual speakers from birth onwards (German and another language), varies substantially across ethnic origin groups, ranging from 15% bilingual descendants from Turkish families to 32% among children of Filipino-parents (Herzog-Punzenberger 2017b) (Table 4.4).

Recent analyses using BIST data indicates that classroom composition has a large effect on proficiency in different domains independent from individual characteristics (Bruneforth et al. 2012). In mathematics, half of the difference in test results comparing two pupils with similar family background characteristics can be explained by the share of pupils with low socio-economic background and migration background in their respective classrooms—the higher the share the lower the test results (Biedermann et al. 2016*)*

In sum, the PA tradition in Austria during the first two decades of the reviewed time span (1980–2000) indicates the law, the labor market, the housing situation, discrimination, and the structure of the school system as reasons for the differences in access, participation, and eventual qualification

Table 4.4 Average achievements in school-standards and performances, by immigrant status, type of achievement, grade and year

Grade (students age)	Assessment year	Assessment field		Natives	Children of immigrants
4 (9/10)	2013	Mathematic		545	−64
	2015	German	Reading	537	−69
			Writing	458	−53
			Speaking	481	−54
8 (13/14)	2012	Mathematic		547	−67
	2013	English		526	−39
	2016	German	Reading	522	−75
			Writing	512	−58
			Speaking	539	−63

Sources: Schreiner and Breit (2013) for 2012; Schreiner and Breit (2014a, b) for 2013; Breit et al. (2016) for 2015; Breit et al. (2017) for 2016

Notes: 'English' test results are only reported as composite measure. They are, however, assessed in hearing, reading and writing. Children of immigrants are defined as having at least one parent born in Austria. Children of German speaking minorities are classified as natives

of youths with or without migration background. However, with the turn of the century a new era started. Especially with the large scale assessment data from PISA starting in the year 2000 and later on also PILRS, TIMSS and the testing of the national education standards the Austrian PA tradition became a standard in national reporting on equity related to social and migration background. These data were used to examine achievement differences in several subjects (mathematics, science, German, English as a foreign language) with the data from the national education standards testing BIST allowing fine-grained differentiation between more than a dozen language-groups, age at arrival, school-type participation and administrative units next to social background and gender.

Family Background Tradition

Research on family background characteristics and ethnic inequalities in education evolved side by side with the PA tradition in Austria. First empirical results had been published by the end of the 1990s (e.g. Gröpel et al. 1999), the increasing availability of large-scale quantitative datasets led to considerable growth from the 2000s onwards (in particular through PISA, PIRLS, TIMSS or BIST). Researchers investigated the significance of parental socio-economic background, social and cultural capital, or material resources to explain the educational underachievement of children of immigrants in

Austrian schools. Given the high correlation between the FB and PA traditions, studies in the family background tradition almost exclusively employ quantitative research designs to investigate inequalities in educational attainment, transition rates between educational tracks, and achievement at certain educational stages.

Parental Socio-Economic Background

Due to the predominant position of first generation immigrants in the lower social strata in Austria, focusing on parental socio-economic background has been seen as a promising path to pinpointing further mechanisms in explaining the educationally disadvantaged position of their children. This line of argument also traces the structural position of immigrant groups within Austrian society, considering either their time of arrival, the general skills first generation immigrants brought with them, or the fit between their skills and their ability to fill certain needs in local economies. Although not directly labeled as a 'social class versus culture' debate, the majority of studies follow this line of argumentation by employing multivariate regression analysis to show the relative impact of different factors. Socio-economic background (measured as parental occupational status and educational attainment) regularly plays a more important role in significant correlations with educational outcomes than other variables such as language spoken at home, foreign-born parents or country of birth (of parents). To give a few examples, various studies have observed ethnic minorities' disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds account for a considerable part of achievement differences in reading and mathematics at the end of primary (Bacher 2010; Breit and Wanka 2010; Unterwurzacher 2009) and secondary education (Bacher 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009; Wroblewski 2006; Breit and Wanka 2010; Salchegger et al. 2015, 2017), at transition points from primary to lower and upper secondary education (Bacher 2003, 2005; Leitgöb et al. 2014; Schnell and Crul 2014; Unterwurzacher 2007), early school leaving (Moser et al. 2016; Schnell 2015), in linguistic development (Khan-Svik 2007; Korecky-Kröll et al. 2016), and on final educational attainment (Schnell 2015; Weiss 2006, 2007a; Weiss and Unterwurzacher 2007).

These quantitative studies do not come without methodological caveats. A great number of studies treat ethnic inequality in a dichotomous way – achievement of the Austrian students on the one side and achievement of children with a 'migration background' or 'children with a foreign mother tongue' on the other side – while detailed analyses looking closer into the heterogeneity of

immigrant groups became more frequent in the past ten years. Using their own survey on various second generation immigrant groups in Austria, Unterwurzacher's (2007, 2009) and Weiss' (2006) findings suggest that enrollment differences for the academic-oriented track at the first transition point at age ten can largely be explained by SES for former Yugoslavian and other immigrant descendants but to a lesser degree for second generation Turks (Unterwurzacher 2007). The persistent 'Turkish disadvantage' was also observed in reading achievements in Grade 4 using PIRLS 2007 (Unterwurzacher 2009) and final educational attainment (Weiss and Unterwurzacher 2007). More recent research, however, highlights improvements among Turkish descendants in reading skills despite unchanged SES (Salchegger et al. 2015).

Social and Cultural Capital

Current debates on ethnic educational inequalities in Austria are motivated by the question of how to describe the remaining variation in educational outcomes net of socio-economic differences in the family of origin. Whether specific cultural resources in the family would enhance educational success has been put to the test using Austrian LSA datasets in particular (Bacher 2008; Breit and Wanka 2010; Wroblewski 2006; Wallner-Paschon et al. 2017). Studies using PISA data examined strong effects of 'cultural capital' in explaining achievement differences in reading and mathematics among Austrian and immigrant students at the age of 15 beyond socio-economic background (Bacher 2008). The lack of cultural resources has been found to explain a large proportion of the disparities in mathematics (Breit and Wanka 2010; Wroblewski 2006; Salchegger et al. 2016) and reading abilities (Unterwurzacher 2009; Salchegger et al. 2017). However, these quantitative analyses using large-scale surveys are rather limited in explaining the direct relationship between parenting behavior and educational outcomes. Exceptions are recently published studies on schooling success by second generation immigrant students. Schnell (2015) explores the school-related involvement strategies and patterns of support provided within Turkish families by parents and older siblings. Family involvement is conceptualised as a multidimensional construct, including parental control and instrumental support. Using data from the TIES survey, the study shows a high magnitude of the correlates between parental and siblings involvement and certain compositional family factors. Results suggest further that the educational attainment of second-generation Turks in Austria is highly dependent on various activities of support provided by their parents when compared to their

non-immigrant counterparts. Immigrant parents indeed lack relevant resources to support their children in schooling activities. Due to low educational levels or limited language abilities in German they are less often found to help their children with homework or attend parent-teacher conferences. But at the same time, high parental aspirations and strong emotional bonds between family members can lead to higher aspirations among the children themselves and therefore foster social mobility in the Austrian educational system or prevent children from leaving school early – a finding that is in line with a number of qualitative studies (Atac and Lageder 2009; Kircil 2016; Nairz-Wirth and Meschnig 2015; Pásztor 2016; Rieser 2011; Waechter et al. 2007). Besides the parents, the elder siblings often act as role models and provide their younger brothers and sisters with relevant information and support for schooling activities, which makes them as effective as parents. Older siblings can act as intermediaries between younger children and their school, and their own schooling experiences can be a major source of support (Schnell 2015; Waechter et al. 2007). Finally, a limited number of studies have highlighted that, in addition to family members, peers and teachers sometimes offer additional forms of support that are of great importance for immigrant children to successfully navigate the Austrian school system (Atac and Lageder 2009; Burtscher 2009, 2010; Schnell 2014).

In public discourse, parents' lack of fluency in the language of instruction in school (German) is one of the most prominent explanations for educational inequality although not empirically proven for data in Austria. Lack of information about the educational system on the parents' side as well as lack of communication between schools and parents was subject of analyses before the LSAs, albeit in a heuristic way (Gröpel et al. 1999; Matuschek 1982). More recently, studies conducted by Brizic and colleagues on language development in primary school children included parents and teachers in the study (Brizic 2007; Brizic and Hufnagel 2011, 2016). With quantitative and qualitative methodology, Brizic found out that parents' attitudes towards education as perceived by the teachers had no impact on the language development of the children. At the same time, the teachers' perceptions of the parents' attitudes and the parents' factual attitudes towards education were rather different. While the teachers had a more positive appraisal of parents from the former Yugoslavia, Turkish parents were in fact more interested in educational issues. In most cases of children with language development difficulties, teachers and parents were caught in misperceptions of both, each other and the educational system, which in some cases resulted in distrust. Both, however, felt helpless and thought the solution would only come about through changes made by the other (Brizic 2007).

Overall, research on the significance of family background characteristics in explaining ethnic disparities in education has grown substantially over the last decade with the increasing availability of relevant quantitative survey data. Recent research within the FB tradition has paid particular attention to the role played by social and cultural capital in exploring the complex relationship between social class origin, ethnicity, and educational achievement. But small-scale ethnographic or qualitative studies exploring the relationship between social origin, ethnicity, and educational achievement are still scarce in Austria.

The Structure of Educational Systems Tradition

Parallel to studies in general migration research, where outcomes on an aggregate level such as naturalized immigrants' highest educational degrees or social mobility rates are often connected to the broader societal framework, researchers in the field of education also look at the macro-level and analyze the institutional arrangements of the educational system. While not all of the characteristics of educational systems have been scrutinized in the context we are discussing, the following should be mentioned:

1. Kindergarten: starting age, duration (opening hours), availability, quality.
2. Primary education: starting age, downgrading in pre-phase (*Vorschulstufe*), duration, repetition rates, selection into special school, half-day schooling.
3. Secondary education: age at first selection, tracking, half-day schooling, short duration of compulsory schooling, permeability.

These issues came up for debate long before the school success of migrant children was considered. In the 1970s, a particularly intensive and ideological discussion raged over class-based educational inequality, with a focus on early differentiation at age ten, also called 'tracking'. This form of school organization has been anchored in the constitutional law for decades, and changes to the system would require a parliamentary majority, something still unlikely to happen in the near future despite growing evidence for the advantages of late tracking.

During the last two decades (2000–2016), the question of the structural characteristics of educational systems gained importance in explaining educational outcomes more generally, not least driven by international comparative large-scale assessments such as PISA (OECD 2005, 2015a, b). Nevertheless, in most of the research designs, this has not been the starting point for explaining the disadvantages of students with a migration background. The first research project to do this was TIES (the Integration of the

European Second Generation, www.tiesproject.eu) which compared young adults with parents from Turkey/former Yugoslavia/Morocco to those with native parents in different education systems (Crul et al. 2012; Schnell 2014; Schnell and Crul 2014). Until then, it was rather a by-product of acknowledging the class-based character in much of the research on race and ethnicity in Austria. However, the selectivity of the school system has been criticized in Austria for decades. Generally, it has an inherent logic of down-streaming, i.e. it is very unlikely that a pupil changes to a higher-status school (low degree of permeability). The main criticism was the socially reproductive logic of the school system in terms of family background (Bacher 2003, 2005, 2006).

Since the 1980s, researchers have addressed institutional ramifications as driving forces for disadvantages in the educational participation and results of children with a migration background (Matuschek 1982; Fischer 1986; Khan-Svik 1999, pp. 186–197; Gröpel 1999; Volf and Bauböck 2001). They criticized the individualizing perspective which either stressed the deficits of the child or the family – something quite common at that time in the German-speaking pedagogical literature. Instead, they tried to show that the selectivity of the Austrian school system was the reason for the over-representation of children of migrants in lower status school types with a lower standard curriculum, i.e. the vocational-oriented track in lower secondary school (*Hauptschule*) and special school (*Sonderschule*). Khan-Svik (1999, pp. 187–188) and Gröpel (2001, p. 220) applied the theory of '*Unterschichtung*', meaning that when a group of people enters a stratified system at the lowest rank this will enable those who formerly were at the bottom to enter the next stratum (Baker and Lenhardt 1988, p. 40, cited in Gröpel 2001, p. 221). For the school system, this meant that children from immigrant families, who occupied the lowest societal status at that time, would have a higher likelihood of being deferred to the lowest positions in the school system and those native children who were previously at the lowest ranks, i.e. in Sonderschule or in Hauptschule, then had a smaller chance of being down-streamed and a better chance of moving to a higher status school. They presumed an economic logic in educational organization, where pupils are channelled accordingly. For further reasons, they pointed to the fact that support measures for children with a first language other than German were not adequate, pre-school in particular was described as an '*Aufbewahrungsstätte*' (place of custody) rather than a support center, which among other things explained the extremely high share of students with migration background who had to repeat a class. Gröpel (2001, p. 219) also mentioned the limited places in institutions of early childhood education and care (*Kindergartenplätze*) as well

as high fees which obviously would decrease the likelihood of the children of migrants participating.

The situation has improved since then with increasing participation rates in Kindergarten for children of immigrants, especially among the second generation. Using BIST data, Herzog-Punzenberger (2016) indicated that over 90% of the second generation attended Kindergarten in the early 2000s, irrespective of the ethnic origin. Minor differences appeared, however, in the duration. More than four out of ten native children attended Kindergarten three or more years (44%) while only 38% of the descendants of immigrants entered Kindergarten with the age of four or earlier. Although participation rates and duration in Kindergarten increased, descendants of immigrants have been found to not profit from it in the same way as native children – especially when originating from disadvantaged families. For example, attending pre-school more than one year did positively affect academic achievements of all students in Grade 4 as compared to those previously not attending Kindergarten. However, the positive effect is smaller for children of immigrants and for children originating from low class backgrounds. This finding might be related to the quality (e.g. number of support personal, paedagogical concepts, activities) and type of pre-schools that seem to differ between children of immigrants and their native counterparts (Bruneforth et al. 2012; Herzog-Punzenberger and Schnell 2012; Herzog-Punzenberger 2016).

Selection mechanisms penalize pupils with migration background systematically as can be shown with rates in pre-school and special education schools but also in repetition rates. In 1995 (TIMSS) pupils in Grade 4 had already a threefold likelihood of delay in their school career if both parents were immigrants, i.e. 41% compared to 14% of pupils with at least one native-born parent (Bergmüller and Herzog-Punzenberger 2012b). In 2011 (TIMSS), that is 16 years later, the ratio had improved to 23% to 12% (c.f.), still being rather high. While repetition rates seem to decrease, being deferred to preparatory class only does for monolingual children with German as their family-language (Herzog-Punzenberger 2017a). In 2015/16, 62% of pupils in preparatory classes spoke another language than German at home while only 29% of pupils in Grade 1 did. An evidence-base speaking to the positive effects of this measure for multilingual pupils is lacking so far. Also in special school there is a puzzling overrepresentation of pupils with migration background. Compared to 2% of the native cohort, 3% of pupils speaking Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian at home and 5% of pupils with Turkish as family language attend special school in Austria. All these figures taken together

point at a phenomenon called institutional discrimination[5] (Gomolla and Radtke 2009), especially for children from migrant groups dominated by a lower class background.

The relevance of specific institutional arrangements for explaining cross-national variations in educational outcomes by children of Turkish immigrants was at the heart of the TIES project (Crul et al. 2012). Findings show that the main components of the Austrian education system are the late starting age of pre-schooling, the early segregation into different ability tracks (at the age of ten), a low degree of permeability between education tracks after the early tracking, and a half-day teaching system in compulsory education. The impact of this institutional constellation on the early stages of a student's educational career but also on its linguistic and cognitive development leads to a much greater importance of family resources (Schnell 2014). Children of less-educated parents are frequently streamed into less-academic tracks in lower-secondary education. This is particularly true for second-generation Turks who are more often tracked into the lower stream because they originate in higher numbers from less-educated families. Early selection determines to a large extent their subsequent educational pathways. The significance of within-family resources is also related to the half-day schooling system that persists throughout the compulsory education years. Although the high relevance of family support pertains to all students in the Austrian system, family support is of greater importance for second-generation Turks than for native students (Pásztor 2016; Schnell and Crul 2014; Schnell 2015). Overall, findings suggest that the combination of a number of important generic institutional arrangements of the education system seems to lead to greater levels of inequality for second-generation Turks in Austria because of greater interactions with individual and family level resources ─ as compared to the situation in other European countries such as France and Sweden.

To sum up, the educational structures tradition has so far mainly concentrated on the selectivity of the school system and its down-streaming logic in Austria. It is different from the political arithmetic tradition in so far as researchers do not simply describe over- and under-representation of pupils with migration backgrounds in different school types or outcomes, but try to establish causal relationships to features of the Austrian school system. Most of these studies use statistical analyses controlling for a large number of variables to draw conclusions. While causality is hard to establish, especially

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[5] Institutional discrimination is concerned with structures, processes and procedures in organisations that result in different patterns of participation and success which can be documented by statistical analyses. The reason must not be prejudice, it can also be lacking awareness towards different social identities and their needs.

between macro-variables and micro-level outcomes, researchers in Austria have had strong hypotheses about the effects of structural features.

Intercultural Education and Discrimination Tradition

In this research tradition, we treat studies that analyze the implementation of intercultural learning (Binder 2004; Englisch-Stölner 2003; Luciak and Khan-Svik 2008; Schwab et al. 2013), teachers' behavior and attitudes (Fillitz 2003), textbooks (Markom and Weinhäupl 2007) and complementary those studies which look at discrimination, prejudices and stereotype threat (Forghani-Arani et al. 2015). If reaching beyond quantitative descriptions, the theoretical foundation of most of this research lies in cultural anthropology and its critical understanding of culture as being embedded in power relations, schools as the major site of reproduction of the majority culture in modern nation-states, and ethnicity as being relational, processual, and at times instrumental and situational. If empirical, most of this research is qualitative, being sometimes supplemented with surveys of albeit small samples, only a few are based on quantitative analyses of larger samples. Generally, in this research tradition, class or socio-economic status tends to remain in the background even when some mention the unfavorable legal, economic, and housing situation of many families with migration backgrounds.

Instead of the anti-discrimination orientation found in England, the other and more positive side of intergroup relations, interculturality was to be developed as part of the curriculum and implemented in schools from 1993 onwards. Around this time, several articles were published discussing the benefits and limits of intercultural education. Notably, these were also published by representatives of the school administration (Pinterits 1990, 1991). This was not by accident nor long debated. The Ministry of Education's sudden interest in proposals of how to react to multilingual classrooms was rather a consequence, as Jaksche (1998, pp. 42–45) shows, of the influx of migrants from East and Southeast Europe, and particularly the political problematization of it. While teachers' earlier efforts to draw attention to the increase in linguistic and cultural diversity were marginalized, financial and legislative measures were taken in the aftermath of the fall of the iron curtain. Astonishingly enough, since the anti-foreigner campaign (*Volksbegehren*) of the FPÖ political party was not as successful as expected, the interest of academia in questions related to multicultural and multilingual classrooms decreased again.

Jaksche (1998) was the first to critically analyze the implementation of the 'intercultural learning' principle of instruction and concluded that teachers

who had previous worked in the vein of intercultural learning were, through this principle, covered by law and all other teachers and principals were not obliged to do or change anything specific.

Binder (2004) compared the implementation of intercultural learning in the Netherlands and Austria and, surprisingly, came to the conclusion that the difference was merely on the level of rhetoric and not so much in practice. In both countries, clear guidelines and standard procedures as well as intensive factual knowledge transfer were missing. Consequently, shape and content were dependent on the personal engagement of the teachers. Binder (2003), Binder and Daryabegi (2003), Englisch-Stölner (2003), and Frank (2003), in their case-studies of lower secondary schools in Vienna and Lower Austria, also found that the implementation of 'intercultural education' is largely dependent on the personal interest of the teachers. Teachers and headmasters often simply ignored cultural and linguistic diversity and proceeded as though the pupils were a monolingual and monocultural group. Teachers complained about the lack of appropriate material, and textbooks being not adapted as well; however, as their training did not provide for a diverse classroom, many did not consider it their task to adapt to the circumstances. Parents often had very little contact with the school or the teachers and experienced language-based communication problems. This study was commissioned by the Ministry of Education and carried out with participatory observation, interviews with teachers and headmasters as well as questionnaires for pupils ($n = 414$) and parents ($n = 324$).

Ten years later, in 2009/10, a team of education researchers surveyed 68 primary schools in the federal state of Styria related to their "integration measures" concerning pupils with migration background (Schwab et al. 2013). They used 12 items covering intercultural learning, team teaching for integration, projects with intercultural content, events with intercultural content, intercultural teaching material, professionals for integration, translators for conversations with parents, cooperation with intercultural institutions, inclusion of pupils' languages, inclusion of countries of origin, inclusion of pupils' religion, inclusion of pupils' habits and traditions. While most schools said they follow the principle of intercultural learning few carried out intercultural projects, events or cooperated with intercultural institutions. Although the legal regulations make clear that inclusion of the pupils' languages, countries of origin and traditions should be part of intercultural learning, few followed these recommendations or were using intercultural teaching material. Only very few had translators for conversations with parents who had no good command of German. On top of this, there was a big difference between urban and rural schools with latter carrying out significant less activities in

this domain. In both environments, the number of pupils with migration background was a strong predictor for the intensity of intercultural as well as language support activities. Pupils with a migration background attending schools with few migrant pupils were offered less favourable conditions lacking intercultural infrastructure, German as a second language support and mother tongue instruction for the most part.

Also in the studies of Furch (2009) with 315 primary school teachers and Weiss et al. (2007) with 1.400 primary and secondary school teachers the findings were similar. The majority of the respondents thought that teaching should be adapted to the needs of students with migration background but implementation was weak. In Furch's study most teachers judged their knowledge on this subject to be sufficient while their actual knowledge turned out to range from insufficient to poor, even when, as 43% had done at some point in time, they had participated in intercultural training. Furch concluded that their self-image was distorted. At the time of the study, 79% had no experience with multilingual teaching material; this was interpreted as being rooted in the belief that pupils should learn German as fast as possible. These teachers mostly followed the public opinion that other languages distract children from learning German. More than half stated that migrant languages did not play a role during their classroom time and less than half were interested in learning a migrant language. 'Interculturality' was seen as a buzz-word which teachers mainly understood as differences between (regional) cultures. Surprisingly, even though the younger teachers had participated in intercultural training more often they were no more engaged in implementing intercultural learning than older teachers. The conclusion was that, despite the fact that more than half of the pupils in Viennese primary schools had a first language other than German, the primary school teachers were badly prepared for a diverse classroom with different languages, cultures, and religions at the beginning of the 2000s.

In the other study (Weiss et al. 2007) the sample included teachers from all over Austria and all school types, the only pre-selection requirement being a minimum of 10% of pupils with migration backgrounds in their school. While in primary school instruction in multicultural classroom were perceived as less problematic, in secondary schools problems increased due to ethnic tensions. However, more than a third reported knowing about specific bullying victims (39%) whereas 22% reported hostile group dynamics in their classrooms but not necessarily bound to ethnic background. Bullying was much more frequent in general secondary schools (56%) than in academic secondary schools where pupils with migration background are less frequent and the socio-economic composition more favourable. It co-occurred

with a negative classroom climate. Teachers perceive religion, in this case 'Islam', as the biggest problem tied to multicultural classrooms. While few teachers report experiences with conservative Muslim families that prevent girls from participating in school activities, in the same way as others they perceive Islam as an impediment to gender equality.

In Austria there is no tradition of research on school books, thus there are also no quantitative studies on the effect of textbooks on pupils' educational achievement. However, those researchers who analyze textbooks conceptualize effects as part of the secondary socialization process in which children develop their self-concept, especially concerning collective aspects.[6] This approach criticizes the values and knowledge presented in textbooks, which not only attach a higher status to Austrian middle-class culture, and more broadly to white or European expressions and manifestations, but also marginalize those of minorities or non-European provenance. This research mainly focuses on social aspects such as the ability to cooperate in diverse group settings and the ability to critically analyze diversity, hierarchy, and power relations. The link between the content of the textbooks and educational success has not been analyzed in Austria, as for example in studies on the ethnocentric curriculum in the US or the race and racial discrimination in school research tradition in England (Stevens 2007, pp. 157–161). Children are bound to accept, if there are no convincing 'counter-offers', the content of textbooks as authoritative knowledge about groups, group relations, ethnicity, and normality, and ultimately their collective identity (Hintermann 2007, 2010). In this way, textbooks contribute to pupils' self-concepts and possibly to the stereotype threat effect in learning (Schofield 2005).

With Austria's framework curriculum, textbooks sometimes are called 'the hidden curriculum' because teachers structure their teaching along the one book they are free to choose for each subject and year. However, the point of departure in this tradition is the critical analyses of implicit or even explicit views of school being the primary site of nation-state reproduction, i.e. one homogenous culture and one language superior to all others. Anthropologists have analyzed diverse school-books to uncover attitudes to specific issues such as Islam or general perspectives on ethnocentrism, anti-Semitism, sexism, and heteronormativity. Markom and Weinhäupl (2007) analyze textbooks from biology, history, and geography in lower secondary school (Grades 5–8). They conclude that racist and anti-Semitic accounts are rare, but that clichés and downgrading stereotypes are more frequent, especially regarding 'the orient',

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[6] Many researchers mention this element but only in passing and it is not properly discussed in the publications.

Islam, 'the Third World', Africa, 'tribes', homosexuality, and gender roles. The superficiality in avoiding stereotyping is best exemplified by the fact that even when the text is reasonably balanced the illustrations still convey stereotypes. While the textbooks treat the reality of power imbalance, hierarchy, and exploitation, racism and discrimination are barely mentioned and receive no detailed discussion. In a research project on migration(s) in textbooks which was carried out in cooperation with pupils and teachers Üllen and Markom (2016, also Hintermann et al. 2014) found that Austria's history was still a field of exclusion and characterized by divided memories, different to – as advanced by Motte and Ohliger (2004) the Netherlands, the UK and France, were pupils with migrant backgrounds see their history as part of the national history.

Concerning discrimination and racism in educational settings very few scientific studies have been published so far. In 2016, a report on discrimination in education in Austria was published by a private initiative (IDB 2016) following a report on Viennese youth (Güngör and Nafs 2016) where school was the prime place of discrimination among those who reported being frequently discriminated against. In the IDB-report 47 cases were described, islamophobia appeared to be the strongest case, especially targeting girls wearing headscarf. In the framework of a research project on the school reform project New Middle School teachers' implicit biases, teacher expectations and the ethnic achievement gap was analyzed drawing on critical race theory (Forghani-Arani et al. 2015). With sixty teachers and 626 pupils in 11 schools the authors find that explicit judgements and expectations of teachers were not biased along migration variables whereas implicit associations were correlated with students' achievements. Additionally, the authors tried to show the creative potential and options in students' behavior towards being stereotyped even in pupil-teacher relationships.

Training in this area is still not compulsory in teacher education nor is research-based knowledge on prejudices and stereotype-threat among teacher trainers. More advanced concepts such as cultural awareness or intersectionality are barely known. In many instances, interculturality is merely a buzzword equated with cultural differences and homogenizing concepts of cultural groups; very seldomly power-relations, the history and societal ramifications of migration such as the legal and economic regime are subject of teacher training. Some of the studies in the intercultural education and discrimination tradition are carried out with quantitative methodology, others apply document analyses and qualitative field studies or combine them in a mixed method approach. The lack of research studying interaction between the different groups of actors (teachers, pupils, parents) can partly be explained by a

school-culture that is closed to the outside and policy-making that tradition-ally was not evidence-based. In sum, this tradition comprises studies on biases and discrimination in teacher-student relationship and teaching material as well as studies on intercultural learning in schools uncovering the lack of awareness, commitment and training in this field.

Multilinguality Tradition

In this research tradition, work is mainly undertaken by linguists but also by education researchers, sociologists, and political scientists. It is research on the multilinguality of schoolchildren, the school setting regarding multilinguality, the legal ramifications and implementation of the measures as well as teacher education and training for multilingual classrooms. Earlier studies focused on mother tongue teaching, either analyzing the organizational deficiencies in public schooling and its consequences (Cinar 1998) or looking at comple-mentary organizational provisions in the private sector (Khan-Svik 2005), others focused on the support structures for learning German as a second language (Bauer and Kainz 2007). A few longitudinal studies were following the language development of schoolchildren over several years either based in pedagogical (cf. Khan-Svik 2007) or linguistic studies (Fischer 1992, 1995; Peltzer-Karpf et al. 2003; Brizic 2007). Since 2010, the focus is shifting stron-ger towards the teaching force, its competencies and practices (Vetter 2013), initial training and training institutions (Dannerer et al. 2013, Dirim 2015, Melter 2016). Publications on specific competencies such as teaching and learning reading have contributed to the academic discourse on multilingual-ity recently (Adaktylos and Purkharthofer 2011; Bleiker et al. 2016; Naphegyi 2016). Otherwise this research tradition is dominated by analyses of docu-ments and discourses with a critical perspective towards power-structures (Busch and De Cillia 2003; Krumm and De Cillia 2008; De Cillia and Vetter 2013; Thoma and Knappik 2015) and explicitly interrelating theory on equity with multilingualism (Wegner and Dirim 2016).

As previously mentioned, the public discourse on pupils with migration backgrounds in Austria continues to be centered around German language proficiency.[7] In collaboration with researchers, the Ministry of Education

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[7] The present government (2018) is still intensifying this discourse, especially with encouraging the com-mon attitude among teachers that the main problem are immigrant parents who do not speak German with their children. Before, the political approach of the Ministry of Education was more differentiated and positive towards multilingualism, especially during the period between 2007 and 2017.

developed a framework for the entire complex of cultural and linguistic diversity, migration and education, beyond the principles that were already established since the beginning of the 1990ies (see beginning of paragraph). Time after time recommendations have been drafted by researchers and practitioners who reached consensus on many points to reach equity and educational success by supporting language competences as for example in the "Grazer 3x10 Punkte-Programm zur Förderung von Sprachkompetenz, Chancengleichheit und Bildungserfolg" (e.g. Schmölzer-Eibinger 2010). Following the critical country study by the OECD (Nusche et al. 2009) that was in accordance with many of the Austrian experts in the field and the "Language Education Policy Profile" compiled by the Council of Europe and the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science (BMUKK and BMWF 2007) before, teacher education and training was taken as a serious target in a strategy towards equity by the Ministry of Education during the 2010th years. The aim was that every subject-teacher should gain basic competences in language-sensitive teaching as most of the classrooms in Austria have become multilingual, with a national average of 25% and urban averages around 50% of pupils speaking a different language at home than the language of instruction (Bruneforth et al. 2015).

Parallel to this development a number of publications discussed general concepts of language awareness and multilinguality (Busch 2013; Wegner and Dirim 2016) and professionalization for linguistic diversity in teacher education (Vetter 2013). Provisions for continuing, cross-cutting multilingual language development during the educational career spanning from multilingual theater-work with pupils (Henning 2015), trilingual teaching material (Aistleitner et al. 2011) to language profiles of schools and whole-school development (Allgäuer-Hackl et al. 2015) were the topic of contributions to edited volumes or special issues of national journals (e.g. schulheft 1/2017, schulheft 3/2013, Erziehung und Unterricht 2016,9–10, 2011/1–2,) Oftentimes these publications are mixed concerning scientific research and practical examples as they try to get a wider readership and especially practitioners, i.e. teachers and other pedagogues.

In a postcolonial, deconstructivist view also teacher education institutions became subject of analyses, as re/production site of inequality through standardization processes and delegitimation of specific variations of languages, selection processes of (prospective) students and native speakerism (Thoma and Knappik 2015). In a secondary analysis of interviews with 35 teacher

educators in seven universities Döll and Knappik (2015) tried to find out reasons for the underrepresentation of students with migration background in teacher education; the findings revealed frequent attributions of specific responsibilities and de-qualifications of teachers seen as migrant others. The results show that language ideologies, in particular the concept of 'native speakerism' serve to legitimize gatekeeping measures.

Education of Linguistic Minorities as a Political Issue

Since the 1980s, researchers focusing on linguistic minorities in Austria have been among the most active in contributing to scientific and public discourse on ethnicity and educational inequality while – not to give a wrong impression – the critical discourse as a whole was pretty marginalized. However, this kind of research and its institutional anchorage frequently came under threat (Fischer 1993, p. 13), especially during the 1980s and 1990s. As a consequence of political pressure against bilingualism in the southern region of Austria and an ever present devaluation of minority languages and individuals, such as Slovene in Carinthia, researchers investigated not only bilinguality and schooling as such, but also the whole complex situation of language intertwined with ethnicity, ethnic identity, belonging, attachment, and discrimination (DeCillia 1998; Boeckmann 1997; Busch 1991; Boeckmann et al. 1988). Baumgartner and Perchinig (1995) pointed out that differences between the regional contexts, albeit within the same nation-state, are deeply rooted in history. During the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, when Burgenland belonged to the Hungarian Transleithania and Carinthia to the Austrian Cisleithania, legal regulations and group relations were much more favorable in the Hungarian part compared to the German part. Even today, multilinguality is treated very differently in these two parts of Austria and is much less problematic in Burgenland than in Carinthia. However, numbers in bi- or trilingual programs (German & Slovene + Italian) are constantly rising and regional (trilingual) language portfolios have been developed (Pörtsch and Vrbinc 2013).

Language Development of Multilingual Children in Each of Their Languages

The most comprehensive in-depth study following the language development of 100 primary school children from Grade 1 to Grade 4 in Vienna was car-

ried out by a team based in linguistic studies (Peltzer-Karpf et al. 2003). The study was commissioned by the Ministry of Education and included six classes with multilingual children from different backgrounds. To find out which factors enhance the proficiency in the language of instruction, they used a multi-methodological approach with linguistic tests (system linguistics, vocabulary, text comprehension, and text production) in the language of instruction, the first language of the children (if Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian or Turkish), and spontaneous conversation in any language combination the children wanted to use. Additionally, teachers and parents were surveyed so that the linguistic approach was accompanied by a sociolinguistic analysis. Results showed that language development in German happens differently among bilingual children than among monolingual children and that teachers have to be aware about the specificities to understand the structure of the particular mistakes etc. It does not help to support language learning in the language of instruction at the expense of the first language. As it turned out, those with the highest competence in their (non-German) first language when entering school reached the highest competence levels in (their second language) German after four years. The most important results for the development in the second language German were threefold. First, the children's self-confidence and school-related experiences of success; fear and lack of self-confidence hampers language development. Second, a good competence in and a positive approach towards the first language were more important for gains in proficiency in German than the extent of motivation to learn German. Third, the societal status of their first language also has an effect on the children. Results that proved less important than expected were the percentage of multilingual children in the class and the age of first contact with German. Moreover, while the educational background of the parents, duration of stay, and orientation to stay or return were not as important as expected, poverty was (Fleck 2007).

Consequences of Language Oppression in the Country of Origin

A central question in this tradition was researched by Katharina Brizic during the 2000s and formalized in the language-capital model (2007). She tried to answer the question, why children of specific immigrant groups in different countries do have problems with language attainment while others don't. To name the most prominent ones in Europe: Turks in Germany and Austria, Moroccans in the Netherlands, and Bengali in Great Britain show

large differences in educational attainment compared to natives. As lower proficiency in the language of instruction is generally seen as the reason for significantly lower success in the educational system of the country of immigration, it is an important question to ask why this happens. One of the most innovative and widely recognized findings was that the language history of many families in these groups revealed specific patterns. When parents and grandparents were members of linguistic minorities which faced oppression in their country of origin, language transmission within the family was severely hampered. Therefore not only the development of the pupils' second language, in Austria's case German, was severely delayed or restricted, but also the development of the pupils' first language or what was thought to be their first language. Often, the language the parents spoke with their children was not the parents' first language because political pressure had forced a change in their family during their own childhood. For this reason, language attainment was a rather complicated process for the pupils, despite generally being highly motivated to learn German and be successful in school.

In sum, the multilinguality tradition consists of a normative and heuristic approach analyzing the societal context with its discourses and institutional structures on a macro level and an empirical approach on the micro and meso level. The latter focuses on the one hand on the development of multilinguality in Austrian schools either by concentrating on the development of the language proficiency in the pupils' first and second language or by concentrating on the implementation of measures that should support the language development of the pupils. Some of the studies follow pupils over several years and other case studies concentrate on specific groups or schools. The implementation strand simply tries to document how variable, and at times limited, support measures for language development in schools are despite the fact that the legal framework offers many possibilities. During the second decade of the twenty-first century teachers' competences and training have gained attention as well as the curriculum itself, especially in a cross-cutting manner, new approaches such as the multilingualism curriculum have been developed. However, empirical research in schools but also in teacher training institutions related to German as a second language is scarce in Austria. Given the high relevance in public discourse and politics it is astounding how little interest there is in adequate research by decision-makers.

Summary and Conclusion

Parallel to having gained considerable importance in public discourse, research on race/ethnicity and educational inequalities in Austria has intensified since the 2000s but is still marginal in institutionalized research. In the last 36 years it has developed along five research strands.

To begin with, the political arithmetic tradition consists of studies and reports that describe differences in the participation and outcomes of students from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Most researchers while coming from different disciplines agreed on discriminatory societal structures as the source for the enduring inequality in education. While researchers in the 1980s and 1990s had to rely on school statistics, census, and micro-census data, more nuanced analyses became possible with the data stemming from international comparative large-scale assessments that began with PISA 2000 and lately with national surveys on educational standards in mathematics, German and English. Until the 1990s, due to low naturalization rates, the children's nationality was taken as the most important characteristic. Later on, during the 1990s when the share of naturalized pupils was growing, the Ministry of Education made statistics on children's first languages available. Rising numbers were observed in most school types as well as enduring over-representation in lower tracks and among drop-outs and early school-leavers, higher repetition rates, and under-representation in academic tracks. Surprisingly, under-representation in apprenticeship positions and vocational training was documented since the 1980s but did not get much attention. Since 2000, with Austria's participation in international tests, literacy results in reading, mathematics, and natural sciences were also compared and analyzed and showed large gaps for first- and second-generation students as did the national surveys since 2012. At the same time, the success of mono- or bilingual schooling in the autochthonous minority languages Slovene and Burgenland-Croatian was documented, resulting in higher shares of academic success and impressive intergenerational educational mobility.

The family background tradition (FB) emerged parallel to the political arithmetic tradition in Austria. It focused primarily on the significance of family background characteristics to explain ethnic disparities in education. This tradition has grown substantially over the last decade with the increasing availability of relevant quantitative survey data. Consequently, since 2000, studies in the FB tradition are variable driven and the more detailed the data, the greater the lack of clear theoretical foundations. This especially applies to the role played by social and cultural capital in exploring the complex

relationship between social class origin, ethnicity, and educational achievement. Whereas the low educational success of children with migration background was explained heuristically with reference to the socio-economic position of the families and the discriminatory societal structures in the 1980s and 1990s, with LSA data a positivistic approach is rarely accompanied with reference to institutional structures or societal frameworks.

The third research tradition, called the structure of educational systems tradition, investigates the impact of the institutional arrangement of the Austrian educational system in producing educational inequality. It focuses primarily on the early age of selection and the down-streaming logic of the Austrian school system. This has been widely discussed since the 1970s regarding social class, but not with a main focus on children with migration background. Although many other institutional variables were discussed in this literature, including issues such as the lack of kindergarten places, late age of entrance into early childhood institutions, predominance of half-day schooling, frequency of grade retention, short duration of compulsory schooling resulting in early school-leavers without certificates, and the lack of communication with parents and ethnic communities, these have not been subject of closer investigation. With the availability of LSA datasets from 2000 onwards, researchers try to show effects of the age of first selection by using statistical analyses in country comparison. Nevertheless, the empirical evidence on the influences of institutional arrangements of the Austrian education system in producing ethnic educational inequalities has only increased during recent years, e.g. sophisticated analyses on segregation have entered the scene only in 2012 onwards.

The fourth research tradition, called the intercultural education and discrimination tradition, focuses on intercultural learning as a principle of instruction, its implementation, teachers' education and training, actions and attitudes, exclusion and discrimination regarding textbooks. The most important results concern the minimalistic implementation of intercultural learning in schools, the lack of targeted training in teacher education and the incongruent self-image of the teachers regarding their knowledge and action of the issue. As most studies show, interculturality often functions as a catchword and works with a clear stress on cultural differences between ethnic groups lacking critical self-awareness and knowledge on social power-relations and societal ramifications of interactions. Teaching materials in Austria still lack important aspects of intercultural education. Whereas the other research traditions mentioned so far are strongly anchored in sociology with some researchers from political science and economics, this research tradition is predominantly rooted in cultural anthropology and pedagogy. Therefore,

qualitative methodology, participant observation, document and discourse analyses are predominant.

The multilinguality tradition, the fifth tradition, focuses on the language development of bi- or multilingual schoolchildren, the nature and extent of support measures in German as a second language, mother-tongue teaching, the development of multilinguality in Austrian schools and teacher education as well as teacher education institutions as re/production site of inequality through native-speakerism, linguizism and selection mechanisms. This strand is quite heterogenous by either concentrating on the pupils, their development of multilingualism or proficiency in the first and second language or by concentrating on interventions, the teachers and the institutions, respectively. The former covers insights about micro-mechanisms of language transmission within families through in-depth case studies, for example explaining why specific groups appear to be particularly disadvantaged by reconstructing language biographies in families with the language policy in the country of origin being equally important as the one in the country of residence. In contrast, the implementation-oriented strand tries to document how variable, and at times limited, support measures for language development in schools are, despite the fact that the legal framework offers many possibilities. However, without transparent rules for each child's support as well as adequate funding and employment of staff, especially mother tongue teachers, implementation simply does not work. The same is true for institutions of teacher education that are understood as the primary re/production of societal power-structures, hierarchies of languages, dialects, sociolects and countries.

Overall, our review indicated that the boundaries of these research traditions are not always clear cut. Most traditions interact with each other and in some cases the research could be classified in two or more traditions. Some traditions are particularly strong in a specific period closely tied to the availability of data, political developments, and public discourse. Since the 1980s, research on migration, minorities, and educational inequalities in Austria has been dominated by a strong tradition of analysis on the macro-level considering the consequences of societal structures and intergroup relationships for the individual and its attitudes and actions. During the first decade of the twenty-first century education researchers entered a new phase mainly through the availability and analysis of large-scale datasets. They produced a first wave of findings on the level of the individual and its family background with a view to international comparison. In the second decade, competences of teachers have attracted the interest of researchers, starting to look at their respective training. A future desideratum surely is an intensified look at teacher education and specifically teacher educators which can be seen as a

main source of problems and solutions. As there is a lack of knowledge in the field of micro-mechanisms in teaching and learning, future research should explore how development in multilingual language and subject competences can be adequately supported. Empirical research on the level of schools and classrooms waits for attention since hardly any study covers these processes. Discrimination is still treated as taboo in research as it is in the Austrian discourse on teaching and school-culture generally. As was also shown statistically, a major problem is segregation along social status and migration background. Therefore, research should help to develop measures for desegregation and next to that, strategies for high quality in highly segregated schools, i.e. accompany interventions on different levels of the system. Implementation research is a field of research which is not developed and would deserve more attention.

The critical research existing has developed in a close collaborative relationship between sociologists, political scientists, sociolinguists, education researchers and oftentimes the Ministry of Education but also international bodies such as the Council of Europe, the European Union and the OECD. The majority of studies are produced in University context but contributions also emanate out of other public or non-governmental institutions. The common aim of these actors is the production of knowledge which should enable a shift in public discourse and policy that emphasises assimilation and monolingualism over multiculturalism and multi- or plurilingualism. At the same time the political landscape always was highly heterogenous not only concerning different political parties in coalition governments but also strands within parties so that contrary to the holistic approach of the Ministry of Education other actors in government passed a number of legal regulations that insinuated parents as the main source of problems, especially if they were migrants and did not speak German with their children.

Finally, even when politicians try to implement new approaches institutional change occurs slowly in a school-system with so many actors involved and, as has been shown at the beginning of the twentieth century, the innovative and inclusive direction might also be reversed. With a new government since the end of 2017 following a more segregative ideological agenda, concrete measures in the education and research sector have to be awaited and critically observed.

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5

Belgium: Cultural Versus Class Explanations for Ethnic Inequalities in Education in the Flemish and French Communities

Lore Van Praag, Marie Verhoeven, Peter A. J. Stevens, and Mieke Van Houtte

National Context

This chapter presents a critical review of research on racial and ethnic inequalities in secondary education in Belgium between 1980 and 2016. Belgium has a rather complex government structure which affects the organization of the educational system. Since the 1970s, several constitutional reforms have transformed Belgium into a complex federal state, comprising three regions (Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels), three linguistic communities (Dutch, French, and German) and a federal government. All of these sub-regional

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entities have gained increasing governing powers and specific policy portfolios. Since the reforms of 1989, the Department of Education is organized and managed by the (cultural) linguistic communities. Schools are organized by different sectors (private/public, confessional/not) but they are all funded by the regional governments. Because of this regional devolution of the educational governance, most research has focused on a certain linguistic community (except for Phalet et al. 2007), which will be clearly visible in this chapter, and forms an interesting basis for comparison. This chapter will concentrate on the Dutch-speaking (Vlaamse Gemeenschap, VG) and the French-speaking (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles, FWB) communities, as they provide schooling for the majority of the students' population of the country. Before reviewing the literature, the text provides an overview of the educational system(s), immigration history, and social and educational policy developments in Belgium.

Educational System

In spite of the recent transfer of the educational competences to the sub-regional entities, the structures of the distinct educational systems in Belgium (Dutch, French and German) remained similar, in terms of global structures or funding rules (e.g., parental free-choice and quasi-market regulation (Draelants et al. 2011)). Education is compulsory for all children between the ages of 6 and 18. Before the age of six, children have the possibility to go to nursery education. Both primary and secondary school take six years. While primary school is similar for everyone, students are grouped together in different tracks in secondary education, divided into three cycles of two years each. In the Flemish secondary school system (VG), students choose between four tracks: general or academic, art, technical, and vocational secondary education. Within these tracks, a variety of specific fixed programs of subjects are offered. The structure of the FWB educational system is globally similar, focusing in each cycle subsequently on observation, orientation and specialization (Fig. 5.1).

During the last decades, both educational systems have put effort in creating a more comprehensive first cycle of two years, where students orient themselves and prepare for further specialization. In practice, these processes of more intensive orientation during the start of secondary education still function within the older structures and differentiate earlier. While both systems have similar structures and tools to reorient students during their educational career, orientation seems to occur earlier and more intensively in VG,
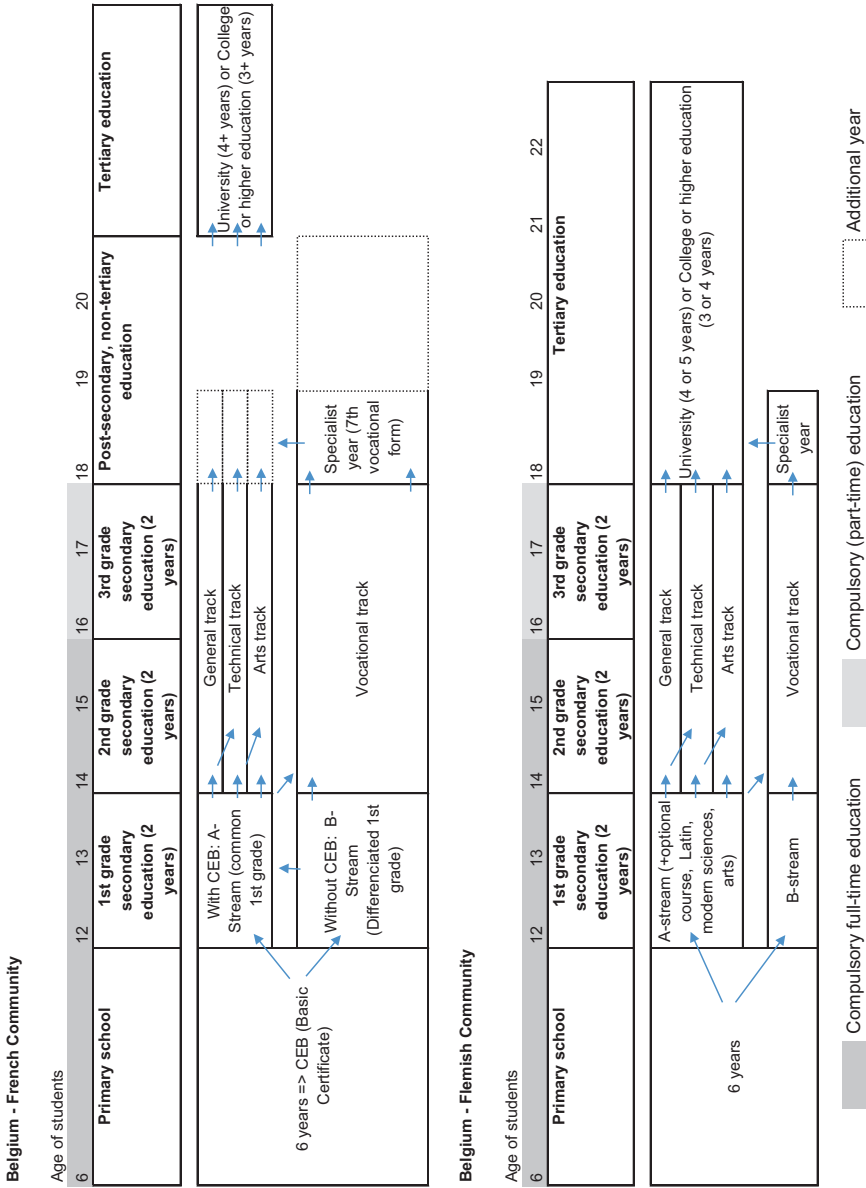
Fig. 5.1 The educational systems of the French and Flemish Community in Belgium. (Based on Eurodyce 2014, adapted by the authors)

whereas grade retention rates are even higher in FWB (Danhier et al. 2014). Due to these distinct ways of dealing with pupils' heterogeneity, some authors (Mons 2007; Dupriez et al. 2008; Danhier et al. 2014) have described the VG educational system as an early differentiated system, a "separation model", combining separate educational routes or tracks and early academic selection. The FWB system is said to be a "uniform integration model", that offers a common curriculum until the age of 14 or 15 but uses grade retention as an alternative selection tool.

In both systems, a different status is given to the tracks, and study programs within the tracks, by parents, teachers, and pupils. Academic tracks are given 'higher' status than the technical and vocational tracks (Van Houtte 2004; Stevens and Vermeersch 2010; Van Praag et al. 2017; Verhoeven 2011a; Devleeshouwer and Rea 2011). In both systems, transitions from the more general to the vocational tracks are common; however, the other way round seldom occurs. In practice, both educational systems are characterized by the trend to start in higher academic tracks and to 'fall down' to lower tracks when not successful, often referred to as the 'cascade system' (Devleeshouwer and Rea 2011; Van Praag et al. 2015a, b). Delvaux and Joseph (2006) have quantified this so-called cascade system as an "asymmetrical interdependency system", where students' mobility clearly follows certain ways (from general and academic with higher socioeconomic background schools towards mainly vocational disadvantaged schools). Moreover, the chosen track determines entry to higher education. Only students in academic, arts, and technical tracks have the possibility to enter directly to university. Students in vocational tracks should first follow a specialization year before they get their diploma of secondary education. Schools have different track compositions: multilateral schools offer all the tracks while categorical schools only offer mainly academic, art, or technical and/or vocational tracks (Van Houtte and Stevens 2009a).

In Flanders, all schools have the same curriculum. There is no centralized evaluation system and no comparable national tests are used. Teachers have considerable autonomy as they are responsible for designing, administering, and marking the examinations of the pupils they teach. In addition, at the end of each school year, teachers decide together whether their students pass to the next (higher) school year or not, and to which educational track they might access, a decision that is based on students' exam results and motivational and behavioral characteristics of the students (Stevens 2007). In FWB, a similar tradition of decentralization and local autonomy has been counterbalanced since the 1990s, by a new policy aiming at gradually defining common basic skills, applicable to every school, regardless of its network. This translated into

the implementation of a standardized test at the end of primary schooling (CEB – Certificat d'Etudes de Base) and at the end of the first cycle of secondary education (CE1D). However, in spite of this political attempt of increased "pedagogical standardization" in FWB, typical of post-bureaucratic regulation models in education (Maroy 2009), the local school board (team) remains "sovereign" in deciding on the success of failure of every pupil, sometimes contradicting the test results. Moreover, unlike many other countries, these standards-based reforms have not been associated to a strong accountability policy, as these external assessments remain mainly non-certifying and strictly confidential (Bardana and Dupriez 2015).

With regard to ethnic minorities in secondary education, this tracking system makes education systems in Belgium highly stratified. This is reflected in the unequal distribution of ethnic and social groups across tracks. Students from lower social and minority racial or ethnic backgrounds are over-represented in the technical and particularly vocational tracks and under-represented in general education tracks and higher education. The disparity between the tracks is visible from the beginning of lower secondary, and keeps widening over the course of secondary education (Monseur and Lafontaine 2012; Boone and Van Houtte 2010; Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles 2015).

Immigration to Belgium

As in many industrialised countries, Belgium started to employ foreign miners in the early 1920s, and then received Italian, German and Eastern European workers. Just before World War II, a quarter of the country's miners were foreigners (Coenen and Lewin 1997). After World War II, organized labour immigration was reinforced through the signing of agreements with Italy, Spain, Greece, Morocco and Turkey ('64), Algeria and Yugoslavia ('70). By then, the workers were not only imported to work in mines, but also in the steel mills, the building and service sector. Migrants were imported as guest workers and were expected to return to their country of origin (Martens 1976). However, by the end of the sixties, it became clear that many of these migrants permanently settled in Belgium. This period was a turning point, as immigration began to be seen as a response to the recurrent scarcity of low-skilled labour as well as a reserve of population growth in an ageing population (Martens 1976; Coenen and Lewin 1997). In 1973, with the economic petroleum crisis, the Belgian government implemented restrictive measures to restrain immigration and ceased to recruit labor immigrants (Blaise and Martens 1992; Morelli 1992). The rapid change into a post-industrial

economy especially affected immigrants who mainly worked in the industrial sector (Phalet et al. 2007). Nevertheless, these restriction policies did not really affect the migration flows towards Belgium (or other European countries), as more migrants came through procedures of family reunification and asylum. Consequently, migratory flows to Belgium have been multiplied by three between 1985 and 2015. Since 1990, new immigrants from Eastern Europe entered Belgium accompanied by a wave of undocumented immigrants, which was partly due to political unstable conditions and migrations from new EU member states. Whereas the proportion of Turkish and Moroccan migrations has significantly dropped between 2005 and 2015, there has been a meaningful elevation of migrations from East Asia and Middle East – especially from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. As far as asylum is concerned, its weight in total migratory flows remains relatively limited. In the 2000s, the most significant part of asylum claims came from Syria, Iran and Afghanistan, as well as Sub-Saharan countries such as Somalia, Congo, Guinea or Eritrea (MYRIA 2016).

Statistics on recent migration flows are based on people's nationality or recent nationality change. However, many persons of non-Belgian descent are naturalized and are therefore hard to trace. This is especially true for groups that have already lived in Belgium for more than one generation, such as Turkish and Moroccan populations (MYRIA 2016) who are still considered as immigrants. Children and grandchildren from migrants are in a Belgian context often referred to as 'allochthons', in contrast to 'autochthons' with a Belgian background. As official statistics only consider nationality, these numbers do not provide good insight in the actual groups of students that are seen as an ethnic minority. Estimations based on research samples, that use indicators such as the language spoken at home, nationality and country of birth of the grandmother and respondent or older naturalizations, indicate that approximately 10–17% of secondary school students have a non-Belgian ethnic origin (Verhoeven et al. 2007; Van Houtte and Stevens 2009b; Duquet et al. 2006; Siongers 2011, 2013; Delvaux and Serhadlioglu 2014).

Social and Educational Policy Developments

Initially, immigrants planned a temporary stay in Belgium and this was reflected in educational policies. Except for some local and independent projects (Verlot 2001; Leman 1997), few policy actions were directed at the educational achievement of immigrant children. Initial projects aimed to relieve schools from the extra workload migrant children caused and/or to facilitate

future home return, often introducing mother language in schools (Verlot 2001; Martiniello 1998). Lately, the changing political climate and the conclusion that most migrants would not return to their country, stimulated the government to invest in the education of migrant children.

As far as VG is concerned, the 'educational priorities policy' (*Onderwijsvoorrangsbeleid*) was introduced in 1991. Although the focus changed to children living in deprived (i.e., lower social class) families in general, it was recognized that migrants had additional challenges related to their ethnic-cultural background (Flemish Ministry of Education and Training 2011). Schools received more resources if they paid attention to language and the expertise from their school teams in dealing with migrant pupils (Van den Branden and Van Avermaet 2001). Despite the financial encouragement, very few schools implemented measures to satisfy specific minority needs. Instead, schools adopted more of an assimilation perspective and focused almost exclusively on 'Dutch language development' (De Wit et al. 2000). The 'Educational priorities policy' was followed by the 'Non-discrimination policy' in 1993. Different measures were set up to prevent discrimination actively and to stimulate a better ethnic mix in all schools. Schools voluntarily signed a declaration to fight against discrimination in their school and in return, they received extra resources. In 2002, the 'Equal Education Opportunities Policy' (Gelijke Onderwijskansen, GOK) proposed a more inclusive policy that would benefit the entire school instead of giving attention to the problems of (risk) students, including students living outside their family, that belong to a migratory population, speaking another language than Dutch at home, living in a family with no income/a replacement income, or having a mother without a diploma (Van Avermaet et al. 2010). So far, several GOK policies have been implemented and changed over the years but it is uncertain what future policies will bring and how it can lead to more equal education opportunities. This is especially the case as no longitudinal evaluation procedures have been developed to fully assess the impact of these policies.

In FWB, policy evolutions were slightly different, due to a divergent subnational philosophy of integration and a lesser degree of "state interventionism" regarding cultural issues (Martiniello 1998; Adam 2013). After the first period – globally assimilationist, but marginally focusing on providing home language instruction to migrant children – the eighties showed a shift towards the acquisition of the host language, corresponding to the assimilationist paradigm dominant in the French Community. In some areas, a "soft multiculturalism" (Adam 2011) was implemented, following European recommendations, leading to local initiatives promoting language diversity or intercultural pedagogy, but these remained isolated and considered as

"education for immigrants" (Martiniello and Manço 1993). During the nineties, the political panorama changed, due to the increasing influence of European recommendations on diversity and intercultural education. But interestingly, the predominant model of tackling diversity in education remained based on 'non particularistic' criteria, considering that ethnic minorities integration issues needed to be included in a general socio-economic inclusion policy (Martiniello and Manço 1993; Verhoeven 2002). For instance, the 'Education Priority Zones' (ZEP) policy implemented in 1989, later replaced by the 'Positive Discrimination Decree' in 1998, and the latest decree in 2009 promoting "differentiated funding" are all based on a compensatory approach considering general socioeconomic deprivation indicators and excluding migration and ethno-cultural issues. The only implemented targeted policies focused on the promotion of French as second language. A few intercultural education initiatives were launched at local scales and positively evaluated (Anciaux et al. 1992; Sensi 1995, 1999), but did not lead to a political shift towards inclusive education. As far as language policies are concerned, it is only after 1997 that the 'Openness to languages and cultures' (LCO/ELCO) program) was initiated, giving institutional support to the organization of courses in some key home languages in (volunteer) multicultural schools.

Methodology

The scope of this review is determined by four criteria. In general, only research that explicitly focuses on ethnicity and education is included. First, the sampling is limited to the time range between 1980 and 2016. Second, only research concerning secondary education is considered, in order to facilitate comparison between studies and focus on specific characteristics of secondary education. Third, due to the close relationship between policy and research, we did not only consider peer-refereed journal articles, (edited) books, and official reports, but also policy papers and doctoral dissertations. Fourth, the main focus of this review is on sociological approaches to race and ethnic inequalities in education, however, other (related) research paradigms, such as social psychology, sociolinguistics and anthropology and law, were also included in order to understand inequality in education. The chapter updates a previous review of Flanders (Van Praag et al. 2014) and complements and compares it with research conducted in FWB.

This chapter employed the following sampling frame: (1) Bibliographical databases such as Thomson Reuters (ISI) Web of Knowledge and CSA Sociological

Abstracts were used, using search-strings such as 'achievement', 'school', 'ethnic*/race', 'minorities', 'immigrants' 'Belgium/Flanders'; for the FWB bibliographic review, other related keywords were added, namely discrimination, segregation, cultural diversity, equity, intercultural education, multicultural education, immigrants' descents and 'primo-arrivants' (newcomers), as in this context scholars are not so prone in using "race and ethnicity" conceptualizations; (2) In both contexts, publication lists of main research centers (both in- and outside academia) developing expertise on education and/or immigration and integration were systematically examined, and (3) The reference lists of the retrieved sample of literature and literature reviews (e.g., Crutzen and Lucchini 2007; Verhoeven et al. 2007) was further explored. It is worth mentioning that, beyond this shared global method of reviewing literature, it appeared necessary to slightly adapt the research strategy for the FWB review (which was not included in the previous edition of the Handbook). Two differences might be underlined here: first, the inclusion of specific keywords was essential, due to differences in the predominant ways of conceptualizing phenomena related to the topic. For instance, the "race" vocabulary is basically banished from the sociological vocabulary in FWB, and researchers are still quite reluctant to refer to "ethnicity", mostly using other categories related to a broad "immigration" vocabulary ("issu de l'immigration" or "newcomers and first/second generation migrants" being probably perceived as politically more "neutral" than "race and ethnicity", sounding potentially discriminating in a context influenced by the French universalistic perspective) or including the topic within a broader focus on segregation and inequality. Secondly – even if this has been slightly changing in recent times – French-speaking researchers still tend to publish predominantly in French (partly because of the historical influence of the French intellectual and scientific debate on the social sciences research agenda in French-Speaking Belgium). These specificities explain that international search engines such as Web of Knowledge do not constitute the most appropriate research tools in this context. Therefore, the literature about this part of the country emphasized alternative ways in order to surface FWB literature related to the topic (namely, building on an inductive survey from significant publications from specialized research centers and extra-academia institutions, also paying more attention to "grey literature").

Research Traditions

The comparative literature review leaded us to distinguish between five different research traditions, according to the ways they address research questions and to the research methods they use. This classification is globally in line

with internationally distinguished research traditions (e.g., Stevens and Van Houtte 2011), but again, the comparison between the two contexts (VG/FWB) made surface some additional (secondary) research lines, which leaded us to introduce some sub-classifications. Moreover, if the five main traditions are represented in each context, different emphasis and patterns "balancing" them can be observed. First, the 'political arithmetic' tradition is based on large quantitative databases that describes the existing tendencies in education and family background and educational outcomes. Although this research tradition was more elaborated in VG compared to FWB, many scholars in FWB elaborated further upon the PISA database. Second, the 'culture and educational outcomes' tradition explains educational outcomes by referring to cultural practices. Three smaller streams of studies can be found that fit into this tradition: 'Ideologies, cultural schemes and identities', 'Motivations and attitudes towards schooling' and 'History, constraints and opportunities'. Third, the 'language proficiency' tradition consists of mainly qualitative studies (mainly in VG) that try to understand the influence of language to develop curriculum and pedagogy. In addition, they often evaluate educational projects and policies. Fourth, the 'school effectiveness' tradition investigates school effects and processes with large quantitative datasets and is primarily located in VG. Fifth, the 'racism and racial discrimination' tradition focuses explicitly on racism as one group of scholars focuses on the perceptions of students' unequal treatment in schools.

Political Arithmetic Tradition

The 'political arithmetic' tradition is based on large, quantitative, policy-oriented studies that aim to offer representative descriptions of the patterns and differences between the school career of ethnic and racial minority students. In Belgium, compared to other countries, this tradition faces some additional problems as, due to the lack of standardized tests, indicators of 'educational success' and 'achievement scores' are less valid and difficult to interpret. Although no indicators of ethnicity are collected in official databases on education (except from nationality), in practice, 'ethnicity' is a relevant concept in everyday interactions and denotes people that are perceived from a different ethnicity or is oriented at those who are clearly seen as immigrants. Furthermore, the ways of measuring and defining ethnicity or its relevance as a scientific and political category, are significantly different in the Dutch- and French-speaking scientific communities. Measurements of ethnicity in research often reflect the ways in which researchers interpret the

relationship between ethnicity, social class and education. For instance, in the Flemish context, as lower school results of ethnic minority students are often attributed to their lack of Dutch language proficiency, this is also visible in policies (e.g., GOK) and large datasets (e.g., LOSO-dataset). By contrast, in the FWB, the data collected in the official 'educational indicators' (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles 2015) and the 'students' file' (or "fichier élèves") only include socioeconomic characteristics, but do not mention ethnicity or even nationality. We will set out the PISA-dataset, which is the only dataset that allows some comparison between the distinct educational systems, and second, elaborate on the distinct developments of the political arithmetic tradition across scientific communities.

The PISA-dataset compared the educational outcomes of 15-year-old students over different years in different countries and is a very influential dataset, often used as the starting point of many international comparisons (Lafontaine 2003, Marks 2005; Jacobs et al. 2007, 2009; Varin 2006; Dupriez et al. 2008; de Heus and Dronkers 2010; Baye et al. 2010; Jacobs and Rea 2011; Jacobs 2012; Danhier et al. 2014). Despite its influence, the results should be interpreted with caution as only a small number of non-Belgian background students are included in the PISA sample (Jacobs et al. 2009; Agirdag 2009) and ethnic minorities are measured by the country of birth and mother tongue. Nevertheless, relevant statistical analyses could be produced when nationality groupings are used to reach sufficient "critical quantitative mass" (Danhier and Martin 2014; Monseur and Lafontaine 2012). The cross-national PISA results demonstrate that both Dutch- and French-speaking educational systems present alarming inequity indicators (Lafontaine 2003; Monseur and Lafontaine 2009, 2012; Jacobs 2012; Jacobs et al. 2009; Danhier et al. 2014). The academic attainment gap between the 25% most socioeconomically advantaged and the 25% most disadvantaged students is one of the highest amongst OECD countries, with a gap of 126 points in FWB and 93 points in VG, compared to 50 points in more equitable systems, such as Finland (Lafontaine 2003; Monseur and Lafontaine 2012). These results reveal a strong and persisting correlation between socioeconomic indicators and performance rates in mathematics, literacy (reading) and science (Jacobs and Rea 2011; Jacobs 2012; Danhier et al. 2014).

When comparing the Dutch and French-speaking contexts based on the PISA-dataset, some differences are noted. Concerning *efficiency*, the successive PISA surveys systematically indicate the existence of a sizeable educational attainment gap between the Flemish- and the French-speaking communities (e.g., Lafontaine 2003; Jacobs et al. 2007). In PISA 2000, the Dutch-speaking community appeared in the top three of OECD countries in reading

and mathematics, whereas the French-speaking community hardly reached the average OECD level (Lafontaine 2003). Moreover, VG had a higher proportion of "high achieving" students than OECD average, whereas in the FWB this proportion was just below OECD average scores. The gap appeared to be more alarming for low achievers, as the proportion of students that performed under the elementary threshold was much higher in the French-speaking Community. These different efficiency patterns could be due to unequal public funding combined with problems of pedagogical coherence (Hirtt 2008, 2014) or governance problems (Vandenberghe 2011).

With regard to *migratory status*, there is a significant achievement gap between native students and students from migrant background (i.e., first and second generation migrants together). In both contexts, the proportion of students not reaching level 2 remains significantly high for students from migrant backgrounds. Recent multilinear regression statistical analysis carried out on PISA 2012 attempted to decompose the unique effects of socioeconomic and migration as well as their joint effect. In both contexts, the strongest effect was found to be due to socioeconomic variables, but a specific effect of migrant status on their achievement scores is nonetheless observed in both contexts-, albeit more pronounced in VG. A joint effect of these two variables is observed in both contexts but also more significant in Flanders (Danhier and Martin 2014; Danhier et al. 2014, p. 40). These results are due to the fact that migrant pupils come from disadvantaged socioeconomic background. Despite its methodological flaws, the PISA-dataset is important to consider in the political arithmetic tradition, as it also fuels other debates and inspires other research. In the following sections, we will set out the developments of the political arithmetic tradition separately for each linguistic community.

In Flanders, several large-scale quantitative databases are set up that allow for an analysis of ethnic inequalities in education: the 'Longitudinal Research Secondary Education' (LOSO) project (Van Damme et al. 2004; Van Damme et al. 2001; Hermans et al. 2002; Hermans et al. 2003), and the 'Study of the Transition from Education to the Labor Market' (SONAR), both producing data on Flanders; official national databases, such as the 'Panel Study of Belgian Households' (PSBH), the Belgian Census. Overall, these datasets suggest a possible explanation for the relationship between ethnicity and education, but remain confined to the measurements of people's nationality and 'ethnicity'. The ways 'ethnicity' is measured varies across these datasets. An example is the 'Study of the Transition from Education to the Labor Market' database (SONAR), which is a longitudinal survey of 23-, 26- and 29-year-olds (Duquet et al. 2006). In this survey, the authors used the country of birth and nationality of the respondent and the maternal grandmother,

age cohort and language spoken at home, which is sometimes grouped together in a dichotomous variable that contrasts 'autochthons' against 'allochthons' ('those who are perceived to be from here' vs. 'those who are perceived to be not from here'). Another example is the 'Panel Study of Belgian Households' (PSBH) (Groenez et al. 2003) which included the first nationality by birth and the language spoken at home as indicators of ethnicity. In general, these datasets are have their value because they charted achievement and related this to social background features.

In general, the 'political arithmetic' tradition in VG is based on large, quantitative databases that aim to offer representative descriptions of social (ethnic) inequalities in education. Most studies are policy relevant and funded by the Flemish or Belgian government. Although references are often made to sociological theories and earlier studies, the tendencies, patterns and differences between the school career of ethnic and racial minority students are the focus of this research tradition. However, the databases are not specifically intended to study ethnic and racial inequalities in education, these studies indicate that the socioeconomic background is the most important explaining factor for educational achievement. While the LOSO report indicates that ethnicity is only important for students with a higher socioeconomic background, the PSBH and the Belgian Census found that, together with socio-economic background, ethnic and cultural barriers determine achievement outcomes. To conclude, the 'political arithmetic' tradition excels in collecting representative data and mapping and charting out patterns in time; demonstrating the underachievement and inequality of ethnic and racial minorities in VG. In FWB, the 'political arithmetic' research tradition is less prominent than in Flanders and mainly draws on the PISA database, as no large-scale datasets have been set up. An exhaustive dataset is collected by the Ministry of Education in the entire school population each year in January, but as it is mainly intended for policy purposes, it presents important limitations regarding measurements of social class and ethnic background; moreover, researchers do not have an easy access to this dataset. One of the pioneer studies using this official database data was conducted by Marques-Balsa (1979, 1980) and included age, sex, nationality and birth place. It revealed significant differences in school delay between Belgian and non-Belgian students, and demonstrated the influence of nationality and socio-professional status on this disadvantage, without being fully able to disentangle their respective weight.

In order to compensate for the weaknesses of this official dataset and the lack of large scale surveys, a few *ad hoc* quantitative surveys have been set up, which helped to describe the patterns and differences between the school career of ethnic minority students and majority students. Most of these studies indicate

that the socio-economic background is the most determining factor that explains educational achievement (Blaise 1989; Rea et al. 1990; Ouali and Rea 1994, 1995; Feld and Manço 2000; Jacobs and Rea 2007; Verhoeven et al. 2007). However, some additional specific effects related to nationality, ethnicity and migratory trajectories were also underlined. In a study carried out in 48 Brussels schools, Ouali and Rea (1994, 1995) demonstrated a specific effect of nationality (as non-EU 6th form secondary students were having the highest repetition rates) and a negative effect of the completion of primary school in the country of origin. Jacobs and Rea (2007) added parents' nationality and birthplace to their survey in Brussels schools, and confirmed significant correlations between socio-economic background and schooling orientation, as well as between ethnicity and schooling paths. Feld and Manço (2000) conducted a quantitative study on 1000 youngsters (aged 16–26) in Brussels and Wallonia, focusing on schooling and professional careers and comparing several nationalities over two generations. This study shows that migrant students are still more likely to experience school delay, orientation to vocational tracks and early school leaving, and do not automatically beneficiate from socio-professional mobility even when they acquire educational capital. In addition to classical factors (such as family economic and cultural capitals), their explanatory model includes migratory history and time spent in the host country. They also shed light on the positive impact of embeddedness in social networks, both ethnic based (facilitating access to ethnic employment niches) and majority community based (facilitating access to professional mobility). Finally, Verhoeven et al. (2007) proposed a synchronic and diachronic analysis of three interconnected "student's file" official databases (2004, 2005 and 2006), comparing students' school positions and careers of non-Belgian students coming from four regions (Morocco, Turkey, Congo and "Big Lakes" Region, East European countries). This study shows clear differences in school delays and tracks across nationality and migration status. Although most effects could be ascribed to socio-economic background, the data analysis also demonstrated that nationality was correlated with most school attainment indicators (i.e., average school delay, proportion of students in academic/special education tracks) and that school success was also linked to the position students occupy in the migration process (Delvaux 2011; Verhoeven et al. 2007). In a complementary study based on an *ad hoc* questionnaire to 6th and 7th form students in Charleroi, Liège and Brussels the same research team revealed a specific effect of ethnicity (measured through parents' birthplace and student's migratory status), often in interaction with gender, on school positions and careers, once socio-economic factors have been controlled.

To conclude, the 'political arithmetic' tradition is based on large quantitative datasets and reveals the impact of socio-economic and ethnic or racial background on education. In both the Dutch- and the French-speaking communities, as well as at the national Belgian level, most of these studies indicate that the socio-economic background is the most important factor explaining educational achievement. However, most of these studies, especially when relying on data collected for policy purposes, are plagued by limited information about educational achievement and ethnicity, and proper measurements of these concepts. Relatively more datasets have been set up in VG, to map out the patterns over time, but not always measuring ethnicity and social class thoroughly. In FWB, also only a few quantitative datasets exists, which makes many researchers rely more on the PISA-dataset. In general, many of these studies have already suggested interaction effects between socio-economic indicators and ethnicity. Additionally, some studies – especially in FWB – indicate differences in schooling patterns, according to specific nationality groups, which requires additional investigation. Studies carried out in this tradition provide insightful information about the topics that need further attention for both policy makers and researchers (e.g., within group differences, educational inequalities, interaction effects between socio-economic status, migration status and ethnicity). Nevertheless, they also point our attention to the fact that more in-depth analyses is needed to gain insight in the relationship between ethnicity and education, that cannot fully be grasped without considering a broader theoretical framework, more detailed data and more precise measurements of 'achievement' and 'ethnicity'.

Culture and Educational Outcomes Tradition

Cultural factors that influence educational outcomes are investigated in the 'culture and educational outcomes' (CEO) tradition. The key focus of this research tradition is to understand students' attitudes towards education and their efforts to realize these attitudes. Over the course of the last few years, increasingly more studies have been published that examine similar outcomes and theories from different methodological and disciplinary perspectives. In both research contexts, we distinguish three main lines of research, which are divided more or less along disciplinary lines (anthropological, social psychological and sociological). Remarkably, although similar topics are studied, these studies each draw upon distinct fields of literature and are inspired by distinct authors and theories in each scientific community. A first line relates educational skills and attitudes to students' identities, ideologies

and (parental) cultural schemes, taking up a more socio-cultural approach (Marques-Balsa 1979, 1980; Bastenier et al. 1985; Rea et al. 1994; Mangez et al. 2002; Timmerman 1994, 1999, 2002). It is worth noting that, especially in FWB, such cultural interpretations of the relationship between ethnicity and school achievement are regularly criticized as they insufficiently consider the social and structural conditions in which culture is turned into a disadvantage or is perceived as such (Marques-Balsa 1979, 1980; Bastenier et al. 1985; Rea et al. 1994; Mangez et al. 2002). A second line of research applies a social psychological approach to examine the links between social identity building in intercultural or migratory contexts and attitudes towards schooling. Attention has been paid to how cultural values shape study motivations and representations of schooling (in VG: Phalet et al. 2004; Timmerman et al. 2016; in FWB: Campioli 1977; Manço 1994, 1998, 1999; Crutzen and Lucchini 2007; Torrekens and Adam 2015; Heine and Licata 2013; Verhoeven 2011a; Jacobs 2012; Devleeshouwer and Rea 2011; in Belgium: Phalet and Claeys 1993). Third, a stream of studies has placed ethnic minorities' identifications and attitudes towards school within its broader social and historical context. In the Flemish research context, a group of scholars (Hermans 2004; Van Praag et al. 2015a, b; D'hondt et al. 2015a, 2016; Çolak 2016; Piqueray et al. 2012) builds further upon the work of American scholars, such as Ogbu (1984) and Mickelson (1990), and tries to understand students' school attitudes, aspirations and study motivations within its structural context, focusing on (perceived) structural discrimination and treatment by dominant society. Anthropologists in the FWB have renewed the cultural tradition but depart from social exclusion and postcolonial theories in order to examine how structural positions and migration history shape minority groups' identifications and attitudes towards the host society and school (Jamoulle and Mazzocchetti 2011; Franssen and Mazzocchetti 2012; Mazzocchetti 2011, 2012; Gregoire and Mazzocchetti 2013; Kawaya Meya and Mazzocchetti 2014).

Ideologies, Cultural Schemes and Identities

Ideologies, cultural schemes and identities (within its context) are studied to unravel mechanisms that contribute to ethnic inequalities in education. Educational skills and attitudes are seen as the result of students' or parents/family's particular cultural schemes and relate this to their country of origin. Already since the eighties, qualitative studies in FWB influenced by anthropology or by Bourdieu's work on habitus and cultural capital have focused on

the migrants' degrees of familiarity to schooling, and the cultural definitions of childhood and motherhood. For instance, Marques-Balsa (1979, 1980) found that school success was related to migrant parents' degree of familiarity to schooling codes. Later, in a study on nursery schooling, Bastenier et al. (1985) showed that the representations of the child, cultural definitions of the mother's role in early childhood education, and the cultural distance/proximity between migrant family dispositions and school expectations, led to lower nursery school attendance rates amongst ethnic minority groups. Later ethnosociological studies replaced the cultural interpretation in a broader sociological context. For instance, Rea et al. (1994), as observing migrant families attitudes towards schooling insisted on the role of school institution and professionals itself. Other studies considered migrant families' (conflicting or accommodating) attitudes towards school norms or professionals as being part of general features of culturally disadvantaged families (Mangez et al. 2002). Similarly, in VG, attention was given to families' interpretations of schooling, its value and family roles. However, these schemes were more often framed into nationalist and/or religious ideologies and identities. The research of Timmerman (1994, 1999) compared Turkish girls in Belgium and Turkey and related education to existing Turkish nationalist ideologies and ethnic identity, and finds that the ethnic composition of schools is decisive for the successful adaptation and orientation to Belgian society (Timmerman 1999). Furthermore, the orientation towards Turkey or Belgium is reflected in the parental school choice: children in schools with a higher percentage of students of Turkish descent more often have parents that are oriented towards Turkey, while parents with children in high status schools are more directed towards the Belgian society and invest in the education of their daughters (Timmerman 1994). The girls' vision on education in Belgium was found to be related to the (Turkish) nationalist orientation they have at home: while the secular-nationalist orientation or the Kemalist vision relates education to the participation of Turkish girls in Western society, the religious-nationalistic orientation sees the role of girls located in the family. Education is seen as a more important status marker for girls than for boys, as the latter already enjoy more social status in their community. By contrast, those who have a more religious-nationalist vision, obtain more social status through their opposition with the Western society (Timmerman 1999, 2002). Thus, while in FWB, studies rather focused on the definitions of childhood and motherhood and the role of schools, in VG, less studies have been carried out on this topic. Only the work of Timmerman (1994, 1999, 2002) framed and understood these cultural schemes and representations of family roles as well as the importance of schooling from larger nationalist/religious ideologies and orientations.

Motivations and Attitudes Towards Schooling

A second line of mainly social psychological research focuses on cultural differences in motivation to succeed in school and attitudes towards schooling. This research line explores the links between social identity building in intercultural or migratory contexts and attitude towards schooling. When activities are perceived to be instrumental to achieve valued future outcomes, such as schooling, individuals are more motivated to succeed and participate in those activities, if not, it causes a resistance to schooling (Phalet et al. 2004). This research line will study more in-depth how this applies to the situation of migrants and the prevailing discourses or dominant cultural schemes in Belgian society.

In a pioneer study of Campioli (1977) in FWB, educational success of students of Italian descent in higher education was attributed to the level of collectivity and the focus on 'upwards mobility project' of the families they live in. Similarly, Phalet (1992) found that Turkish migrants in Antwerp and Limburg are in between the less achievement-oriented and more collectivistic values at home in contrast to more individualistic and achievement-oriented Western individuals. Turkish migrant students want to achieve *and* be loyal to their migrant group which sometimes led to a negative dilemma: while succeeding in school will be perceived as 'Belgian' and a loss for the Turkish family, educational underachievement will disappoint the family as well. In a subsequent study, Phalet and Claeys (1993) find that Turkish migrant students, compared to Belgian students, adopt the prevailing Belgian culture as their self-realization is determined by the knowledge, skills, and preferences they have from the dominant culture. The influence of the orientation towards society was also found to relate to family attitudes of migrants towards schooling in a study of Manço (1994). Later, he constructed a typology of identity strategies in multicultural contexts (1998, 1999), based on two dimensions: an "assimilation-differentiation" axis that considers the migrants' privileged cultural orientation towards host or origin culture, and an "individuation-conformation" axis, that ranges from a reflexive/individualist towards a collective, conforming identity orientation. Based on these axes, he identified four identity strategies: 'conforming assimilation', 'conforming differentiation', 'individualizing assimilation' and 'individualizing differentiation'. In this study, individualizing strategies are viewed as more complex as they suppose an ability to deal with cultural diversity in a creative way, and are associated to educational and socio-professional integration. Crutzen and Lucchini (2007) objected that the correlation between identity variables and integration pro-

cesses can hardly be empirically demonstrated and is probably bidirectional. Nevertheless, Timmerman et al. (2016) found that, using multilevel analysis, familiarity with the dominant culture is an important factor to succeed in school. Congruence between the school, the family, the community and the peer groups increases the chances that students do not have an interrupted school career. This 'congruence' should be interpreted in terms of being congruent with the dominant school culture, which often equals with 'having no immigrant background'.

Because of the importance of culture, in this line of research, special attention has been given to gender differences across cultures and how gender interferes in the relationship between ethnicity and education (Timmerman et al. 2016; Torrekens and Adam 2015; Heine and Licata 2013). For example, Heine and Licata (2013) observed that, in most migrant groups, girls tend to be more integrated and more successful than boys in school, although they still choose less prestigious educational careers. The authors argue that this suggests that family socialization processes differ across gender. Cultural expectations towards girls – as agents of cultural and family transmission – might be even more stressed in migration contexts, as home culture and traditions are more likely perceived as threatened (Heine and Licata 2013).[1]

Finally, sociological approaches complement this research line, focusing on the *educational contexts* in which ethnic minority students construct their cultural identity and attitudes to schooling. Through observations in contrasting multicultural schools in Brussels and Birmingham, Verhoeven (2000, 2005, 2006) examined the influence of school characteristics (especially school position within the quasi-market) on identity building strategies. She found that both ethnic-based identity closure and feelings of shame or rejection of inherited minority identities are more frequently observed in lower status and socially segregated schools, whereas identities developing intercultural skills are more often found in schools with better academic and cultural resources. Specific organizational identities of single schools can also promote diverging ("assimilationist" or "open to plurality") representations of legitimate culture at school, which can also influence students' identity strategies. Later, Verhoeven (2011a) examined how social and institutional divisions of the educational system translate into cognitive schemes of interpreting and experiencing school reality. Applying a similar ethnographic approach in secondary schools in Brussels and Johannesburg, Jacobs (2012) showed that

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[1] However, these authors will especially explain these contrasting attainments and attitudes towards schooling by discrimination and "Pygmalion" effect, and not only to "cultural stereotypes" (this will be developed in the "racism and discrimination" tradition).

adolescents build "intermezzo" identifications using multiple (global, national and local) cultural significations through intensive and reflexive "sense-making" processes. In doing so, he found that the school culture and position within the educational quasi-market impact students' attitudes towards ethnicity and school norms, identifications and sociability. Devleeshouwer and Rea (2011) analyzed students, parents and teachers' representations of the schooling system and of its divisions, focusing on the cognitive categories they use while describing and establishing classifications between schools. They showed that ethnic minority students, teachers and parents tend to give more importance to well-being and quality interpersonal relations (especially in lower status school, in which they are overrepresented); they also tend to avoid "homogeneous white middle class" schools, anticipating the risk of being stigmatized. Examining the schooling experience of young people from postcolonial migrant backgrounds, Verhoeven (2011b) showed the existence of contrasting "schooling careers" (defined in an interactionist perspective) embedded in highly differentiated schooling contexts. Specific trajectories ("confined or ghettoized"; "mobile and unstable" or "upward mobility") are indeed associated to specific challenges related to unequal access to legitimate educational capital, to cultural recognition (or despise) and to "empowerment", which influence the identity building process.

Finally, due to the arrival of new migration flows and asylum agenda, a number of (national and European) policy oriented studies were conducted on newcomers in FWB, pointing to the negative psychosocial consequences of exile and culture shock and the need to reinforce pedagogical intercultural approaches or intercultural communication between the family and the school (Born et al. 2006; Manço et al. 2006; Manço and Vatz Laaroussi 2003; Manço and Vaes Harou 2009; Stokkink and Verdonck 2011).

Overall, these numerous studies clearly indicate the existence of cultural differences in motivation to succeed in school and in attitudes towards schooling, and how this is embedded in a larger migration and integration context. For ethnic minority students, there seem to be some hindrances that cause them to achieve lower compared to their peers of Belgian descent, which are related to cultural differences across families and the family orientation towards (the prevailing culture in) Belgian society. However, "culture" does not influence schooling in a unidirectional way; in turn, dispositions, cognitions and identities result from a complex process depending on contextual and structural factors (structural divisions within the system, school organizational identities or segregated schooling trajectories). This last point seems to be more visible in the FWB tradition.

History, Constraints and Opportunities

Although the previous studies demonstrated the importance of ethnic identities and ideologies, and cultural values, for students' willingness and motivation to put an effort in school, this does not mean that 'being willing and able' is sufficient to actually succeed in school. Hence, a third group of studies examines how school attitudes and study motivations of students are shaped by the constraints students and their families encounter and future perspectives they perceive. This group of studies often builds upon an American research tradition, which consists of studies and theories that depart from Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory (1984) and Mickelson's attitude-achievement paradox (1990). These studies start from the assumption that Ogbu's (1984) 'voluntary' migrants (including autonomous, voluntary or immigrant, refugees, migrant or guest workers, undocumented workers) in Belgium have similar characteristics to Ogbu's 'involuntary' (including bi-nationals, involuntary or nonimmigrant minorities) immigrants in the United States. For instance, Hermans (2004) argues that hindering community forces (e.g., discrimination) for educational achievement of immigrants in Belgium are similar to those of minorities Ogbu calls 'involuntary'. Ogbu hypothesizes that voluntary migrants compare themselves with the situation in the country of origin, but in Belgium, Moroccans compare themselves with Belgians. The relationship with the dominant society is seen as a conflict and this is related to issues of identity, culture, language, and perceived ability to perform in school. Moroccan students experience more often situations in which their culture is presented as inferior. The author suggest that structural positions and collective history in the immigration country lead to different motivations for studying in school which may explain why voluntarily migrated Moroccans have more negative educational outcomes compared to what one would expect based on Ogbu's theory. Similar findings were found in the study of Van Praag et al. (2015a), in which the frames of references of students of Turkish, North African and Eastern European descent did not fully correspond to the situation described by Ogbu. Rather, findings based on ethnographic observations and interviews with students of the fifth year of secondary education suggest that the generational status of immigrants, the experienced collective problems, the structural characteristics of the immigrant networks, and related access to resources, shape students' use of particular reference groups.

Building further upon Ogbu's theory (1987) and further developments of his work, considerable attention has been paid to the so-called 'attitude-achievement' paradox (Mickelson 1990) between high educational expectations of parents

(Hermans 2004) or high educational aspirations of students of immigrant descent themselves (Van Praag et al. 2015b; D'hondt et al. 2015a, 2016) and their relatively low educational outcomes. The 'attitude-achievement' paradox is often explained by the fact that initial positive attitudes towards education become ambivalent as a result of experiences with racism and discrimination, which is often the case for students of immigrant descent. This was emphasized by Phalet et al. (2004) who find that positive school instrumentality and internal regulation is necessary to accomplish intrinsic motivation and adaptive learning in multicultural classrooms and, subsequently, to achieve educational success. They later specified this and their study indicates that only if migrant students perceive positive instrumentality and their schoolwork is internally regulated by future goals, they will pursue educational success. Nevertheless, we have to note that, ethnic minority attitudes towards school have to be specified carefully as they are not such a good predictor of their actual achievement results. This was for instance suggested by the work of D'hondt et al. (2015a, 2016) who find only for ethnic majority students a relationship between their concrete attitudes towards school and achievement result at the end of the year. As shown by Van Praag et al. (2015b), the interpretation of educational success, the perceived barriers to success and ways of dealing with perceived constraints differs across ethnic groups, which could affect research outcomes significantly. Minority children seem to have figured out distinct defensive coping strategies to circumvent those barriers, which affect their educational outcomes. The choices students made in order to deal with perceptions and experiences of discrimination should be understood within the local immigrant networks in which they live and also depend on the (perceived) nature of discrimination.

These studies already demonstrated the importance of understanding students' ideas concerning the constraints they perceive and how they interpret 'being successful' for ethnic minority students' educational outcomes. Similarly, there is some variation in the ethnic minority parents' aspirations for their children as we can see in studies that examined parents of Turkish descent in a school that was funded by a Turkish-Belgian federation, and inspired by the Hizmet movement (Çolak 2016) and parents of Chinese descent who send their children to a Chinese school (Piqueray et al. 2012). While the Turkish-Belgian parents formulated their aspirations rather in general terms, such as 'being a good human, doing good deeds, doing no harm and contributing positively to society', and not in terms of education or future professions (Çolak 2016), Chinese parents were found to have even higher expectations of their children's educational achievements, exactly to counter the effects of perceived discrimination on the labor market they have to deal with (Piqueray et al. 2012). These parental expectations could

affect the ways students try to circumvent the barriers they perceive to achieve success in school and later life, and how it is translated into the effort they put in school.

In the FWB, this third line is represented by anthropologists (Jamoulle and Mazzocchetti 2011; Franssen and Mazzocchetti 2012; Mazzocchetti 2011, 2012; Gregoire and Mazzocchetti 2013; Kawaya Meya and Mazzocchetti 2014) who considerably expanded and renewed the cultural tradition. Although these studies do not explicitly refer to Ogbu's theory, they rely on social exclusion and postcolonial theories to examine how structural positions and migration history shape minority groups' identifications and attitude towards the host society and school. Based on an ethnographic field study regarding the experiences of adolescents from migrant backgrounds (especially from Morocco, Turkey and several Sub-Saharan African countries) living in deprived areas of Brussels, Jamoulle and Mazzocchetti (2011) account for the "ethnicization" of living spaces and youth sociability, in school and urban spaces. According to them, collective ethnic and territorial identifications, based on honor, courage and masculinity, play a crucial role in terms of interpersonal protection and solidarity and might be a source of positive identity building. Claiming ethnic (as well as territorial or religious) identifications can be interpreted as possible strategies of resistance to social exclusion – that in urban areas especially affect populations with a migrant background – as well as a reaction to the lack of social recognition (Mazzocchetti 2011, 2012). This situation is likely to have negative repercussions on schooling. Mazzocchetti (2012) shows that both their exclusion from neighborhoods, schools, jobs and other social areas and the symbolic, moral and physical violence they experience are interpreted in terms of injustice and conspiracy. Such interpretations give meaning to the past and discriminatory experiences – especially within institutions. Furthermore, these processes of meaning giving create mistrust and add to a spiral of failure. She adds that by trying to understand and give meaning to the past and everyday experiences, these ideas create profound difficulties to imagine a "common symbolic world". Applying a historical and anthropological perspective, researchers in this field focus mainly on youth of Sub-Saharan descent in Belgium. Ethnic mobilization as well as ethnic grouping ("gangs") can be considered as different types of "recognition struggle" in the Belgian post-colonial context; and identifications to the "black condition" or to racial identity markers can be interpreted as forms of responses to racial exo-categorization and to (post)-colonial "alterisation" (i.e., the symbolic construction as "Black other") (Gregoire and Mazzocchetti 2013). Furthermore, they also consider the difficulties in intergenerational cultural transmission – as parental authority is

culturally discredited – in migratory situations and their negative impact of schooling (Kawaya Meya and Mazzocchetti 2014).

In sum, anthropological, social psychological and sociological perspectives can be found in the 'cultural and educational outcomes' tradition that focuses on cultural differences. Each of these perspectives studied respectively three distinct aspects that could affect the relationship between students' attitudes toward school and their final educational outcomes. A first group of studies focuses on cultural factors that shape the development of positive school attitudes, both lines of research focused on cultural ideas concerning particular topics. Whereas research in VG mainly focused on the representations and interpretations of schooling, in FWB, scholars have studied family and child representations and expand their studies to the differences in perceived (shared) responsibilities of education in general. The second group of studies starts from a social psychological approach and focuses on how attitudes vary across cultures and are related to educational outcomes. By bringing in cultural differences, they come to scrutinize the orientation towards the Belgian society as well as the cultural differences across boys and girls. We can conclude that similar ideas seem to have developed in both research contexts. A third group examines the ways in which perceived constraints shape, connect or make the relationship between attitudes and educational outcomes irrelevant – relating this to its broader societal context and migration history. Scholars in the Flemish context sometimes easily apply and adapt theories developed to explain ethnic and racial inequalities in education in the United States that considered colonialism and slavery, they do not really include the colonial past of Belgium. By contrast, especially scholars in the FWB make more explicit use of the Belgian colonial past and demonstrate how this still continues to matter in current society and education. As this third line of research has expanded over the last years and has surpassed methodological boundaries, more specific research questions were formulated that, in the end, is categorized in the 'Racism and racial discrimination in school tradition'.

Language Proficiency Tradition

When Belgium became an independent state in 1832, French was the dominant institutional language in Belgium. However, it was only since 1962 that – due industrialization processes that led to cultural/political movements of the newly created Flemish middle class – Dutch was recognized as an official language and that a specific language (French, Dutch, bilingual or German) was attached to geographical regions. However, language issues

remain a sensitive issue in Belgium and should be understood as part of a social conflict between two communities with different historical backgrounds in their relations to the State and in their mutual majority/minority identifications and labeling (McAndrew and Janssens 2004; McAndrew and Verlot 2004). Understanding this peculiar language sensitivity is necessary when studying the impact and rationale behind language policies (in education) for immigrants and their children. In both communities, the language proficiency tradition is in a close connection with language policies, which have changed through time sometimes, in similar fashion, following integration policies transformations (Martiniello and Manço 1993; Martiniello 1998; Verhoeven 2003).

In a very first stage, characterized by the predominance of an immigration "exclusion model" in which migrants were seen as a temporary workforce, language policies basically consisted in promoting home language literacy programs in order to facilitate home return (e.g., by the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1977). These policies wanted to avoid problems when migrant children would return to their country of origin. When it became clear that migrants did not return to their country of origin, policy-makers questioned the usefulness of mother tongue education. Hence, in a second stage, and until the late eighties, more attention was paid to language proficiency in the official languages of each community. Integration policies in FWB moved forward to a more "assimilationist" view, which aimed to compensate for socio-economic disadvantage. In VG, exploratory initiatives departed from the 'linguistic interdependence hypothesis' (Cummins 1979), that argued that students with another mother tongue would acquire better Dutch if their linguistic skills in their mother tongue are also developed. Hence, studies focused on the evaluation of 'mother tongue' projects (e.g., the Foyer project (Leman 1997) and the EEC pilot experiment (Jaspaert et al. 1989)). Research results from the Foyer project show the importance of additive mother tongue education and the involvement of parents with school. These evaluation studies indicate that the success of mother tongue education relies upon the status associated with this kind of education, effective school management and adequate guidance (Leman 1997, 1999). While these initiatives in Flanders were still carried out in the idea that they would improve Dutch language proficiency, in FWB, in some areas, a "soft multiculturalism" (Adam 2011; Martiniello and Manço 1993) was implemented under the influence of European policy recommendations – leading to some small scale initiatives promoting cultural and language diversity in some pilot multicultural schools. Despite the change in policies towards a more soft multiculturalist view in the eighties (Adam 2011; Martiniello and Manço 1993), it is

only since the nineties that in FWB attention was paid to the respect and promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity in schooling, and the specificities of the acquisition of the language used at school for migrant students. While in FWB more attention was paid to cultural and linguistic diversity, in VG, the focus to acquire languages shifted increasingly to learning the dominant language to function and be socially mobile in Belgian society (Blommaert et al. 2006). Thus, in Flanders, the use of mother tongue education was first encouraged but later perceived as a barrier to social integration (Jaspaert 2006; Heyerick 1985; Van Praag et al. 2016). Building further on the importance of language for social integration, the language acquisition of migrant children is perceived to depend on their opportunities for contact with Dutch-speaking children in school (i.e., going to ethnically mixed schools) (Heyerick 1985; Van Avermaet et al. 2010). Concerning academic research, similar tendencies are found in both communities, departing from the study of mother tongue initiatives going to the meaning and importance of the specific (types of) languages in the social (school) context and for integration processes of ethnic minorities in Belgian society.

In VG, initially, many studies in the 'language proficiency' tradition adopted a sociolinguistic and anthropological approach. The focus of this tradition is the question whether education in the mother language facilitates the learning of other languages and educational progress more generally (Hermans 2002). Although language is a part of culture, this research tradition initially focused on language proficiency, or on the ability to speak or perform in an acquired language. These factors are seen as additional factors that may explain ethnic inequalities in education, apart from students' ethnicity and socioeconomic background. Over the last years, language in a school context is increasingly studied from a more cultural perspective, which is also in line with the 'Culture and Educational Outcomes' tradition (Van Praag et al. 2016; Jalhay and Clycq 2012; Pulinx et al. 2012). Scholars increasingly examined the role language plays in acculturation processes in dominant society and how this affects student-teacher relations. Scholars focus on how teachers and ethnic minority students have different ideas and expectancies regarding the concept 'integration', and especially how language fits in. For instance, in the study of Van Praag and colleagues (2016), ethnic minority students more often perceive language as a part of their cultural identity, compared to their (ethnic majority) teachers who emphasize the role of Dutch proficiency and prohibit the use of their mother tongue, which gives rise to tensions between students and teachers. Similarly, in a study of Jalhay and Clycq (2012), teachers and principals see Dutch language proficiency as a crucial factor for the school success/failure of students of immigrant descent. In the same research

project, Pulinx et al. (2012), find that teachers that attach more importance to monolingual ideas have less confidence in their students. These teachers are more likely to teach in schools with 'balanced' proportions of ethnic minority and majority groups. Finally, minority students often felt that they were treated differently than their peers who spoke the instruction language more fluently ('linguicism'). Recently, some studies in this tradition focus on the organization of extra-curricular community schools for Polish (Piqueray et al. 2012, 2016) and Chinese (Braeye and Hermans 2011; Piqueray et al. 2012) children, which are organized to teach children the language and culture of their country of origin. These studies show the importance of teaching children about their cultural heritage for the development of their ethnic identity, and their pride and self-esteem (Piqueray et al. 2012; Braeye et al. 2012). Besides this, these community schools are found to provide parents with more information about the educational system and help them during educational choice-making processes. In the end, this supports their children's school careers (Piqueray et al. 2012, 2016).

In FWB, scholars first mainly focused on multilingual policies for immigrant children from an assimilationist perspective, and later shifted their attention to the study of the schooling language for newcomers, teachers' appropriate didactical strategies to enhance the language school norm and how language shapes social representations of immigrant children. The first group of studies depart from the Decree of the French-speaking Community (1997 Décret "Missions") that defined a new general framework and "priority missions" for education, promoting pluralism and openness for other cultures. Accordingly, a 'Openness to languages and cultures' (LCO) program was initiated, giving institutional support to the organization of courses in some key home languages in (volunteer) multicultural schools, as well as to local initiatives and projects regarding cultural and linguistic diversity in schools. These kinds of programs rely on research development showing that literacy in the mother tongue is a key factor to the acquisition of a "second language" as for the "language of schooling" (Marques Balsa 1980; Crutzen and Lucchini 2007), in order to strengthen the dominant position of the host language (Lucchini and El Karouni 2006). Nowadays, some researchers (Crutzen and Manço 2003; Manço 2006; Lucchini 2007) defend programs, such as the LCO program, considering the recognition of origin cultures and languages as a positive factor for school achievement and integration of students with a minority language. Some of them (Crutzen and Manço 2003) sustain that enhancing the home language is a tool for symbolic recognition and a way to develop a positive identity and metalinguistic skills for minority students, to accompany them when developing "additive" forms of bilingualism.

Since the nineties, the specificities of the acquisition of 'schooling language' as a second language for migrant students regained attention in the FWB. For instance, in 2001, voluntary courses were organized for immigrant children to adapt to the teaching language and specific "bridging classes" (lately called 'Dispositif d'Accueil et de Scolarisation for Primo-Arrivants' – DASPA) were initiated for newcomers to make them more familiar with scholastic French, the school culture and norms, and facilitate their orientation to regular secondary education. A couple of exploratory surveys already studied the integration of newcomers in Belgian society (e.g., Collès and Maravelaki 2003, 2004; Manço and Alen 2012). They suggest that, due to the geographical situation and school position on the quasi-educational market, there is a problem of supply and accessibility to these courses of French as a foreign language (FLE) (see also Verhoeven et al. 2010). Furthermore, DASPA teachers lack proper training and coherent curricular and pedagogical proposals, and frequently underestimate migrants' linguistic and academic skills, due to negative stereotypic representations or to improper attribution to their "allophony" (i.e. the fact that they were raised in a foreign language context) (El Karouni and Lucchini 2014). In 2004, a mixed methods study in language didactics (Collès and Maravelaki 2003, 2004), on newcomers in "bridging classes", found that the literacy attainments of this population are very diverse, demonstrating the importance of sociocultural variables, such as maternal educational degree or years of schooling in the home country. Additionally, a significant body of research in applied sociolinguistic and didactics in multicultural contexts (e.g., Lucchini 2009; Lucchini et al. 2008; Romainville 2016) builds further on Cummins' (1979, 2000) distinction between "communication language" for everyday interactions and the more abstract and de-contextualized academic language. These studies depart from Cummins' findings that newcomers' schooling difficulties are mainly due to the lack of familiarity with the abstract codes of written academic language and move away from the common affirmation that teaching home languages will solve migrant students' schooling difficulties. Consequently, the key challenge for a newcomer is not being an "allophone" and having to learn a second language, but rather, becoming familiar with the abstract codes of school language (Lucchini 2009; Romainville 2016). From this perspective, bilingualism is not per se seen as a disadvantage; but could turn to be negative (or "subtractive") in certain circumstances when linguistic practices within the family or community spaces "mix" linguistic codes and languages (Lucchini 2002, 2005, 2009; Romainville 2016). Subsequently, 'appropriate didactical strategies' are mentioned as a crucial factor to realize school success (Niwese 2010; El Karouni and Lucchini 2014). In this respect, El Karouni (2010,

2012) demonstrates that teachers' didactical strategies accommodate to the local classroom context in terms of ethnic composition and to their representations of their students' identities and linguistic skills. She identified two contrasting strategies, both inadequate as they both are underpinned by stereotypic ethnic and linguistic representations of immigrant children. Therefore, scholars in this line of research recommend the adoption of "context responding" didactic strategies, in which the acquisition of the "language school norm" remains as a target. In a same vein, the relationship between language skills, integration policies and social representations is explored. Lucchini (2007, 2012), Lucchini et al. (2008) and Hambye and Romainville (2013, 2014) deconstruct preconceived ideas about migrants' language profile and the relationship between language skills and so-called "integration" into the immigrant society. These authors critically examine the dominant policy discourses, arguing that the knowledge of the host language plays a crucial role in social cohesion. Building further on previous research on Italian migrants socioeconomic and schooling integration in Belgium (Blaise 1989; Lucchini 2002), they state that it is the existence of social, political and economic conditions providing migrants an equal access to effective spaces of social interaction with the host society that allows them to develop their linguistic skills and to reach successful integration in society, instead of the other way round. Similarly, having equal access to high quality schools with a representative social and ethnic mix facilitates the acquisition of schooling language codes and norms. Indeed, the authors show that socially and ethnically mixed contexts decrease the risk to be put in situations that perpetuate "dilalic practices" (which are practices of mixing (foreign and host) languages and "codes" in a determinate situation) and to get teachers with low expectations or negative stereotypes.

To conclude, in the 'language proficiency' tradition, qualitative methods are used to examine particular educational policies concerning language. This research tradition focuses on the question whether mother language instruction facilitates the learning of other languages and leads to better educational outcomes. This tradition is very policy-oriented and more theory-oriented research (that focuses on secondary education) is necessary to confirm these theories and inspire future policies. The relationship between this research tradition and educational policies is not surprising for two reasons. First, language is an interesting tool for policy-makers because policies are more easily directed towards language than to other success determinants such as socioeconomic status. Second, language proficiency in the language of the immigrant society (i.e., Dutch or French) is of high interest for policy makers as it is frequently assumed that it would enhance the integration of immigrant

children in dominant society (automatically). Research findings do not necessarily underline this idea and mainly question the seemingly contradiction between Dutch language proficiency and the speaking of students' mother tongue, and have studied the added value of bilingualism and the acquisition of languages and schooling language.

School Effectiveness Tradition

Due to the free parental school choice, the geographic concentration of immigrant groups, the organization of the tracking system and school policies, schools became ethnically segregated and in general, both immigrant and non-immigrant parents prefer 'white schools' over 'black schools' (Desmedt and Nicaise 2006). As ethnically/socially mixed schools are believed to stimulate social integration and cohesion (Mahieu 2002), partly through the establishment of interethnic friendships (Van Praag et al. 2014), this idea inspired many researchers – next to strong qualitative research traditions abroad – to further develop this tradition. This tradition is more strongly developed in VG, compared to FWB.

Starting from educational sciences, a first group of studies in Flanders focus on effective schools for ethnic minority students. Based on large datasets, such as the LOSO (see PA tradition) and the Flemish Trends in International Mathematics and Science study of 1999 (TIMMS)[6], scholars (Van Damme et al. 2001; Van den Broeck et al. 2005) have studied school and classroom effects on students' achievement results. These studies found that class group characteristics, such as the presence of girls or a cognitive group (Van Damme et al. 2001), are more important for the achievements of students that speak another language at home. Additionally, the track composition is more important than the percentage of students who spoke another language at home (Opdenakker et al. 2002). The significance of class group effects on mathematic scores may be largely due to intake characteristics determined by intelligence and further strengthened by the tracking system (Van den Broeck et al. 2005). Subsequently, being enrolled in schools with a higher percentage of high socio-economic status students and a low number of immigrants relates to having higher test scores than in other schools (Jacobs et al. 2009). This could be due to the small number of immigrant students in the dataset and not considering intermediate processes (Agirdag 2009).

A second group of studies moves away from ability scores, which are quite controversial study outcomes in a Flemish context, due to the specific tracking system in secondary education and the lack of standardized tests. A large

group of studies are based on the large-scale quantitative survey, the 'Flemish Educational Assessment' (*Vlaams Leerlingen Onderzoek*, (VLO), FlEA), which focuses on the relationship between the students and their school environment. Based on this database, Van Houtte and Stevens (2009a) explore the composition of schools and interethnic friendships, social participation, and sense of belonging in school. Their results show that school ethnic composition is associated with interethnic friendships and social participation for ethnic majority students, but not for ethnic minority students, whereas socio-economic status is decisive for ethnic minority students' interethnic friendships. Ethnic minority students report more interethnic friendships than ethnic majority students. Neither ethnic minorities' nor ethnic majorities' sense of belonging in school is associated with ethnic composition. While this study mainly focused upon the importance of having a particular proportion of students with a certain socio-economic or immigrant background, in a later study from Demanet et al. (2016) attention has been paid to ethnic diversity in schools. Inspired by the findings of Van Praag et al. (2014) who found that ethnic minority students feel more at home and have a higher sense of belonging in the class group when there are 'at least some of the students in their classroom of immigrant descent', the relationship between ethnic diversity and ethnic congruence was examined. Demanet et al. (2016) found that higher ethnic diversity is associated with higher belonging, a higher number of friends and lower levels of school misconduct for ethnic minority students. Thus, these studies examined the effects of school ethnic composition and diversity on sense of belonging and interethnic friendships.

A second focus of studies based on the FlEA database, is on students' educational aspirations. Van Houtte and Stevens (2010) find that students in schools enrolling less than 20% students with an immigrant descent, are twice as likely to plan to finish high school and to plan for higher education than those attending schools with more than 50% students of immigrant descent. Furthermore, their results indicate a more optimistic culture in schools with high proportions of students of immigrant descent. Although positive effects on students' aspirations can be found in schools with a large share of students of immigrant descent, it also lowers the trust in parents. However, when the socio-economic school composition is included in the model, the ethnic school composition does not have an influence on the teachers' trust in students (Van Maele and Van Houtte 2009). Additionally, and as already mentioned by Van Houtte and Stevens (2010), aspirations and future plans do not necessarily correspond to actual drop-out rates and enrollment in higher education. This is tested in the study of Vandezande et al. (2009), based on the TIES data. They find that, in Antwerp and Brussels, ethnically segregated

schools decrease the odds of finishing schools and moving on to higher education for both immigrant and non-immigrant students. In ethnically segregated schools, there are fewer protective factors present, such as positive relationships with non-immigrant students and teachers. More immigrant students are present in lower-status tracks and these schools are more often segregated along ethnic lines. Due to this 'double cascade effect', the achievement gap between native and immigrant students increases. Thus, it seems that in schools with a large share of ethnic minority students, it may be more likely to have an optimistic school culture. Nevertheless, one should be cautious when being too optimistic when discussing the importance of an optimistic school culture for the development of students' aspirations as a way to close the achievement gap between ethnic minority and majority students as there are more effects that need to be considered that determine students' final educational outcomes (see CEO tradition).

Finally, school effects are found to have an impact on more outcomes that are less frequently discussed in this tradition, such as religious salience and language learning. For instance, a study of Van der Bracht et al. (2016), based on the RaDiSS dataset (Racism and Discrimination in Secondary Schools), found that in ethnic minority dominated schools, second generation migrants and Catholic ethnic Belgians are more religious while the opposite is the case for non-affiliated ethnic Belgians. In another study, Van den Branden and Van Avermaet (2001) investigate school effects from a sociolinguist perspective and argue that heterogeneity in the classroom could be beneficial in terms of language learning and other skills. Students with high and low language proficiencies could help each other making tasks together. Students with a higher language proficiency benefit from learning to explain things to their peers, while students with a lower language proficiency could learn from being taught (partially) in their own language. Leman (1999) points out that language is a visible characteristic of the ethnic composition of a school and is used as a tool by the school management. By prohibiting languages from ethnic and racial minorities, more non-immigrants students can be attracted because of the more 'white' outlook of the school.

As far as FWB is concerned, this research tradition seems relatively underdeveloped – at least as far as school effectiveness' impact on ethnic minority students is concerned. Dumay and Dupriez (2009) approached the school effectiveness tradition to understand and explain students' attainments variations according to their learning environment through Belgian and international contributions. In doing so, they aimed to define and identify effectiveness of school, classroom and teachers effects and approached compositional effects from a methodological point of view. They stress the importance of "indexi-

cal" or differential effects, stating that a similar practice will produce different effects according to local schools characteristics. In the same book, Monseur and Lafontaine (2009) demonstrate, based on PISA comparative data, that educational systems can be both efficient and equitable and even that, in many cases, the most equitable systems are also the most efficient ones. They then show how, in FWB, some structural characteristics of the educational system, such as the organization as a quasi-market, early tracking, and grade retention policies, conduce to an significant academic, ethnic and social dispersion between schools. These findings demonstrate that the structural organization of education in FWB contributes to disparities between schools, in the end particularly affecting the attainment of vulnerable groups (see also Lafontaine 2003; Jacobs et al. 2009; Jacobs 2012). Making use of the PISA data, Jacobs et al. (2009) and Jacobs (2012) recall that "differentiated systems", namely systems with early tracking, tend to reproduce social inequalities, whereas systems based on an more common and "individualized integration" appear to be more equitable with regard to the inclusion of migrant students. Jacobs (2012) also insists that in FWB, school composition effects have a higher impact than individual variables, as composition effects denote the social, ethnic and academic segregation of the system. This was also confirmed by Danhier and Martin (2014), who, based on the PISA 2012 data, compare Flanders and Wallonia. Their results suggest that individual factors (such as socio-economic characteristics, ethnic background and language spoken at home) remain relevant when explaining attainment gaps, however, this is barely the case for ethnic achievement gaps. Their analyses find that – particularly the academic and socio-economic – school composition have significant additional effects on student achievement, which could explain the achievement differences between the French-speaking and the Dutch-speaking community schools. Nevertheless, these authors remark that it is methodologically challenging to differentiate between the specific effects of academic, social and ethnic composition, due to a strong correlation between these variables.

To summarize, with respect to ethnic and racial inequality in education, the 'school effectiveness' tradition examined the impact of the school ethnic composition based on quantitative datasets. The school ethnic composition influences friendships and interactions between children from a different ethnic background during their courses. Most studies that focus on school effects are situated in Flanders and tested whether school ethnic composition has an influence on the non-immigrant and immigrant students in school. These studies, sometimes framed on sociological theories of in-out group relations, are inspired by public debates on and an interest of social policy-makers in the

consequences of ethnic segregation in schools; schools are perceived as the ideal institution to help integrate immigrants in society. To realize this, schools are expected to reflect the social and ethnic mix in society and this vision influences parental school choice. Especially this last point is also stressed by researchers focusing on FWB.

Racism and Racial Discrimination in School Tradition

In both Flanders and Wallonia, recently, there has been a growth in the number of studies that focus on racism and racial discrimination. A first line of research focuses on the prevalence and experiences of discrimination, while a second line of research studies the construction of such perceptions and justifications of differential treatment in the school context more in-depth. Finally, some studies, mainly in FWB, have theorized about the importance of ethnic stigma to explain part of the ethnic achievement gap.

A first group of studies has studied the prevalence of perceived discrimination, making use of quantitative datasets, based on the TIES project (Vandezande et al. 2009) and the RaDiSS (Racism and Discrimination in Secondary Schools) dataset (D'hondt et al. 2015a, b, 2016), combined with ethnographic research (Stevens 2008a, b, 2010). Ethnic minority students seem to have little experience with teacher racism (Stevens 2010) or experience rather incidental experiences of racism and more in relationship to the labor market than at school (Vandezande et al. 2009). Young men of Moroccan and Turkish descent feel more discriminated against during their school career compared to women from the same minority groups (Vandezande et al. 2009). Despite the rather incidental nature of racism experienced by ethnic minority students at school, the studies of D'hondt et al. (2015a, 2016) suggest that perceived discrimination and expectations of being discriminated against, ethnic stereotyping and victimization in all aspects of ethnic minority students lives matter for the development of aspirations and attitudes toward school. Furthermore, victimization – and especially ethnic victimization – had a negative influence on ethnic minority students' sense of school belonging, regardless whether this victimization was endorsed by teachers of by peers (D'hondt et al. 2015b). Finally, students that are more often stigmatized by their teachers (i.e., students of immigrant descent and/or enrolled in vocational tracks) have a higher vulnerability for stereotype threats, resulting in higher rates of early school leaving, low study motivation, psychological disengagement, negative teacher feedback and a lack of identification in education (Nouwen and Clycq 2016).

Interestingly, when looking at research conducted in FWB, researchers in sociolinguistic and didactics connected language and discrimination explicitly together. These scholars demonstrate the existence of negative stereotypes on migrant students as "allophones" (Lucchini 2009; Lucchini and El Karouni 2006), leading teachers to attribute these students' learning difficulties to their migrant identity. Such an erroneous ethnic attribution of students skills might lead to inadequate pedagogical and didactical strategies. In a complementary perspective, through qualitative research on teachers' and students' representations, Lucchini (2012) also documents the existence of (objective or perceived) direct and indirect mechanisms of discrimination towards migrant students. These students regularly relate situations in which they have been/felt to be discriminated according to visible ethnic markers, or regularly face discourses excluding them from the category of "native Belgian". Often categorized as "non-(real) French-speakers", they have difficulty to identify as a legitimate member of the host society or of a common linguistic community. Such linguistic stereotyping processes may also lead to a strong and affective identification to the ethnic community and to language use.

In a second body of literature, factors shaping perceptions of racism and unequal treatment in secondary schools are explored. In VG, mainly a symbolic interactionist perspective was applied. Stevens (2008a) finds that Turkish and Belgian vocational education students change their perception of racism according to their interactions in a particular social context. Students define teacher racism as a variety of different teacher attitudes and behaviors that express a less favorable opinion of ethnic-minority pupils or result in less favorable outcomes for such students. In addition, teachers devise particular strategies to avoid being perceived a racist. Despite being labeled as a 'racist teacher', teachers can still be perceived as 'good teachers' if they are able to fulfill their role as a teacher. Moreover, in Stevens's (2008b) research, students have elaborated views on who is considered to be a legitimate recipient of differential treatment from teachers. Nevertheless, conflicts among students or between students and teachers can emerge over the legitimate nature of these statuses and the kind of treatment meted out to pupils in the process of status recovery. Such conflicts can in turn explain to some extent the observed variability between pupils in making claims of teacher racism or discrimination. Finally, one should not only focus on what students experience as legitimate when it concerns differential teacher treatment, the perceptions of teacher racism by students also depend on teachers' attitudes and social acts (Stevens 2010). Similar negotiations were found in a study of Clycq et al. (2014, 2016), which shows that success and failure are often ascribed to individualistic features, such as effort, merit and competence, and do not include stu-

dents' background or living environment. As a consequence, students that do not have the same background features as the dominant group are often blamed and victimized for their failure in schools, stressing the so-called meritocratic ideals of society and the school system.

Similar topics were studied in FWB, but more from a social psychologist perspective making use of quantitative research methods. Scholars have focused upon the ways identity building and identity threats affect attitudes towards schooling for students of immigrant descent. In their survey, Heine and Licata (2013) explore the consequences of perceived discrimination on identities. The authors show that, in intercultural schooling contexts, migrant students attainments are affected by the fear or feeling to be evaluated through negative stereotypes. Interestingly, the effect of discrimination on membership is mediated by gender: for boys, a high perceived discrimination is clearly associated with identification to the ethnic group, whereas there was no significant effect found for girls. The authors explain this through culturally differentiated gender patterns in Turkish and Moroccan contexts. Boys are more expected to play a role in the public sphere. Experiencing discrimination at school will be perceived as an identity "threat" and therefore, they will be more likely to search for comfort and security, at identity and emotional level, within the group of origin. In another paper, Heine and Licata (2015) analyze the effect of lack of cultural "recognition" that students from migrant background suffer during their identity building. They distinguish between interpersonal and systemic recognition issues: on the one hand, students report a pedagogical lacks of recognition by teachers; on the other hand, ethnic segregation and inequalities (e.g., minorities' overrepresentation in lower tracks and schools) are interpreted as an institutional lack of recognition, resulting in two distinct identification patterns towards the ethnic minority group and the host society.

Finally, in the FWB, probably due to the predominant focus on socioeconomic factors and to the low saliency of "ethnic and racial" dimensions of social relations, this research tradition has been astonishingly weak. However, Ouali and Rea (1994, 1995) in pioneer research on the schooling of pupils of foreign origin have shown that, although the most important part of the attainment gap between native and migrant background students can be explained by socioeconomic factors, the national origin is not totally ineffective due to teachers' discriminatory attitudes towards ethnic minority students. The authors suggest that ethnic stigmatization in orientation in secondary education could explain the contrasting orientation patterns between migrant and native pupils. Rea (2002) confirms the discriminatory effects of ethnic stigma and insisted on institutional discrimination. Later, Jacobs and Rea (2007) show that subjective identifications to ethnic /majority groups or perceptions of racism and discrimi-

nation vary according to the schooling tracks. Their study suggests the existence of "separate Brussels' youths" regarding both socioeconomic and ethnicity criteria. Building upon several studies on educational inequalities in FWB, Verhoeven (2011a) makes an attempt to conceptualize systemic and institutional discrimination patterns in education, examining how educational systems organize ethno-cultural differences at macro, meso and local levels, and how these processes systematically contribute to segregation and inequality reproduction patterns. Apart from these studies, no other sociological researcher focused on ethnic and/or racial dimensions of discrimination and on their potential impact in schooling orientation. Rather, this has mainly been approached through "social class" and cultural capital lens in a "Bourdieusian" perspective.

In sum, the 'racism and racial discrimination in school' tradition has – although still limited – grown over the last decade in both research communities. From these studies we can learn that, regardless the fact that students encounter discrimination, in indirect and direct ways, rather incidentally, discrimination plays a crucial role in the lives of ethnic minority students, which affects their school career substantially. First of all, due to the unexpected and arbitrary nature of discriminatory remarks and/or actions, the (perceived) existence of discrimination in society and higher vulnerability for stereotype threats should be considered as a general stressor in ethnic minority students' lives. Despite the rather incidental nature of discriminatory remarks young people seem to encounter, the prevalence of discriminatory incidents in ethnic minority students' networks strengthen these ideas and fears and therefore, its effect should not be underestimated. Second, these effects are strengthened by the ethnic victimization ethnic minority students encounter in school during crucial phases in their personal development and their school career. The importance of being comforted by peers who experience similar experiences, as a way to deal with such stressors, should be emphasized here. These findings clearly indicate the importance of perceived discrimination in students' lives and school career. Furthermore, these findings show that perception of racism and unequal treatment in secondary schools is very difficult to measure as it is found to be constantly negotiated by school actors and dependent on the school context. This can for instance be demonstrated by the ways the relationship between language and discrimination has been dealt with in VG and FWB.

Conclusions and Discussion

In reviewing research on race and ethnic inequalities in Belgium, we could identify five main research traditions: (1) the 'political arithmetic' tradition, (2) the 'cultural and educational outcomes' tradition, (3) the 'language proficiency'

tradition, (4) the 'school effectiveness research' tradition and (5) the 'racism and racial discrimination in school' tradition. This review chapter on Belgium is unique as it is the first that combines an extensive overview of the research carried out on the Dutch- and French-speaking educational systems. The availability of two (almost) similar, comparable educational systems offers a unique starting point to understand processes that result in ethnic inequalities in education.

Although not so many studies made concrete comparisons between both educational systems (in the same study), it is interesting to note the distinct discourses that prevail within each community on ethnicity and education and are reflected in school practices and policies. A first, clearly visible finding is that research traditions in both communities in Belgium highly reflect the broader societal tendencies and are related to from the prevailing social/educational policies. Obviously, the lack of research in a particular research area can be related to the fact that VG and FWB are relative small research areas, but some diverging trends should be understood within the larger societal and political context of each region. For example, it is not surprising that the 'Language proficiency tradition' is mainly approached from a sociolinguistic perspective in VG and from a multiculturalist perspective in FWB. This could be related to the distinct emphasis placed on language in regional policies and the historical developments of language policies across regions in Belgium. Additionally, with regard to migrants, it is also important to note that both Dutch and French are to a different extent spoken in other countries and used in colonial settings; therefore, these languages have a distinct status and a global level, and migrant groups are also to a varying extent familiar with the dominant language spoken at school. Another element that demonstrates the embeddedness of the societal and political context and research on ethnic minorities in education, may be the relatively larger developed political arithmetic tradition in VG, compared to FWB. These differences may relate to the fact that ethnicity issues are not as politically taboo in VG, compared to the francophone tradition, which is more influenced by the French "universalistic" model, and therefore more reluctant to "race and ethnicity" concepts. In the latter context, collecting ethnic based data might even be perceived as politically suspicious, as possibly leading to cultivating ethnic boundaries or undue discriminations. The measurements of ethnicity and achievement are largely dependent on and reflect the prevailing dominant discourses in society and politics, but do not necessarily correspond to the interpretations of ethnicity and the actual achievement outcomes in everyday (school) life. Furthermore, as many of the data in this tradition is collected to support policy purposes, the differences between the research conducted in VG and

FWB could reflect differences in policy discourses. A second conclusion that can be drawn from the comparison between research carried out two research areas in Belgium, is that due to the different dominant languages used in each research area, we can note that although similar topics are examined, each research area builds further on different fields and canons of literature that are largely inspired by different authors and theories. This is for instance particularly visible in the 'Culture and Educational Outcomes' research tradition, were especially the importance of history, constraints and opportunities, are framed in a totally different way and hence are also based on a distinct set of scholars. A third conclusion that can be drawn from this review is that the focus of the researchers is significantly different. Despite the study of several similar research topics in a nearly all research traditions, we note that in VG, researchers mainly focused on cultural features when studying ethnic inequalities in secondary education, while considering the importance of socio-economic context and structural school features. By contrast, in the FWB, ethnic inequalities were mainly reduced to structural social class inequalities, with cultural differences (between the dominant and minority groups) treated as a consequence of these, and embedded in the larger historical context. An important final remark that we have to make is that, given the relatively small research areas (FWB and VG), one should not draw too large conclusions from the lack of studies in a particular field, as this could also be related to the relatively few number of scholars that are working on this topic in general. Based on this review, some future research recommendations can be made. First, more comparable, quantitative datasets and better measurements of the key concepts are required to fully understand how systemic factors (e.g., standardized tests at the end of the first year of secondary education; track organization) and prevailing educational practices (e.g., student evaluations, grade retention, early orientation) contribute to the reproduction of ethnic inequalities in education, and how these inequalities are shaped. Second, future comparative research could focus more on differences in the educational system, such as tracking practices and its consequences, or ways of approaching language used at school. Third, some research traditions, such as critical studies of the curriculum and the absence of the accountability movement are still left to be explored in Belgium. Fourth, only the literature of ethnic and racial inequality in secondary education in Flanders and FWB was considered, leaving out the German linguistic community as no research on this topic was found. The existence and development of this very peculiar educational system over time, in relationship with the surrounding educational systems, could be interesting for future research. Finally, although this review was limited to secondary education, by including research in initial and primary

schools, initial disadvantages in secondary education can be considered. In addition, the transition from secondary school to higher studies and/or the labor market are other, important areas of research that need to be considered.

To conclude, when looking at the research traditions and how they developed in similar and distinct ways across communities and research areas has shed an interesting light on the approach to ethnic inequalities in education and how scientific canons emerge.

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Brazil: An Overview of Research on Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education

Luiz Alberto Oliveira Gonçalves, Natalino Neves da Silva, and Nigel Brooke

Introduction

Between 1980 and 2010, the Brazilian education system underwent dramatic change. At the beginning of the 1980s, Brazilian civil society was engaged in a widespread social movement to put an end to military dictatorship, restore democracy and rewrite the Constitution in line with democratic principles. This latter goal, achieved in 1988, set the stage for two decades of rapid educational expansion and the consolidation of a new set of democratic values throughout the system.

One of the striking characteristics of this period of transformation was the country's newfound awareness of its social inequalities. Numerous studies showed how the years of dictatorship had produced high levels of social exclusion amongst the poorest members of the population. Among the different indicators used, those related to education presented the most vivid account of what was happening in Brazilian society in terms of social and racial inequality. One of the purposes of the present review is to retrieve these earlier studies and show how they established a point of departure for all subsequent investigations into the distribution and consequences of racial discrimination in Brazilian education. But before we begin our presentation of the research

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on ethnic/racial inequalities in education it would be of help to the reader if we discuss the way in which the Brazilian education system is organized, the ethnic/racial composition of Brazilian society and the main developments in terms of policy in relationship to race/ethnic inequalities in education.

(a) Educational system

The following figure shows the education system to be divided into two segments. The legal denomination of the first segment is Basic Education, comprising everything from infant school to secondary school. The second segment is Higher Education. The column on the left shows the flow of students who take the regular route from preschool to university while the column on the right shows the alternatives available at each level (Fig. 6.1).

The law stipulates that elementary education is compulsory and universal. In line with legislation passed in 2006 extending the duration of this level of education to nine years, the majority of states have expanded their intake and families must now enrol their children at the age of six. The first phase of elementary education now lasts five years. In theory, children remain in this phase until 11 or 12 years of age at which point they progress to the second phase where they stay until the age of 14 or 15. Secondary schooling is free for all those who finish their elementary education and is completed, again theoretically, at the age of 17 or 18. The delays provoked by grade repetition mean that many are over age on finishing the first phase of elementary school or on completing this level of education. For those who would like to finish elementary education but are over the age of 15 can make use of the Youth and Adult Education facilities for this level. Similarly, Youth and Adult Education offers an alternative route to the secondary education diploma for those who finish elementary education after the age of 18.

Traditionally, the public universities controlled student admissions through their own selection procedures with tests designed by university staff. Recently, as the result of a new national test created by the Federal Government called the National Secondary Education Exam (ENEM), university admission can now be achieved on the basis of the student's ENEM results. Although created to evaluate the quality of the country's secondary schooling on the basis of common parameters, the Ministry has encouraged universities to use ENEM scores in admission procedures, either as the single criterion or in combination with traditional university-based tests. There are no entrance exams for the other modalities of further education.

(b) Assessment in the Brazilian education system

The Organization and Structure of the Brazilian Education System

Higher Education	Postgraduate (Strictu Senso)	Doctorate
		Master´s Degree

Postdoctorate	
Postgraduate (Latu Senso)	Specialization, Further Education, others

Undergraduate	Years of Study	3 to 6

Professional Education
University Extension Courses

Selection Procedures

Age	From 15	Secondary Education	Years of Study	3 to 4

Professional Education

Youth and Adult Education Minimum: 18 years

Age	6 to 14	Elementary Education	Years of Study	9 years

Youth and Adult Education Minimum: 15 years

Special Education. Preferably integrated with regular classes and schools; specialized schools and services; education for work.

Age	4 to 5	Infant Schooling	Pre-school
	0 to 3		Crèche

Basic Education

Fig. 6.1 The Organization and Structure of the Brazilian Education System. (Source: SISTEMA EDUCATIVO Nacional de Brasil: 2002 / Ministério da Educação de Brasil (MEC/ INEP) y Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos.http://www.oei.es/quipu/brasil/ estructura.pdf)

Elementary schooling is organized on the basis of either yearly grades or of cycles of two to three years. In the grade system, students are assessed by their teachers at the end of each year to determine whether they progress to the next grade or are held back for a further year in the same grade. In the cycle system, on the other hand, the student is expected to recover from any difficulties through extra classes. Although the possibility of retention at the end of each cycle exists, this outcome is discouraged, which has led the most common of this method of school organization to be called "continuous progression". According to research, the cycle method is favoured by many governments as a way to regularize the flow of students through the system by reducing the high levels of student failure and grade repetition and the consequently high rates of dropout (Jacomini 2004; Ambrossetty 1990). With the cycle method, students are allowed to progress without the interruptions caused by grade repetition that can be so damaging to student motivation and learning. According to the School Census carried out in 2009, 25% of all schools in Brazil use the cycle method, including the method of continuous student progression. In terms of enrollments, almost 12 million students are enrolled in schools organized in cycles, corresponding to 37.8% of all enrollments (Censo Escolar/MEC, 2009).

Elementary and secondary school students are also subjected to different types of external assessment. Apart from the National Secondary Education Exam, the Ministry of Education has also promoted the Basic Education Assessment System (SAEB) embracing two different testing procedures. The older of the two, dating from 1990, is comprised of Maths and Portuguese Language tests applied every two years to samples of 5th, 9th and 12th grade public and private school students from both urban and rural areas from all the states. The second external assessment, more recent, is also comprised of Maths and Portuguese Language tests applied every two years, but is taken by every 5th and 9th grade student in all federal, state and municipal urban schools with a minimum of 20 students throughout the country. The results of the latter system, called The Brazil Test, are broken down and published by region, state, municipality and school and are used in a formula to calculate the education development index for each level. Both assessment systems also apply questionnaires to teachers, school principals and students to gather contextual information of relevance to the study of school quality.

(c) How race and ethnicity became a topic of research in Brazil

At the beginning of the 80s, census data on the levels of schooling throughout the Brazilian population showed a high percentage of children and

teenagers to be behind in their studies along with dramatically high rates of school failure and drop out. Studies from this period also showed profound inequalities between the rich and the poor with regards educational and employment expectations.

Up until the 1960s, Brazilian sociology had made no connection between educational inequality and the race and ethnicity of students. The unequal distribution of education was generally believed to be the result of a lack of opportunity and the slow integration of certain social groups into class society, especially those of Afro-Brazilian and indigenous descent (Guimarães 2004). This evolutionary view of events was based on studies that analysed the enrollment of children and teenagers in accordance with their social background but without regard for their racial and ethnic origins. According to these studies, poverty and the different socio-economic levels of society could, by themselves, explain the educational success of some individuals and the failure and low level of schooling of others.

This viewpoint dominated sociological thinking throughout the 70s and heavily influenced research in the area of the sociology of education. A state-of-the-art study by Zaia Brandão (1982) with regards school repetition and dropout in Brazil between 1971 and 1981 pointed out that none of the studies had taken the racial or ethnic origin of the students into consideration. At that time primary schooling was still not universal and the great majority of those excluded belonged without doubt to the poorest sectors of the population. With this, the problem of access and survival of poor children and teenagers continued to dominate most of the sociological research on inequality in education for the rest of the 80s.

The use of social class as a point of reference in educational research was heavily influenced by the sociological theories in vogue at the time. One of these theories, of Weberian inspiration, was Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron's Theory of Reproduction (1975). Another popular theory, aligned with Marxism, was that of the Ideological State Apparatuses of Louis Althusser (1974). Despite their different starting points, these two theories saw the school from a purely structuralist point of view, as a mechanism for the reproduction of the dominant ideology and even as an apparatus for the repression of the working class.

With this paradigm in mind, researchers set out to find evidence of reproduction among teaching materials, in the discourse of teachers, in the curricula, and elsewhere (Nosella 1981; Cunha 1979, 1982). The aim was to construct a critical view of the world by denouncing the reproductive role of the school. The failure and exclusion of the great majority of students were seen as the result of the way in which school procedures placed the working

classes at a disadvantage by reproducing the broader processes of social domination.

Despite their Marxist origins, the concepts of "unitary school" and "polytechnic school" in the work of Antonio Gramsci (1975) stand in opposition to the reproduction paradigm. In the Gramscian view, the school can become a producer of culture instead of a mere instrument of social reproduction. Given this, the research inspired by Gramsci is concerned largely with showing the mediating role played by the school and its pedagogical resources: the teacher, the textbook, school routines, etc. (Saviani 1983; Mello 1982; Cury 1986). According to researchers who still follow this theoretical approach, all these resources can be used to reproduce the dominant ideology but they can also generate new, transformational knowledge, capable of liberating the working classes.

As can been seen, with these theoretical paradigms the only selection process given any importance in the Brazilian school system was that of social class. Despite this, the return to democracy in the 80s was an important stimulus to the sociological study of the impact of racism and ethnic/racial discrimination on the educational system and the labour market, even if this innovation had to be adopted without forsaking the category of social class.

At least two factors contributed to the change. The first is associated with the increasing influence of new social movement organizations, especially those belonging to Afro-descendent and indigenous groups that had fought for historical reparations and social justice. The hiring of education researchers and specialists by the newly elected state governments was also important in this context, and lead to the article in the 1988 Constitution that eliminated all barriers to elementary schooling by declaring it universally free of all racial, social, gender and religious discrimination. The second factor to stimulate sociological research on race and education had to do with statistics. Data containing evidence of educational inequality between different racial groups began to see the light of day.

At this point it would be appropriate to show the educational inequality data that became available in 1980, as the result of the population census carried out that year. If it were possible to compare this data with the most recent 2010 census we would also be able to show the important changes that took place over the full thirty-year period of this review. However, due to the fact that the race/colour categories currently in use by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) responsible for the country's census were established in 1991, it is the census carried out that year that we have chosen for our comparisons. Up until 1991 the indigenous population was not counted as a separate race/colour category but instead included as part of the

mulatto population. Given our interest in maintaining the distinction between these two populations, we have therefore chosen not to present the 1980 data.

According to the 2010 census, of a total population of almost 191 million, 97 million Brazilians classified themselves as Black or Mulatto, 91 million as White, a few more than two million of Asian descent and almost 818 thousand of indigenous origin (Fig. 6.2).

On the basis of these population statistics it is possible to study the number of years of schooling of those of both sexes of 10 years of age or more for each colour/race group. The tables that follow, containing first the data from the 1991 census and then the 2010 census, show considerable differences in the average length of schooling between each racial group and also between men and women in specific racial groups (Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3).

Based on the 1991 and 2010 censuses, the tables reveal an important overall increase in the average number of years of schooling for all racial groups. Even so, racial inequalities persist. In 2010 the white population had an average of 6.9 years of schooling while the black population had 5.0 years and the mulatto population 5.2 years. Despite having the lowest average of only 4.5 years of education in 2010, the indigenous population is the group that has advanced most, rising from an average of just 2.1 years of schooling in 1991. The highest average is found among those Brazilians of Asian descent called Yellow by the organization responsible for the national census.

(d) Public Policy to Reduce Race Inequalities in Education

Besides the influence of the black movement and the circulation of data exposing the different levels of education of the various ethnic/racial segments
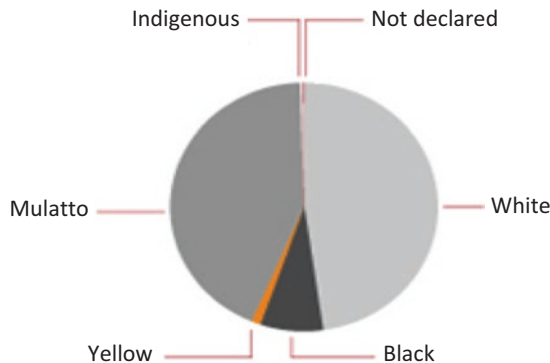
Fig. 6.2 Population by Colour/Race. 2010. (Source: IBGE. Preliminary Results. Demographic Census. 2010)

Table 6.1 Average years of schooling of population of 10 years of age or more, by sex and colour. Brazil. 1991

| | Average years of schooling | | | | | | |
| | Colour | | | | | | |
Sex	Total	White	Black	Yellow	Mulatto	Indigenous	Not Declared
Total	4,7	5,6	3,4	8,2	3,7	2,1	3,4
Men	4,6	5,6	3,4	8,5	3,5	2,2	3,5
Women	4,7	5,6	3,4	7,9	3,8	2,0	3,2

Source: IBGE, Censo Demográfico (1991)

Table 6.2 Average years of schooling of population of 10 years of age or more, by sex and colour. Brazil. 2010

| | Average years of schooling | | | | | | |
| | Colour | | | | | | |
Sex	Total	White	Black	Yellow	Mulatto	Indigenous	Not Declared
Total	6,2	6,9	5,0	9,0	5,2	4,5	4,1
Men	6,0	6,8	4,8	9,1	5,0	4,4	4,0
Women	6,4	7,1	5,2	8,9	5,4	4,6	4,3

Source: IBGE, Censo Demográfico (2010)

of society, certain legal measures to promote new social policies may also have influenced sociological research on the theme of race/ethnicity and educational inequality. The 1988 Constitution, marking the end of dictatorship by laying down the guidelines for the consolidation of democracy, should be emphasized in this respect. For the first time in Brazilian history, the ethnic and racial plurality of the Brazilian people was given official recognition. Racism was formally acknowledged and defined as a sufficiently serious crime as to not warrant bail.

Articles of the 1988 Constitution recognized the right of different ethnic and racial groups to seek the affirmation and preservation of their cultural heritage through the medium of educational programs. Research centres were engaged to develop studies which, depending on their location within the Federation, led to the introduction of elements of Afro-Brazilian culture into the school curricula, in line with the demands of the Brazilian black movement. New emphasis was also given to bilingual teaching for children and adolescents of European and Asian descent living in Brazil. Along with these changes, the idea of state and municipal agencies to foster race-related improvements through public policy began to receive support. The focus of these policies was mainly in the field of education and culture.

Although there is no proof of a direct link between changes in the country's legal framework, as established by the new Constitution, and the emergence

Table 6.3 Increase in average years of schooling of population of 10 years or more, by sex and colour. Brazil 1991–2010

| | Increase in average years of schooling 1991–2010 | | | | | | |
| | Colour | | | | | | |
Sex	Total	White	Black	Yellow	Mulatto	Indigenous	Not Declared
Total	1,5	1,0	1,6	0,8	1,5	1,4	0,7
Men	1,4	1,2	1,4	0,6	1,5	2,2	1,5
Women	1,3	1,5	1,8	1,0	1,6	2,6	1,1

Source: IBGE, Censo Demográfico (1991, 2010)

of sociological studies that recognized the ethnic/racial component of educational inequality, the expansion of research during this period and over the following decades gives credence to this belief.

The first statistical report on indigenous education in Brazil was published in 1999 by the National Institute of Educational Study and Research (INEP), a division of the Ministry of Education. The publication was the result of the first national survey of indigenous schools (Grupioni 2006). The subsequent school census, produced by the Ministry of Education in 2005, revealed that there were 2.323 indigenous schools and 8.431 teachers in almost all Brazilian states, with the exception of Piauí and Rio Grande do Norte (Brasil/MEC, 2005). The National Coordination, attached to the Secretariat of Cultural Diversity (SECAD/MEC) and responsible for indigenous teacher training, estimated that 90% of the teachers were of indigenous origin. According to the 2005 census, indigenous schools had 163.773 pupils studying in their ethnic language (Brasil/MEC, 2005). Of these pupils, 81.7% were enrolled in the first years of elementary school, 11.6% were in nursery schools (including crèches), 2.6% were in secondary schools and 7.5% were taking classes in adult education courses (Brasil/MEC, 2005). In 78.2% of all indigenous schools, teaching was in the maternal language or in both the maternal language and Portuguese.

Sociological studies on the schooling of descendants of European (non-Portuguese) and Asian immigrants born in Brazil also made an appearance during the 1980–2010 period, with a focus on the following issues: family expectations, strategies to promote children's success at school and social mobility, often accomplished through the attainment of public office and direct involvement in the management of the state.

Before concluding this overview of the contextual factors that have affected research on the topic of the relationship between educational inequality and race/ethnicity, it is worth stressing the degree of exclusion experienced by the Afro-descendant and indigenous populations. Both groups have been at

considerable disadvantage at all levels of schooling, from early childhood to higher education. Current data shows the persistence of these disadvantages into the 21st century, with lower rates of educational attendance, especially among younger children, but also in secondary and higher education. Understandably, therefore, research is still concerned with strategies and policies geared towards these populations, including contentious options such as affirmative university entrance policies to improve the access of black and indigenous peoples to both graduate and postgraduate education. To illustrate the differences in school attendance, the following table summarizes the gross enrollment rates for different levels of schooling (number of students enrolled as a percentage of the total population for the appropriate age group) for each colour/race population group according to the National Household Survey results for the years 1988, 1998 and 2008.

Table 6.4 shows constant improvement in the gross enrollment rates for both whites and non-whites at every level of schooling. While some of the most manifest improvements are those of non-white children at secondary and university levels, the gross enrollment rates of this group are still below average for the population as a whole and significantly lower than the white population, especially at secondary and university levels. Gross elementary school enrollments of more than 100% are explained by the effect of grade repetition and the continued enrollment of overage students at a level of schooling that has achieved universalization. The higher gross enrollment rates for non-whites at this level indicate an even larger problem of grade repetition for this colour/race group.

Table 6.4 Gross Enrollment Rates by Colour/Race, 1988, 1998, 2008

Level of schooling/Year	Colour								
	White			Non-White(1)			Total(2)		
	1988	1998	2008	1988	1998	2008	1988	1998	2008
Crèche(3)	–	9,5	20,7	–	7,7	15,5	–	8,7	18,1
Pre-school or Crèche(4)	–	47,0	62,9	–	44,5	56,8	–	45,8	59,6
Elementary (5)	103,3	117,3	112,5	98,2	121,8	118,4	100,8	119,5	115,7
Secondary(6)	49,4	74,0	93,3	26,7	47,1	79,5	38,6	60,7	85,5
Higher(7)	12,4	16,8	35,8	3,6	4,0	16,4	8,6	10,9	25,5

(1) Black and Mulatto
(2) Includes Yellow, Indigenous and Not Declared
(3) 0 to 3 years
(4) 4 to 5 years
(5) 7 to 14 years
(6) 15 to 17 years
(7) 18 to 24 years
Source: IBGE, Microdados PNAD

The leap forward in Brazilian education over the 1980–2010 period has to do with the universalization of both stages of elementary schooling (from the first to the fifth year and from the sixth to the ninth year), the consequent expansion in the proportion of the age-group continuing to secondary school and the rapid rise in higher education enrollments. At the elementary level, where the system has been able to guarantee access to all racial and ethnic segments of society, research is shifting to the study of the internal mechanisms of discrimination and racism within schools. In order to understand the conditions that influence survival and performance and also the quality of education provided, the focus is now on the management of schools, pedagogical practice, teacher training and relations between the different members of the school community.

In this context, it is worth mentioning Law 10.639 passed in 2003 that modified the country's Basic Education Guidelines by introducing the History of Africa and Afro-Brazilian History into the school curricula. Attention should also be drawn to the approval of affirmative action policies to expand access to higher education for non-white students. Both measures have triggered numerous research studies on the topic of race and education.

Methods

In principle, this review required the identification of all the published research in the field of the Sociology of Education on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality in Brazil between 1980 and 2010. In order to accomplish this task and then select which pieces of research to include, it was first necessary to define the universe from which the publications should be drawn. A preliminary literature search showed the majority of publications on the issue of educational inequality at all levels of education to be focused on the black (including mulatto) and white segments of Brazilian society. Very few studies presented data concerning the education of immigrant populations and their descendants or even of indigenous children and teenagers.

In a wider second search we then identified other publications between 1990 and 2010 focusing on educational expectations and school achievement of children from European and Asian immigrant families (Kreutz 1994a, b, 2000a, b; Giron 1998; Dalmoro 1987; Müller 1994; Handa 1987; Mauch and Vasconcelos 1994; Kaly, 2001; Pitts Jr. 2006; Demartine 1998; Truzzi 1992, 2008a). Other pieces of research concentrating on the education of diverse groups of indigenous children and teenagers were also located. These

studies deal with the creation of indigenous schools that are now geared to their own ethnic segments, using not only curricula elaborated for each specific group, but also teaching materials appropriate to the native culture and mother tongue (Grupioni 2003; Paes 1999; Nascimento 2003; Bergamaschi 2004; Camargo and Albuquerque 2003; Ferreira 2006; Mélia 1999).

The articles were then classified using an indexation criterion, which is to say that only those published in scientific journals that use forms of academic selection were considered. The point of departure for this selection was the list of articles provided by the National Association of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Social Science (ANPOCS) on their publications page. The advantage of using this source is that it lists only those papers included in the Scientific On Line Electronic Library– Brazil (SCIELO), which only includes papers that have been published in indexed journals that follow academic selection criteria. The following were included among the journals used in this review: Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais (Brazilian Journal of Social Sciences), Revista Brasileira de Educação (Brazilian Journal of Education), Revista Tempo Social (Social Times Journal), Cadernos de Pesquisa da Fundação Carlos Chagas (Research Records of the Carlos Chagas Foundation), CEDES (Education and Society) and the Revista de Estudos Afro-Asiáticos da Fundação Cândido Mendes (Afro-Asian Studies Journal of the Candido Mendes Foundation).

The review also considered reports of surveys or longitudinal studies carried out by research centres that contain estimates of educational inequality among different racial and ethnic groups in Brazil, at different levels of education, for the period from 1980 to 2010. As examples, this review made use of data collected by the Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada – IPEA (Institute of Applied Economic Research), the Instituto Universitário de Pesquisa do Rio de Janeiro – IUPERJ (University Institute of Research of Rio de Janeiro), the Laboratório de Análises Históricas, Sociais e Estatísticas das Relações Raciais-LAESER (Laboratory of Economic, Historical, Social and Statistical Analysis of Race Relations) and by the Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais–INEP (National Institute of Educacional Study and Research). In addition to these reports, we included some classic texts on the topic of race relations in Brazil due to their theoretical and methodological importance as demonstrated by their citations in other texts and articles.

We also selected some papers published in preceding decades that reviewed the literature on educational inequality or that expressed the sociological traditions that dominated academic publications before the 80s (Hasenbalg 1979; Rosemberg 1980; Pinto 1985). By comparing the authors of the 80s with their predecessors, it was possible to identify common elements with

regards their theoretical paradigms as well as the research techniques employed. It was also possible to see how education researchers have improved their methods, whether for the study of how children of European, Asian and African immigrant families were gradually integrated into Brazilian society or how indigenous education incorporated the country's different ethnic cultures after the 1988 Constitution.

Our study also gives importance to the "colour/race" category of the demographic and school censuses. It was because of these census data that a sociological research tradition centered on the analysis of the relationship between colour/race and educational quality in Brazil was able to develop. The larger part of the research on race relations and educational inequality follows this tradition, with the emphasis on the relations between blacks (Afro-Brazilians) and whites. Although the concept of ethnicity had never been a reference category for the national education census, it began to be used intensively in field research from the 90s onwards, with the creation of indigenous schools that acknowledged the ethnic characteristics of their pupils. For this reason, it was necessary to base this review on more specific definitions of ethnicity and colour/race and consider these two dimensions as independent issues that have inspired different lines of research in Brazil over the last 30 years.

Sociological research, mainly to do with the Sociology of Education, was the first group to be selected. Once selected, the studies were subdivided into groups according to: (a) common research questions, (b) methodological approaches used in comparable situations, (c) answers provided in response to the demands of civil society organizations and (d) the relevance for public policy regarding inclusion and/or the acknowledgement of cultural diversity.

In line with the proposed method, we identified three different traditions in the sociological research literature. These can be labelled as follows**: Charting Ethnic/racial Inequalities in Education**, **Race and School Effectiveness and Racism and Discrimination in Schools.**

Although the purpose of this review is to analyse the development of these traditions since 1980, we understood it to be important to quickly describe the theory and ideology of research on the theme of race relations in Brazil prior to the 80s so as to get an idea of the intellectual origins of current research. What this signals is our belief that current sociological studies on the theme of race and educational inequality are the direct descendants of earlier research on race relations.

Historical Background

In his Sociology of Brazilian Sociology, Guimarães (2006) shows that the first sociological studies of Brazil's ethnic/racial composition in the first third of the 20th century were a reaction to the racist doctrines sustained by the national elite. In terms of the sociological ancestry of these and all subsequent studies, Theodoro et al. (2008) identify three "waves of theory" that fostered the field of race relations in Brazil and continue to be relevant today.

The "first wave" emerged at the beginning of the 20th century at a time when the theory of eugenics was popular in Brazil. The efforts of Gilberto Freyre (1998 [1933], 1939) to refute this theory were important steps towards a better understanding of the ethnic/racial basis of Brazilian society. Freyre incorporated Franz Boas´ principles of Cultural Anthropology into his sociological formulations and thereby replaced the "biological notion" of race with a "cultural notion", the latter being "a people's symbolic form of expression" (Guimarães 2004, p. 12). This principle became the key idea behind Brazil's fame in the world as an example of "racial democracy" and inaugurated a new strain of sociological research that came to be known as the "cultural anthropology tradition" (Hofbauer 2006, p. 26).

The Brazilian elite made use of the ideology of racial democracy to foment the idea that Brazil was effectively free of racism and racial discrimination, unlike other multiracial societies such as the United States. This view was to be reinforced by the studies of sociologist Donald Pierson (1971 [1945]). A follower of Robert Park and a member at the time of the Chicago School, Pierson inspired many researchers in Brazil by introducing sociological methods that relied exclusively on empirical data to describe race relations between blacks and whites and thereby played down cultural anthropology (Hofbauer 2006; Theodoro et al. 2008). Despite this advance, Pierson did not focus on race inequalities. Instead, he studied the chances of social mobility of Afrodescendants in Brazil. The presence of the offspring of both blacks and whites among the economic and political elite and among those occupying positions of prestige was taken as a sign that the "absence of racial discrimination" made social mobility possible.

The "second wave" was in reaction to the ideology of racial democracy. Also starting in the 50s and continuing with UNESCO sponsorship until the 1970s, these studies sought to challenge the myth of a "racial paradise" by showing the prevalence of race discrimination in Brazil. However, in this early phase of reaction neither prejudice nor racial discrimination is seen as the mechanism for the reproduction of social inequalities. Instead, they are seen

as deriving from the heritage of slavery and likely to disappear with the adoption of industrial capitalism in Brazil. The process of industrialization would free the Afro-descendant population from its place at the margins of class society and enable it to identify itself with a social class rather than a racial or ethnic category (Fernandes 1964; Ianni 1972).

The dominance of this view in sociological literature until the end of the 70s retarded the development of studies of educational inequality based on explanations of racism. In the end it was the statistical data produced by the demographic census that would enable sociologists to construct the necessary indicators of racial inequality in Brazil.

The "third wave" of theory in the continuing rejection of the ideology of racial democracy covers the same period as this review. Although the product of diverse sociological approaches to the question of inequality, we analyse only those studies concerned specifically with the sociology of education.

Charting Ethnic/Racial Inequalities in Education

Centered on the analysis of secondary data[1] and part of the ongoing reaction to the myth of racial democracy, the sociological research tradition we have called **Charting Ethnic/racial Inequalities in Education** made its entrance at the end of the 1970s with the purpose of offering an objective portrait of educational inequality among the country's ethnic/racial groups. Within this tradition we find a number of transversal studies that simply portray educational inequalities by calculating differential access rates for different ethnic/racial groups and levels of schooling (Hasenbalg 1979; Silva 1979). By using longitudinal data, other studies attempted to identify change and continuity in inequalities over the years (Paixão 2009; Osório and Soares 2005). In general, the studies belonging to this tradition helped chart the difficulties of educational access of children and youths from different ethnic/racial segments. Some went further so as to isolate the ethnic/racial inequalities in the rates of survival and permanence of students within the different levels of the system.

Reinforcing a previous point, the studies designed to chart the ethnic/racial dimensions of educational inequality were made possible by two demographic data banks produced by the IBGE, the Demographic Census (Censo Demografico) and the National Home Sample Survey (Pesquisa Nacional por

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[1] Made possible, as previously stated, by the combination of demographic census data with the more detailed educational census data.

Amostra de Domicilio – PNAD), both of which contained detailed educational attainment data. The data included information on age, gender, occupation of those of working-age, place of residence by region, number of children and the status of the head of the family (father, mother, oldest son or other). For the first time, these data permitted the necessary cross tabulations for a map of ethnic/racial inequality in the field of education.

As the key questions raised by the **Charting Ethnic/racial Inequalities in Education** tradition sought to clarify ethnic/racial inequality within the education system, it is worth describing how this inequality was actually measured. For this purpose we can use the example of the transversal studies carried out by the University Research Institute of Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ) starting at the end of the 1970s. The purpose of these studies was to build an analytical model capable of understanding the impact of race and ethnicity variables on the production of social inequality as a whole. The authors developed their statistical model so as to describe what was then called the Socio-Economic Achievement Process. The work was derived from that of Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, the two sociologists most associated with the consolidation of quantitative social science methods in the United States. Blau and Duncan's studies focused on intergenerational occupational mobility or, more accurately, on the way "parents transmit social status to their children" and showed that this transmission occurs primarily through the children's education (Blau and Duncan 1967, p. 32).

In an example of this tradition, Hasenbalg and Silva used the data collected in 1976 by the PNAD household survey, which, for the first time, collected data regarding colour/race and social stratification. The sample was of 120 thousand homes throughout the country, excluding rural areas of the Northern and Centre-West regions. With these data, the authors applied the life-cycle model suggested by Duncan (1969). This model is usually represented by a system of structural equations, containing four exogenous variables that stand for family background (birth context, in terms of the rural/urban dichotomy, regional location, father's level of schooling and occupational status). It also contains three endogenously inferred variables (education, occupation and income).

When applying this model, Hasenbalg and Silva took the ethnic and racial background of the respondents into consideration. The empirical data used in the structural equations demonstrated that when compared to those classified as "whites", the groups classified as "non-whites" were at a disadvantage with regards the three outcome variables—education, occupation and income.

With these results, the Hasenbalg and Silva model offered empirical evidence of the importance of race and ethnicity variables in the process of social

stratification in Brazil. The disadvantage of non-whites was repeated at all stages of the life-cycle, including the life-cycles of individuals whose trajectories were already far removed from slavery. This helped to further refute the sociological models that still sustained this belief.

A further strain of transversal studies within the **Charting Ethnic/racial Inequalities in Education** tradition sought to identify inequalities within the system by calculating school survival and dropout rates for each ethnic/racial group at given moments in time (Barcelos 1993). In order to take these snapshots, the researchers used age and grade enrollment information to calculate the degree of school grade delay[2] for each sex and ethnic/racial group (Rosemberg et al. 1986; Rama 1989; Levison 1989). These studies also evaluated the physical conditions of the schools and their equipment as well as the characteristics of the teachers. These data were then correlated with the predominant ethnic/racial category for each school so as to describe the traits of educational inequality.

By using census data, other transversal studies were able to answer questions regarding inter-generational differences. Any given census could supply the average length of schooling of different age groups. For example, in a study using the 1990 census, Gonçalves pointed out the significant differences between young blacks and mulattos, from 20 to 40 years of age, and more elderly blacks and mulattos, from 60 to 80 years of age. The parameter established for this comparison was the average level of schooling of people born in the 50s. The choice of age can be explained by the need for a study that could establish if there were educational differences between those born before and after 1950. The study revealed that the more elderly blacks and mulattos (over 60 years of age), whose childhood and youth were closer to the beginning of the 20th century, presented the highest rates of illiteracy (Gonçalves 2000). The objective was to show the gravity of the educational situation of non-whites in Brazil, not only when compared to that of whites, but also with regards to non-whites of different generations.

The **Charting Ethnic/racial Inequalities in Education** tradition also produced longitudinal studies to better understand the processes of change and continuity. In this type of study the researchers customarily accompany educational cohorts comprised of individuals from different ethnic/racial backgrounds so as to detect exactly when race differences become evident (Henriques 2001; Soares and Osório 2005; Soares and Alves 2003; Barcelos 1992; Paixão 2010). The logic underlying this model is based on the idea that

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[2] A measure of the number of years a student is behind his peer group as the result of having repeated grades.

when adequately specified, the statistics on years of education drawn from the population census can identify inter-generational differences in schooling (Gonçalves 2000).

In response to the challenges of redemocratization, some studies gave further depth to the **Charting Ethnic/racial Inequalities in Education** tradition by analysing not just inter-generational differences but also those within the same generation. In one such study, data was collected on the educational trajectory of all individuals born in 1980 so as compare the schooling of whites and blacks born into the same generation (Osório and Soares 2005). In Osório e Soares´ own words, the 80's generation was a group of "emblematic people". What made them different from other generations? Firstly, according to the authors, they were a generation that had gone through an educational system which, at the elementary level, had been universalized. Secondly, they were a generation that had grown up between 1980 and 2003, a period which saw racial equality embraced as a principle by government schools, racism defined as a crime by the Constitution and affirmative action discussed in a variety of contexts, especially with regards university quotas for blacks and indigenous peoples (Osório and Soares 2005, pp. 33–34).

Observations regarding the schooling of this group started in 1987, the year in which those born in 1980 would have been seven years old and have reached what was then the recommended age for the first year of elementary school. The observations ended with the collection of the 2003 data on the supposition that in this year, if everything had gone according to normal and the students had not faced any problems along the way, they would be graduating from university (Osório and Soares 2005). The source of data was the National Household Survey of 1987. Using computer models, Osório and Soares simulated scenarios by using a technique they called a "statistical camera" to construct a theoretical education trajectory for all blacks and whites born in 1980. They then compared the actual path of individuals belonging to these groups with those produced by "the camera".

Without going into details regarding the factors responsible for the differences in the schooling of blacks and whites, Osório and Soares´ longitudinal methodology helps show how the actual paths taken by each racial segment deviate from the path projected by the "statistical camera". However, the degree of deviation is not the same for whites and blacks. The latter group is greatly under-represented in the later stages of the educational system as the blacks are more likely to abandon their schooling along the way. Osório and Soares identify a selection effect with greater impact on the path followed by black students. Summing up, "the statistical documentary" produced by the two authors infers that despite the universalization of access to elementary

school, Afro-descendants are still at a disadvantage when their achievement or failure is compared to that of white students. Secondary education works as the principal bottle-neck for Afro-descendant students. Because it is imperative to go to secondary school in order to enter university, the reduced access of Afro-descendants to secondary education further reduces their chance of higher education. Faced by this panorama of disadvantage, researchers point to the need to compensate for the difficulties of Afro-descendants in such a way as to enable members of this group to reach the same levels of achievement as their white colleagues.

Summing up the transversal and longitudinal components of the **Charting Ethnic/racial Inequalities in Education** tradition, we can say that these quantitative research paradigms were a significant contribution to the deconstruction of the myth of Brazil as a racial democracy. The research carried out between 1980 and 2010 not only provided empirical evidence to confirm the importance of race in explaining school success, but also helped pinpoint the educational success or failure of each ethnic/racial segment. It also shed light on an issue that until then had had little visibility on the national scene: the level of racial discrimination inside Brazilian schools (Rosemberg 1991). In this regard, researchers from the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA) hold that it is these studies that made it clear that "education is essential to understanding the social processes responsible for race inequalities", in Brazil (Barbosa 2005, p. 8).

Race and School Effectiveness

A number of studies have looked to see if schools can make a difference with regards the reduction of ethnic/racial inequalities. These studies focus on the Afro-Brazilian segment of the population and understand that the quality of schooling can be used to promote greater equality of educational opportunity.

As previously pointed out, at the end of the 1990s elementary schooling became universal and access to secondary and higher education became the bottle-necks. In this new environment the question of educational quality became a priority and a national assessment system for the measurement of pupil performance was established. A powerful instrument for gathering data regarding student performance and socio-demographic profiles, the System for the Assessment of Elementary Education (SAEB) also gathers information on the physical condition of schools, infra-structure, school management and the qualifications of teachers. It was with this data that the research we identify

as **Race and School Effectiveness** was established. This tradition also covers research using hierarchical linear regression models (Soares and Alves 2003), which, when applied to studies on the role of the school in combating racial inequality, supply important information regarding the mechanisms of racial discrimination within the school environment.

As a start, it is worth emphasizing how the theme of school effectiveness has been incorporated into educational research in Brazil. Brooke and Soares (2008) describe the first use of this paradigm by the Coleman study in the United States in the 60s and the controversies provoked by its conclusions. The authors then show its adoption thirty years later in Brazil in response to political and social demands for answers to the difficult question as to why some schools produce better pupil performance than others. This question has troubled education researchers since the 80s, especially since access to government schools was expanded to the poorest segments of the population. The research on school effectiveness started when almost 95% of children and teenagers from 7 to 14 years were enrolled in elementary schools. These studies were possible because the national SAEB assessment system had made it feasible to create a time series for measures of student performance (Brooke and Soares 2008). These evaluations showed the recurrent educational failure of a high percentage of Brazilian students, mainly the poorest, including Afro-Brazilians. The school effectiveness paradigm questions the idea that the "family effect" can, on its own, explain either good or bad school performance among children and teenagers. Brooke and Soares argue that, on the contrary, the paradigm holds that "school effectiveness cannot be exclusively related to its external circumstances" and that it is necessary to identify those school factors that make a difference to the achievement of students.

However, most reviews of studies drawing on this paradigm tend to show the difficulties of determining the components of school quality that contribute to student achievement. Despite this, authors from different areas of study have made important contributions in identifying the characteristics of good quality schools (Barbosa and Veiga 1998; Barbosa and Fernandes 2001; Falcão Filho 1997, 2000; Mello 1994, Franco et al. 2007; Brooke and Soares 2008). The consensus is partial, mainly because these characteristics are dependent on specific contexts and circumstances. Even so, some characteristics do recur in different studies, indicating their importance in the assessment of school effectiveness: (a) the school principal's role and leadership, (b) the expectations of teachers and other members of staff, (c) school climate (d) clearly delineated objectives, shared by teachers and members of staff (e) the organization of time, (f) strategies to monitor student development (g) strategies for

in-service teacher training in every school, (h) technical assistance for every school, and (i) parental participation in school activities.

A study that exemplifies this kind of analysis was undertaken by Barbosa (2005). From a broad review of the literature, the author selected the nine items mentioned above as the definition of school quality. She then used the items to create indicators of quality for the schools included in her sample. The indicators were of a binary nature. Those items that could reinforce school quality were given a positive sign and those that could weaken it a negative one. The final score of each school was the sum of the different signs.

The study then evaluated student performance in accordance with the way the schools were classified as of high or low quality. For this, Barbosa relied on SAEB test results for student performance at the end of each cycle of schooling (fourth and eighth elementary school year) on two subjects: Portuguese language and mathematics. The results confirmed the prediction that the best averages in both subjects would be obtained by the schools considered of good quality. However, in order to gauge the effect of the school on the reduction of racial inequalities, the author restricted herself to the maths scores, as the learning of this subject depends more on the school than on the family.

Before reaching her conclusions, Barbosa (2005) added data regarding the students´ social backgrounds to her model of school quality. Here she included family income, the mother's level of schooling and the ethnic/racial origin of the student according to information supplied by the mother. In order to further study the effect of the background variables on student achievement, the author sorted the families according to two strata: level of family income and level of mothers´ schooling. With regards ethnic/racial background, the author drew on the literature on race relations in Brazil regarding the independent impact of "colour" on social inequality. For this reason the research considered the individual's colour to be a distinct factor capable of exercising an effect on individual educational progress (Barbosa, op. cit, p. 107).

Summing up, the regression analysis used by Barbosa (2005) included the variable "school quality", monthly family income, mother's schooling and the students´ "colour" as possible factors in the explanation of differences in maths performance. Of these, "school quality" is the variable that most affects student achievement. However, when the regression formula excludes quality, the "colour" variable becomes highly significant in the determination of student achievement. The study also shows that schools of good quality make a difference to the scores of Afro-Brazilian students. When compared to white students from schools of lesser quality, these students gain almost an extra point on the SAEB scale. Moreover, the difference in the averages of white students and non-white students tends to diminish in schools of good quality,

whereas in those of poor quality, the difference is maintained at higher levels.

The research carried out by Soares and Alves (2003) of the Evaluation and Educational Measurement Group (GAME) of the Federal University of Minas Gerais can be given as a second example of studies following the **Race and School Effectiveness** tradition. Concerned to improve understanding of the "school effect" on student achievement, Alves and Soares used the 2001 SAEB data to focus on the issue of racial inequality in school test results. The authors concentrate on the low levels of maths performance of 8th year elementary education students. While the expected level of proficiency in this subject at this grade is 325 points, the average is only 245 points. The difference in the averages of white and mulatto students was 17.4 points in favour of the former. The difference of 28 points between white and black students was even greater. The authors stress that this level of racial inequality is maintained throughout the series of data collected by SAEB (Alves and Soares, op. cit. p. 23). Following regression model procedures, Soares and Alves identify the "socio-economic gradient" that largely explains student performance results. For this reason, the researchers include two further variables in their model of analysis alongside family income and parents´ level of education. These are the father's occupation and family culture. The latter variable corresponds to Bourdieu's "cultural capital" category.

In their analysis, the authors draw attention to the importance of choosing the right type of regression model. In their opinion, the model must be appropriate for the kind of data under investigation. For the authors, therefore, the choice of model is a crucial stage in the research. In Alves and Soares' case, the procedure adopted was the "hierarchical linear method of multiple regression", because of its ability to estimate the contribution of each of the factors described above in the explanation of maths proficiency while controlling for the contribution of the other factors in the model. For the authors, the hierarchical models are appropriate for the study of educational phenomena because these have a hierarchical structure that is empirically evident and can be described as follows: the students are grouped in classrooms, the classrooms are grouped in schools and the schools are part of systems or located in geographical areas. These groups form a hierarchically organized chain.

In the Soares and Alves study, two hierarchical levels have been considered: (1) the student and (2) the school. At the first level, two controlling variables are introduced, the student's socio-economic background and school grade delay. At the second level, the controlling variables are: the sector to which the school belongs (government or private) and the school socio-economic profile. In summary, in order to study the effect of the variables on both student

performance and on the difference between white and non-white students, the authors equalized students and schools according to their socio-economic and cognitive characteristics.

Each of the variables from the basic model was then introduced to measure the effect on student performance and test for significance. This procedure was adopted in order to show the impact of each variable on the difference between the achievement of white and mulatto students and between white and black students. When treating the results, the researchers only analyse the existence or otherwise of an effect of the selected variables on the increase or reduction in inequality in student achievement according to ethnic/racial background. There is no attempt to estimate the extent of the effect. According to the authors, the data can show the direction of the effect but are incapable of accurately estimating the size of the effect. With regards the inequalities between blacks and mulattos and between whites and blacks, the study reasserts what other studies have pointed out regarding the specificity of the student cohort in a system that is undergoing universalization but which has yet to eradicate inequality between students and between the state and private systems of education.

By synthesizing the results of this research we can also sum up the **Race and School Effectiveness** tradition. What singles this and similar studies out are the results concerning the "school effect" on student performance. The hierarchical linear regression model has revealed that the school can have a positive effect on student achievement but does not succeed in eliminating the inequalities between different racial segments. On the contrary, in those schools with well trained teachers and better salaries the gap in the achievement of white, mulatto and black students is wider. Well-equipped schools with more engaged directors produce positive results, statistically speaking, but instead of reducing racial inequalities they increase the difference between white and black students. The study demonstrates, therefore, that positive school conditions promote the proficiency of white students more than that of mulatto and black students. An equally dramatic result is that inequalities are lower only in those schools in which the overall average of student achievement is low.

Racism and Discrimination

This tradition is comprised of studies based on theories of Social Representation, Ethnography, Symbolic Interactionism, Ethnomethodology and Structuralism (André and Lüdke 1986). The research that adopts these approaches

endeavours to evaluate such internal school dynamics as the relationship between teacher and pupil, classroom practice, pedagogical rituals, use of teaching materials in the classroom and others. The **Racism and Discrimination** tradition has given rise to different strands of research at different moments in time, thus making it difficult to establish a chronological order of appearance. Nonetheless, it is possible to see how these strands relate to one another and the changes they have provoked regarding questions of prejudice, racism and ethnic discrimination. It is also possible to say that in the production of knowledge on the present topic, the studies using qualitative methods preceded those using quantitative methods. The latter showed little progress until the recent consolidation of data sets that allow a broader appreciation of the Brazilian educational system. Qualitative studies, on the other hand, have opened up countless possibilities in the academic debate of prejudice, racism, racial stereotypes and even the strategies adopted by families to protect their children from racism and xenophobia.

The **Racism and Discrimination** tradition is most clearly associated with research on the issues of (a) racial origin and socialization, (b) the symbolic manifestations of ethnic/racial prejudice and (c) pedagogical mediation:

(a) Racial origin and socialization. Researchers focusing on Afro-Brazilian topics at the beginning of the 80s, at a time when the ideology of racial democracy was still in vogue, found great difficulty in dealing with the effects of racism and racial discrimination. The study of individual life histories gave these researchers what they needed to reconstruct the dynamics of race relations through the subjects´ own interpretations (Barbosa 1983, 1987; Cunha Jr. 1987). These interpretations change over time. New studies undertaken over the following decades gathered information from Afro-Brazilian students in elementary school (Valente 2002); adult and younger students (Silva 2009) and university students (Teixeira et al. 2006) and offer different examples of family guidance on educational success and failure and how to face up to racial discrimination.

The studies to recreate the educational trajectory of the children of European and Asian immigrant families in Brazil also rely on life histories. By and large, these studies of ethnic minorities that migrated and remained in Brazil, generated new families and entered the labour market, are sociological studies concerned with the influence of the original culture on the schooling of the Brazilian-born descendants (Ogliari 1999; Renk 2001; Kreutz 1999; Dalmoro 1987; Rambo 1994; Truzzi 2008a, b, c).

The objective of these studies has not always been to reveal the relationship between ethnicity and educational inequality. The research has usually been more interested in analysing how the original culture has managed to survive, especially with regards the linguistic varieties of the mother tongue, and how this has both prevented the children from suffering discrimination as well as supplying a remedy for the damage that ethnic discrimination could cause their educational trajectories. The focus of most of these studies has been on reading and writing and, more particularly, on the role of "the mother tongue in the school achievement of the descendants of ethnic minorities" (Kreutz 2000, p. 359).

(b) Symbolic manifestations of ethnic/racial prejudice**.** This second theme brings together studies on the dissemination of negative stereotypes regarding blacks (Bazzili 1999; Fazzi 2004), indigenous peoples (Barros 2000; Carmo 1999; Oliveira 2001), women (Lopes 2002) and cultural and ethnic minorities. This tradition is made up of different strands of research that while sharing the same concern, adopt different methodological approaches when examining the symbolic manifestations of ethnic/racial prejudice. This does not mean that the different visions within this tradition are opposed to one another. Quite often the strands come together by combining elements of the different methods of analysis in accordance with the reality they intend to study.

Among the strands of the symbolic manifestations research, we find the study of prejudice and racism in textbooks and teaching materials that started in the 1980s. Based on the Theory of Reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron 1975) and on the Analysis of Content (Bardin 1977), this research studies the frequency of negative stereotypes in teaching materials and then analyses these in order to construct the image they portray of domination and subordination in Brazilian society (Silva 1987; Negrão 1987; Pinto 1987a; Triumpho 1987).

During the 1980s another strand emerges, combining the Theory of Communication with Content Analysis. The purpose of this work is no longer to analyse teaching materials but, instead, to construct a research technique to dissect children's literature in order to describe the way the producers of this written culture perceive white and non-white children (Rosemberg 1980; Pinto 1987a). The initial concern is to characterize the sender and the intended receiver of children's literature (Rosemberg 1980). Once these are characterized, the authors then present the social representations contained in the books. The followers of this strand of work use Content Analysis but introduce other elements to reduce reliance on quantitative methodology.

Through these procedures, the images the senders have of their target clienteles are brought into the open (Costa 1997; Araújo 2001). These studies have shown that the senders (authors, picture designers, editors) do not take the ethnic/racial issue into consideration. They produce children's literature using their own imaginary frame of reference which is exclusively peopled by white children and which, thereby, creates a relationship of subordination for non-white readers (Rosemberg et al. 2003).

A further example of this general line of symbolic manifestations research can be seen as a step forward in the analysis of racism in textbooks. Carried out by the Centre of Studies on Gender, Race and Age of the Catholic University of Sâo Paulo (Núcleo de Estudos de Gênero, Raça e Idade – NEGRI/PUCSP), this work introduces the 'Depth Hermeneutics' method proposed by John B. Thompson (1995) for the study of culture and ideology. This method is subdivided into three consecutive stages: context analysis, analysis of the internal discourse of the symbolic forms themselves and the reinterpretation of ideology (Rosemberg et al. 2003). The studies that follow this strand have shown that the forms used to express racism are symbolic and as such not only maintain the relations of domination, but also effectively generate them (Silva 2008). Another strand that emerges almost at the same time as symbolic manifestations has as its main goal the identification of the mediators of the educational process.

(c) Pedagogical mediation. The need to study racism not just in teaching materials and textbooks but also in day to day interactions inside the school led to the use of new methods of observational research. The challenge for researchers belonging to this new line of work was to identify those empirical elements of school relationships that needed to be observed and, even more difficult at the beginning of the 80s, to get access to the school universe and investigate something that official school culture denied. In line with common beliefs, the great majority of Brazilian schools held that the country was free of race discrimination.

The theory of pedagogical mediation was originally based on Gramscian thinking which provided the basis for a considerable amount of research between 1980 and 2000. The point of departure for these studies was the idea that the relationship between teacher and pupil is not a direct one but one that requires mediators (Saviani 1983; Cury 1986; Mello 1982). This stands in opposition to the idea that school education is derived exclusively from processes of "knowledge transmission".

A detailed analysis of pedagogical mediation studies shows the researchers using typically stucturalist procedures to study the school's normative instruments (school rules, course planning, curriculum, etc.) and identify the different ways in which the school contributes to the dissemination of prejudice and negative stereotypes regarding Afro-descendants and indigenous peoples. The research aligned with the pedagogical mediation approach relies on pedagogical experiments in which teaching staff find ways to produce materials that deconstruct stereotyped visions and create positive images of the discriminated groups.

Now that there are policies for creating indigenous schools in accordance with the ethnic characteristics of the territory, researchers concerned with the education of indigenous groups are using the pedagogical mediation model to study the impact of new ways of representing ethnic minorities on the self-image of indigenous children and adolescents (Silva 2002).

This line of research has acquired new strength in the current century due to the understanding that school systems should give priority to training teachers to deconstruct traditional racist discourse and the discriminatory practices that it fosters. (Cavalleiro 2000; Gomes 2001; Gonçalves 2006). Pedagogical mediation stresses the use of different interview techniques borrowed from other qualitative approaches. The research explores the triangulated method of data collection that combines observation with different interview techniques so as to encompass the complexities of teacher practice.

At the same time as the research on poor teacher qualifications, another movement was going in the opposite direction. Focusing on the theme of racial inequality in schools, these studies emphasized the way some teachers manage to break the silence surrounding racial prejudice in Brazil by abandoning traditional methods of teaching. A significant number of these studies is associated with the Centre for the Research of Everyday Education and Culture of the Faculty of Education of the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (Núcleo de Pesquisa Cotidiano, Educação e Cultura da Faculdade de Educação da Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro). These studies have introduced the theoretical-epistemological approach suggested by Mignolo's Theory of Decolonization (Mignolo 2005). According to these researchers, the adoption of this new approach has permitted the identification of school experiments in which the actors (teachers and specialists) are putting into practice what Walter Mignolo has called "colonial difference". This is the recognition of "other ways of construing knowledge drawn from ways of being, thinking and knowing different from European modernity but in dialogue with it" (Candau and Oliveira 2010, pp. 34–48; Lima 2005; Caputo 2005).

Conclusions

The analysis of virtually all sociological research on the question of ethnic/racial inequality in education between 1980 and 2010 enabled us to identify three separate traditions of work that while employing different methodologies and focusing on different aspects of the problem, share a similar concern to expose the nature of social inequality in Brazil. A considerable volume of previous research had studied the growth of popular social movements and the transformation of the working classes but had failed to understand the importance of race and ethnicity in the explanation of inequality. What had not been fully understood was how the indigenous peoples and those of African-Brazilian descent suffer discrimination both for their social class and their ethnic/racial ascendance.

The first research tradition, which we name **Charting Ethnic/racial Inequalities in Education**, expresses a rejection by researchers of the myth of Brazilian racial democracy. The principal studies belonging to this tradition use transversal and longitudinal data bases to show the changes but also the persistence of inequality in Brazilian society along the lines of ethnicity, race and gender, both within and between generations.

The second tradition, concerning **Race and School Effectiveness**, seeks replies to questions regarding the role of schools in the reduction of ethnic/racial inequalities once established the evidence for differences in the levels of attainment of white and non-white students. The studies that comprise this tradition help clarify why the things that take place inside schools can have differential effects on white, black and mulatto students. Research in this area usually relies on regression analyses in a variety of empirical settings and has shown that it is not sufficient to promote universal access to schooling. In order to reduce inequality it is also necessary to take into consideration the difference that schools can make to the educational trajectory of their students.

The **Racism and Discrimination** tradition has established research on a number of fronts. On the first of these, we see the use of narrative interviews and life history research methods to focus on the reconstruction of life experiences and the efforts of families to prepare their offspring for instances of race discrimination and prejudice in school. The research has also been used to analyse the educational histories of European, Asian and African immigrants in their process of adaptation to Brazilian society. On a second front, research has been a response to the negative stereotypes associated with blacks, people of indigenous origin, women and ethnic minorities. The focus of these studies

has been to denounce the use of stereotypes in text books, other teaching materials and teaching activities. On the third front, the Racism and Discrimination tradition insists on the need to study how racism and ethnic/racial discrimination plays out in the interactions between teachers and students, between students themselves and between students and other members of school staff. The research methods employed are basically those of observation. These studies have contributed to the unmasking of the covert racism in Brazilian society that is manifested in the different cultural and pedagogical activities of schools.

To finalize, it is worth adding that our critical review identified a new research tendency concerned with the debate and consequences of the government's recent affirmative action policies. This debate has brought the issue of Brazilian ethnic/racial identity into the limelight. The current system of racial classification lies at the centre of the debate (Brandão and Marins 2007), attracting considerable criticism and raising a legal discussion regarding the way in which racial groups are categorized. As affirmative action is to benefit ethnic/racial minority groups, the difficulties start with the definition of who exactly is to be included. Who decides which ethnic/racial group the candidate belongs to? In order to solve this problem, several affirmative action programs have established non-traditional classification criteria: some use a self-classification system, others prefer third person classification and still others combine the two systems. The majority of research to study the effectiveness of these programs has stressed the importance of racial identity and the need to improve the classification methodologies.

In general, the focus of the research is the evaluation of concrete examples of affirmative action programs (Mattos 2003; Weller 2007; Weller and Silveira 2008; Belchior 2006; Cardoso 2008). But many others of equal importance have emphasized ethnic/racial identity construction, showing that this theme is undergoing a process of renewal (Ferreira 2009, 2010; Rosemberg 2004). Although solid enough in themselves, the studies on this topic are still too recent and too few to be considered a new tradition in the study of educational inequality. We shall have to return to an analysis of this topic at a later date.

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Canada: A Review of Research on Race, Ethnicity and Inequality in Education from 1980 to 2017

Katherine Lyon and Neil Guppy

Introduction

The trajectories of research fields are neither linear nor predictable, unfolding across time and place in different ways. Both individual and structural influences shape field developments, although the latter are the more influential. Individual scholars pursue their personal preferences but these are largely shaped by cultural, economic, political, and social contexts. In this chapter we review how research on race and ethnicity has evolved in the Canadian context. We do this by systematically identifying and then analyzing changing trends in Canadian sociological research regarding education, ethnicity, and educational inequality from 1980 to 2017. We highlight both change and stasis in research questions, approaches, and findings, while highlighting areas and methods where future work is required.

The social organization of Canadian education, and how this has been shaped by issues of ancestry, ethnicity and race, has occurred in a relatively unique setting. Canada shares with other white settler societies such as Australia and the United States, the colonial legacies of aboriginal oppression followed by in-migration. Similar to other European countries like Belgium and Switzerland, yet different from Australia and the United States, both dominant and persisting language and religious divisions have shaped the nation, with

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the British (Protestant) and French (Catholic) as founding charter groups in Canada. Culturally defined inequalities along the fissures of ancestry, ethnicity, and race thus have some distinctive features in Canadian education. This is also especially so because education is organized at the provincial level with very little pan-Canadian or federal influence on the size and shape of schooling. What in some nations might be a simpler education story related to race and ethnicity is in Canada a more complicated, decentralized narrative with sensitivity to Aboriginal, linguistic, and religious fragmentation necessary as well.

Although previous reviews of education and ethnicity have been conducted in Canada, this project adds to the existing literature by broadening the language, timeframe, and focus of investigation. In particular, our sample includes francophone and anglophone research, whereas most existing reviews are specific to either French- or English-Canadian literature (Daley and Begley 2008; Davies and Guppy 1998; McAndrew 2001). Furthermore, the previous studies span a shorter time frame and now lack currency. Our focus not only incorporates the most recent literature, but also includes over 35 years of previous research. Finally, our inclusion of topics in education relating to First Nation peoples, immigrant and visible minority populations, and French-Canadians makes this paper one of the broader reviews. In contrast, other reviews focus on a more limited scope (e.g. Kirova's (2008) review of multicultural education).

We have organized the chapter into three sections. We begin by describing the Canadian education system historically and highlighting especially how issues of colonialism, immigration, multiculturalism, and a renewed social movement for Indigenous rights have shaped schooling. This is followed by a methods section wherein we describe in detail our search procedures for scouring the research literature. Finally, we organize and then discuss the research literature within five research traditions that emerged from our search: 'mobility/meritocracy', 'discrimination/racism', 'identity/values', 'aboriginal education', and 'institutional processes'. These groupings are based on the research focus, scope, and in some cases, methods, employed by the authors and serve as a general guide for navigating the complex research terrain in Canada in the past 35 years.

National Context

Canada's Education System

As decreed in the *Constitution Act* of 1867 (section 91 (24)), the national government is responsible only for the schooling of First Nations peoples, or about four percent of Canadian youth. The vast majority of young people

participate in school programs administered by each individual province (10) or territory (3). Consequently school governance models, the curriculum, teacher training and certification, levels of funding, and much more vary by region. Most areas nevertheless have relatively similar school systems, beginning with kindergarten at age five or six and progressing through to Grade 12. Typically schools are divided into elementary (grades k–8) and secondary (9–12), although middle schools (7–9) are increasingly popular (see Fig. 7.1).

Tracking or streaming within schools is minimal in comparison to most European systems. Most schooling is public, with only about 10% of students attending private schools, the majority of which are religious or heritage-based (with relatively few elite private schools). Most provinces have some form of standardized examination system, mainly designed to track student performance, but increasingly few provinces have final standardized graduation exit exams for Grade 12. The tertiary level is characterized by two separate tracks, a community college/institute track that is mainly vocationally oriented, and a university track, save in Quebec where a CEGEP (Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel) system exists. CEGEPs, some French and fewer English, as well as some public and fewer private, are the first level of higher education in Quebec, after which some graduates proceed to university while others take vocational courses designed for direct labour market entry (equivalent to the colleges and institutes elsewhere in Canada). The majority of high school graduates proceed to post-secondary training, with over 1.3 million students in university and another 750,000 attending colleges in 2014–15 (numbers that have grown by over 50 percent since the early 1990s; see CANSIM 477-0019). A rough participation rate, which continues to climb,
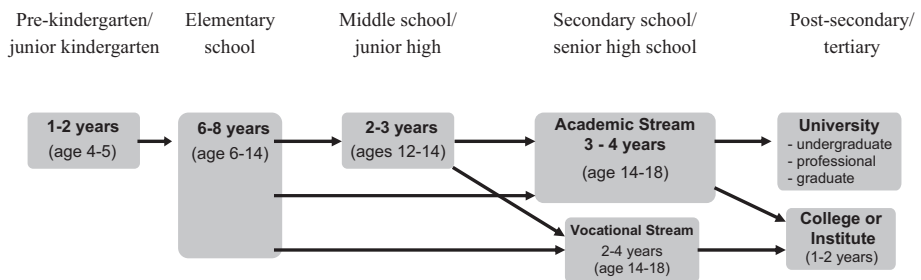
Fig. 7.1 Structure of public education in Canada. (Notes: 1. The structure varies by province (schooling is a provincial, not a federal, responsibility). 2. At the secondary or senior high school level the academic stream is the most prominent trajectory with less emphasis on vocational in recent decades. 3. The CEGEP university transfer program, not pictured here, is an important stream unique to the Province of Quebec (between Grade 11 and university entrance))

would suggest about 70 percent of young people proceed to the postsecondary system. A key selection point in the Canadian system comes between the secondary and tertiary levels, including the filtering between the college and university streams at the tertiary level. A further key selection point, one of increasing significance, lies in the fields of study, and especially the professional fields, into which students are sorted at the university level (Davies and Guppy 2018).

Ethnocultural Composition

The current ethnocultural composition of Canada is a product of colonialism, immigration, and natural increase. We focus first on the latter two, returning to colonialism in a later section. Immigration has played a significant role in the ethnic composition of Canada as well as the nation's changing approach to diversity. The major source countries of immigrants have changed over time due to early discriminatory immigration regulations. Prior to 1960, the immigration system favored Americans, British, and Northern Europeans with white skin (Derwing and Munro 2007, pp. 93–94). With a change in legislation as well as increased mainstream acceptance of diversity after World War II, Asia became the main source continent for immigrants. Since 2012, the top three source countries for permanent residence have been the Philippines, India, and China (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2017a).

Currently, immigration policies prioritize three classes of immigrants: family, economic, and refugees and persons in need of protection (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2017b). Canadian immigration has a strong history of admitting refugees based on its humanitarian ideals and temporary workers for the purpose of domestic care and seasonal labor. The Canadian Government has continued to demonstrate this commitment in recent years, admitting a total of 45,890 Syrian refugees between November, 2015 and May, 2017 – most of whom settled in large urban cities (Statistics Canada 2017). In 2002, policy changes resulted in younger, highly educated and bilingual workers gaining increased preference. The economic class, constituting 63% of permanent resident immigrants in 2015, privileges individuals with higher education, language skills, and experience among other factors. However, skilled immigrant workers – particularly visible minorities – have a higher unemployment rate and lower income than workers born in Canada. This trend can largely be attributed to the lack of recognition of foreign educational credentials and experience by professional associations and employers (Fong and Cao 2009; Reitz et al. 2014). The disconnect between immigration

policies and labor market practices is particularly problematic given that most immigrants enter Canada through legal channels, in contrast to the United States where illegal immigration is a more vexing problem.

Estimating Canada's current ethnic, racial, and ancestral composition is fraught with difficulty given the diversity of ethnic heritage, the changing patterns of self-identification, and intermarriage across groups (Schimmele and Wu 2015). Table 7.1 estimates ethnic composition for seven coarsely defined groupings, but is at best a rough approximation of the ethnocultural composition of modern Canada.

The table shows the European dominance in the population, reflects the growing Asian inflow over the last few decades, and emphasizes how immigration patterns in Canada have differed from the United States with respect to a much smaller black and Hispanic population. Notice too that Canadians tracing their ethnic ancestry to British stock are in a minority. Additionally, francophone populations are experiencing a relative decline in French Canada in the face of immigration from non-francophone groups. This has heightened concerns for the preservation of their cultural heritage in the face of English-language dominance in the rest of Canada and the USA. Natural increase among the English and French is the main reason for their continued numerical dominance in the table, as recent immigration from either English or French source countries has been relatively low. Also significant is the fact that the visible minority population has become a larger and more vocal group in the last few decades (Satzewich and Liodakis 2018). The table, based as it is on two national surveys, likely underestimates the aboriginal population (other estimates would put the aboriginal population at approximately 4.4%; see Statistics Canada 2013).

Diversity can also be described in slightly different ways (Chui and Flanders 2013). First, in 2011 about 6.8 million residents were foreign-born, repre-

Table 7.1 Estimate of ethnocultural composition of Canada, circa 2010

	%	N
English	35	12,000,000
French	25	8,600,000
Other European	24	8,300,000
Asian	10	3,500,000
Aboriginal	3	1,400,000
African/Arab	3	1,030,000
South American	1	350,000
Total	100	34,900,000

Source: Authors' calculations from Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2008; Statistics Canada (2013)

senting just over 20 percent of the total population (one of the highest proportions anywhere). Second, just under 20 percent of these 6.8 million people arrived in the preceding five years, signaling the continuing high influx of immigrants (and their median age of 31.7 meant they were younger than the median for the Canadian population; about 40). Third, in 2011 about 6.2 million Canadians identified themselves as a member of a visible minority group (i.e., 'persons who are not aboriginal but are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour') and about 30 percent of these individuals were born in Canada. Most often visible minority Canadians concentrated in large cities in Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec, and Alberta such that as a group they were often the majority in these urban locales. Finally, just over two-thirds of Canadians reported their religion as Christian (Roman Catholic = 12.7 million followed by Protestant=8.0 million) while another 24 percent had no religious affiliation.

Relevant Education and Social Policy Developments

Strongly steeped in pro-diversity sentiments, contemporary sociological education research in Canada is inevitably shaped by the country's history of ethnic conflict and accommodation as well as by the development of formal, legally entrenched policies of multiculturalism. Although today multiculturalism is accepted as a legitimate framework within government institutions such as schools, this understanding is the result of the naturalization of the ideological frame of multiculturalism (Ng 1995). Within Canada, multiculturalism is a process that emerged out of a history of struggle between the French and British founding charter groups, colonial oppression of First Nations peoples, and high rates of diverse and often contested in-migration.

The roots of present-day minority rights were laid as early as the 1600s when the British and French colonial powers fought to conquer land occupied by indigenous peoples.[1] After the British defeated the French in 1759, they went on to shatter aboriginal culture and institutions through assimilationist programs such as government-run residential schools, the last of which closed in the mid-1990s (Hare 2007; see also Blackburn 2000; Milloy 1999). Legally mandated for First Nations children, these institutes devastated the inter-generational transmission of beliefs, language, and social structure, and

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[1] We use the words aboriginal and indigenous interchangeably although, as with the politics of identity more generally, definitions are contested. Typically aboriginal peoples in Canada are either North American Indians (or First Nations peoples as is increasingly common), Métis (descendants of intermarriages between Indians and Europeans), and Inuit (from the Arctic regions of Canada).

were the source of child abuse, forced labor, and poor academic instruction (see below for more detail).

To maintain dominance in the face of resistance, the British developed strategic legislation to appease both the French and aboriginal groups. These accommodative yet self-serving statutes allowed for the eventual acknowledgment of diverse languages, cultures, and heritages in Canada (Joshee and Winton 2007, p. 22). For example, the 1763 Royal Proclamation legitimated aboriginal self-government and land negotiation rights while the 1774 Quebec Act ensured the survival of French language and culture. In 1876, the Indian Act granted First Nations people official status while furthering the government's control (Lawrence 2003). These historical regulations maintain a strong contemporary presence, particularly in relation to recent court rulings granting legal authority to land claims for aboriginal bands and language rights for francophone Canadians.

While these policies laid the preliminary foundations of Canadian multiculturalism, events during and after World War II led to its official entrenchment. Although the first half of the 1900s saw discriminatory immigration policies and anti-foreigner sentiments prevail, the 1947 Canadian Citizenship Act coupled with the unified war effort and increased in-migration from Europe led to more positive public associations with cultural diversity (Joshee and Winton 2007, pp. 18, 23; Satzewich and Liodakis 2018, pp. 61–91). This new legal and cultural basis for minority rights contributed to increasing political unrest in the 1960s. Separatist nationalism grew in Quebec, ethnic minorities protested the primacy of French and English language and culture, and aboriginal groups demanded recognition of their unique legal rights.

In 1971, Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau responded to pressure from the diverse ethnic communities, the French-Canadian charter group, and First Nations by introducing the policy of multiculturalism. This multicultural framework incorporated French and English as the dominant languages and strove to legitimate the cultures of all ethnic groups (Ley 2010, pp. 196–197). While this first attempt focused primarily upon cultural preservation and appreciation through festivals and programming, significant modifications occurred over the next 30 years, allowing multicultural policy to touch on systemic discrimination (Dewing and Leman 2006, p. 5). Of note is section 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) which states that the charter 'shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians', thus integrating multicultural history and principles into court decisions (Government of Canada 1982). Sections 15(1) and 15(2) demand that all people be treated equally under the law without facing discrimination based

on categories including race, national or ethnic origin, color, and religion, with an exemption being made for laws and programs geared to assist marginalized groups. Additionally, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Government of Canada 1988), brought in by Prime Minister Mulroney's Progressive Conservative government, clarifies the government's goals and position with regard to multiculturalism and legally binds government institutions to operate based on these ideals. Lastly, the 1984 Abella Commission, led by Judge Rosalie Abella, proposed the concept of employment equity to ensure that under-represented groups, including aboriginals and visible minorities, were not denied access to job opportunities or the ability to achieve upward mobility within a reasonably accommodating work environment. This commission led to the Employment Equity Act, which outlines that workplace practices, such as hiring, training, and advancement, must follow employment equity standards (Government of Canada 1995). Collectively these acts create a strong anti-racist legal system within Canada (Dewing and Leman 2006, p. 5; Ley 2010).

Across the country, multicultural policy has not had a consistent or unified effect on educational contexts because, unlike other Western nations, education is provincially and territorially mandated in Canada. Each of the ten provinces, as well as the northern territories, have the flexibility to uniquely interpret and integrate federal multiculturalism policies – policies that are particularly vague with regard to education (Guppy and Lyon 2011). The type of multicultural education policy as well as its speed of implementation therefore varies. For example, Saskatchewan created policies as early as 1974, while Newfoundland and Labrador waited until 2008 (Dewing and Leman 2006, p. 12; Human Resources, Labour and Employment 2008). Quebec's interpretation is especially distinct as it promotes an 'intercultural' instead of 'multicultural' approach (Pagé 1986; McAndrew 2001, pp. 147–154). French is held as the principal culture and language of the province – a policy that is particularly influential regarding education and language of instruction. Given these historical developments as well as the diversity found within schooling systems across the nation, we expected to find education research traditions focusing upon the experiences of numerous ethnic, heritage and linguistic groups, processes and issues.

There is a less visible story that undercuts much of this language and policy of multiculturalism, and that lies deeper in Canada's colonial past. For First Nations peoples most talk of multiculturalism totally eclipses their history. Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) refer to this history as an orchestrated and sustained attempt by Canadian governments to eliminate aboriginal people through cultural genocide – the "destruction of those struc-

tures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group (TRC 2015, p. 1). This is especially so because education was used by Canadian authorities as an explicit means of eradicating what government officials deemed to "the Indian problem." Residential schooling, as described below, was a central tactic in this process of cultural genocide. The TRC's final report, titled "Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future," lays out hundreds of "calls to action" (recommendations), many of them education-related. Exactly how Canadians embrace these calls to action, especially through schooling, is an on-going challenge.

Methodology

Identifying the Canadian research literature on race/ethnicity/ancestry and educational inequality required a careful process of delineating the research scope and then searching for the relevant literature. We review this process here by noting first our criteria for inclusion of research work and second our procedures for searching the research literature to identify studies for possible inclusion.

First, we followed Stevens (2007, pp. 147–148) and Stevens et al. (2011, p. 6) in defining a research tradition as 'a set of studies developed over a certain period of time, which explore the relationship between educational inequality and race/ethnicity in a similar way by focusing on similar research questions, units of analysis, or social processes'. Studies are therefore included only if they explore how race/ethnicity, and we add ancestry, interact with educational inequalities. This was not always obvious. On the one hand many studies have explicit dependent variables that are clear measures of schooling outcomes (e.g. years of schooling, standardized test scores) and so long as a measure of ethnicity or race or ancestry is used as a predictor variable, then the study would be included. Many quantitative studies have this design. On the other hand numerous research works are premised on the view that different ethnic/racial/ancestral groups do more or less well in schooling because of how a particular group is either privileged or not (e.g., by the curriculum, because of discrimination). Schooling outcomes are often implicit or assumed. Many qualitative studies have this design. While we include many qualitative studies of this latter type, we also exclude many studies that, for example, probe multicultural policies and practices at a general level but are not directly linked to the educational experiences or outcomes of specific ancestral, ethnic, or racialized groups.

Second, our search protocol was similar to those used in other countries:

1. We include literature written in both English and French where the research context focused upon one or more of the following: English-Canada, French-Canada, or aboriginal/First Nations/indigenous. Therefore we were alert to the possible variation in research for each of these broadly defined groupings.
2. We restrict our attention to studies with a sociological approach but, as the disciplinary divisions of labor soften through an increase in transdisciplinary approaches, we are liberal in the inclusion of studies that others might reject as insufficiently sociological.
3. The focus is upon research studies examining the relationship between educational inequality and race/ethnicity/ancestry. The inclusion of ancestry is perhaps unique to Canada in that here Native Indians or aboriginal peoples are not typically included as a distinct racial or ethnic group, as these are terms used most often to discuss the migrants who came to northern North America long after indigenous communities were thriving. Ancestry is a common term that recognizes the unique historical circumstances of aboriginal peoples.
4. Only research studies published in the period from 1980 to the present are included, and we have tried to be inclusive of recent papers that we knew were in press at the time of our writing.
5. We focus mainly upon secondary (high school) education, with some studies included that capture the transition from secondary to post-secondary institutions since this is an especially important transition that has been well-studied recently. Since some provinces have middle schools, the grade level at which students enter secondary school differs slightly in research from different parts of the country. Given this discrepancy, we are liberal in our inclusion of research that includes higher elementary grades depending on the province.
6. To qualify as a research study, manuscripts had to have appeared in peer-reviewed journals, been published by a press that handles scholarly work, or been released as an official report of a governmental or non-governmental organization. Although many were available, theses and dissertations were not included in the final sample.

Our sampling procedures involved, as the first step, the extensive use of searchable electronic databases. These included Sociological Abstracts, the University of British Columbia library catalogue, ERIC, Academic Search Complete, CBCA Education, Econlit, Summon, Erudit, Cairn, and a few other databases. All searches were limited to post-1979 and included the term 'Canad*' or 'First Nations'. Other search terms which led to the most fre-

quent hits included a version of 'educat*', 'ethnic*', 'rac*', 'aborig*', and 'school*' (equivalent terms in French were used as well). As a second step we systematically reviewed the table of contents of the journals in which we had identified relevant literature in step one, as well as journals that we thought might have carried relevant literature but from which we had not yet found many studies. As a third step we carefully perused the list of references in the most recent literature we could find to try to identify studies which we may have missed in steps one and two (we added very few studies by this means, suggesting stages one and two were effective). Finally, as the fourth and final step we used the web to search for recent papers from authors who had previously published relevant literature, on the grounds that they may have published more recent work which we might have missed.

Based on the inclusion criteria and the sampling protocol we initially identified 193 English-language pieces and 75 French-language pieces (published in the first edition). For the second edition we identified a further 139 English-language pieces and 21 French-language papers. After reading all of these papers we reduced the final number of works included to 404. Based on the final selection of works, the following five research traditions emerged, consistent with the categories used in the first edition: mobility/meritocracy; individual discrimination/prejudice/ racism; identity/values; aboriginal; and institutional processes. In what follows we present the key characteristics of each tradition and provide an overview of some fundamental works in each area. Given the voluminous literature we amassed, we summarize trends found within each tradition while specifically mentioning only illustrative, exemplary, or noteworthy pieces.

Research Traditions

Mobility/Meritocracy

Studies in this tradition formulate their research questions around issues of equality of educational opportunity. The research is often framed by issues of meritocracy (or lack thereof), with research examining whether or not schooling is a space enabling social mobility. In Canada, John Porter's (1965) work on the vertical mosaic is pivotal. Porter portrayed ethnic groups in Canada as arrayed along a vertical mosaic of social inequality and dominance, with the British and the French, in that order, at the top, with other European groups coming next, and with non-European groups aligned along the bottom (and symbolic of his time, aboriginal peoples were largely ignored).

Often referencing the Porter tradition, the studies discussed in this section examine how racial, ethnic, or ancestral background, frequently linked to language barriers and marginalization, directly influences educational attainment or achievement, with schooling outcomes as the dependent variable. More recently, there has been a shift in focus to the rates of return to education, where educational attainment is used to predict labor market outcomes, examining how these rates of return do or do not vary across ethnic/racial/ancestral groups. This first research tradition can be broken into three sub-themes focusing respectively on achievement, attainment, and financial return.

In the first subgroup, achievement is analyzed by deciding on one or several measures of academic success and comparing the outcomes of different ethnic, racial or ancestral groupings (Ledent et al. 2010). Rousseau et al. (1996), for instance, utilize the cumulative mean grades for French and math as a measure for academic achievement for refugee children. These data are analyzed against the occurrence of emotional problems, as measured by the Child Behavior Checklist, to demonstrate the association between emotional problems, learning disabilities, and the academic achievement of refugees. Similarly, in Worswick (2004), academic achievement is measured by students' scores in reading, vocabulary, and math obtained in the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth. Utilizing this information, he found that students whose mother tongue is neither English nor French experience a lower performance than other students before the age of six, but that by the time they reach higher grades in school the children of immigrant parents have scores comparable to those of children of Canadian-born parents.

Research in this tradition compares minority students to majority students, but also examines differences between different minority groups (McAndrew et al. 2006). In Quebec, this research tradition is often supplemented by an interest in linguistic groups and in the role that language plays in maintaining or creating educational inequities (Sylvain et al. 1988). McAndrew et al. (2008), for example, compare the educational achievement of black students in Quebec attending francophone schools with those of black students attending anglophone schools. They find subtle but significant differences between these two populations that provide different explanations for their educational under-achievement, thus highlighting the importance of inter-group variations.

Research on education attainment uses ethnic, racial, or ancestral group belonging as an independent variable and analyzes the resulting differences in school attainment between these groups (Abada et al. 2008; Picot and Hou 2011). For example, Aydemir et al. (2013) compare the education outcomes of children born in Canada between immigrants and non-immigrants show-

ing that parental education effects on outcomes are three times larger for the children of non-immigrants. More negatively for the children of immigrants they show that boys from the Caribbean and West Africa face serious challenges in turning their school attainment into higher earnings. Overall, however, the OECD (2016) reports that the Canadian school system does well in ensuring the educational success of immigrant children, a rate of success that is above the OECD average and has improved between 2006 and 2015.

Lastly, research within the financial return subgroup draws upon measures of achievement and attainment and compares them against market outcomes to determine the financial payoff of education by ethnic, racial, or ancestral group (Bonikowska and Hou 2010; Dicks and Sweetman 1999; Geschwender and Guppy 1995). This interest in causal links between educational attainment and social mobility has long been a focus of the literature on educational inequalities, and concern with issues of social mobility often underlies research in the other subgroups discussed in this section. Research that focuses specifically on social mobility and financial payoffs of education also seems to be undergoing a renewal of interest in recent years (Reitz et al. 2011).

One particular policy issue that has been the focus of increasing research attention is the non-recognition of foreign credentials. The ability of immigrants to find good jobs, and to experience upward mobility once in the labor market, has been hampered by the resistance of Canadian employers and professional groups to recognize education qualifications earned abroad (Arcand and Najari 2014; Banerjee and Lee 2015; Buzdugan and Halli 2009; Foschi 2013; Galarneau and Morissette 2008; Li 2001, 2008; Reitz et al. 2014). Although Canada uses a selective point system to attract skilled immigrants, the inability of newcomers to transfer their education qualifications has hampered many immigrants in attaining the type of work to which they aspire. Augustine (2015) examines the consequences of Ontario's recent fair access legislation to reducing employment barriers for immigrants.

Research in this tradition is unique given its methodological emphasis on direct causality and/or correlation between clearly defined and measurable variables. The variables employed by researchers in the subgroups of academic achievement and academic attainment vary considerably between studies. This can be seen above, in the subcategory of academic achievement, in which Worswick (2004) analyzes the impact of parents' mother tongue on academic achievement as compared to the work of Rousseau et al. (1996) which investigates the impact of the emotional problems of refugee children. Conversely, research on the financial return of education tends to focus predominantly on the linkage between the average years of education of ethnic groups and the financial return these groups command in the labor market (Dicks and

Sweetman 1999). In other words, scholars most often stress vertical educational stratification rather than systematically examining horizontal educational stratification (e.g., how the effects of fields of study on labour market outcomes might vary by ethnic groups).

The quantitative approach in this category depends upon larger sample sizes, which enables these studies to contribute to understandings of broad trends frequently spanning different regions and time spans. However, this focus on broader trends in the data frequently means that the research does not target a specific age or ethnic group. Rather the research often makes comparisons between broad groups such as the absolute educational attainment of visible minority versus non-visible minority populations or the rate of return of education by coarsely designated ethnic groupings (e.g. Asians, Southern Europeans). This means that research in this tradition usually defines ethnic and racial groupings from a more essentialist perspective (treating everyone within a category as similar); this contrasts with a social constructionist approach often preferred in other research traditions that we discuss in this chapter.

Due to the need for larger sample size, research in this tradition tends to rely heavily on data collected by Statistics Canada such as the Canadian Census (Dicks and Sweetman 1999; Geschwender and Guppy 1995) and the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (Worswick 2004), as well as data on provincial exam results (McAndrew et al. 2006). Analyses are performed across multiple years of similar datasets (Dicks and Sweetman 1999; Worswick 2004) or by performing the analysis on a single dataset segmented by a common factor such as age cohorts (Geschwender and Guppy 1995). In some instances, however, research has deviated from the use of Statistics Canada data in order to obtain more detailed information on a smaller sample group, such as the analysis of academic achievement in refugee children (Rousseau et al. 1996), or the correlation between the degree of sorting across schools in Albertan communities and the educational inequality existing in these communities (Friesen and Krauth 2007).

The most common tool for analysis is the use of statistical regression techniques, while controlling for extraneous factors such as age, geographic location, and language (Geschwender and Guppy 1995; Rousseau et al. 1996). Datasets have also been limited in a number of studies to facilitate and target the analysis of the data, for example, by age when analyzing the financial payoff of education to limit the sample being analyzed to those of working age (Geschwender and Guppy 1995; Dicks and Sweetman 1999). Other data exclusions have been made to remove indeterminate information such as ethnic groups who self-identify as 'Canadian' and where no evidence of their

ethnic, racial, or ancestral group can be found (Dicks and Sweetman 1999). Another complication in this tradition has been the growing proportion of Canadians identifying multiple ethnic heritages, making the definition of their origins more problematic.

A key challenge in this area of research has been the decision of the federal government, when the Conservative Party was in power, to limit the collection of data that would allow scholars to track issues of mobility and meritocracy. In particular, a decision was made to eliminate the long form Census questionnaire which had been a useful way of examining the educational successes of people from different ethnocultural groupings. Simultaneously decisions were made to stop the funding of longitudinal research that allowed researchers to follow individual students level of success in scholastic attainment (e.g., Worswick 2004).

In sum, research framed by issues of mobility/meritocracy has focused on issues of scholastic achievement, educational attainment, and economic payoffs to schooling. Work on attainment was the earliest because of the access to large datasets provided by the federal government, with work on scholastic achievement coming next once standardized examinations began to be used more systematically for policy guidance. The more recent work on financial returns has benefitted especially from policy issues related to multicultural and employment equity issues, where the abilities of different ethnic, racial, and ancestral groups to leverage their schooling for economic returns has been of interest. The evidence continues to demonstrate that Indigenous students face the greatest hardships in navigating the schooling system, whereas the offspring of recent immigrants continue to outperform their multi-generation Anglophone and Francophone peers (Davies and Guppy 2018).

Discrimination and Racism: The Experience of Prejudice as Educational Inequality

Like other institutions in Canada, discrimination occurs within the education system. Within this section we synthesize and highlight works focusing on patterns of discrimination, prejudice, or racism experienced by one or more racial, ethnic, or ancestral groups through schooling. In this tradition we find an explicit emphasis on racism and prejudice as experienced and interpreted by students, both white and visible minority. As most research questions seek to examine the lived experiences of individuals, methods are often qualitative and commonly involve small samples of interview subjects. In contrast to the statistical accounts of political arithmetic and path analysis from the first

research tradition above (mobility/meritocracy), these works seek to highlight the thick descriptions (Geertz 1973) of a life lived as a marginalized individual or group. The attempt is frequently to shed light on an 'insider's account' of how the educational system works, or fails to work, in the face of discrimination, prejudice, and racism. The implication is that such discrimination or racism is deleterious for, among other things, educational success.

Many of the publications in this tradition are recent, consistent with the shifting researcher emphasis toward questions around explicit racism that began in the mid-1990s. Although the topic of racial prejudice and discrimination underlies all of the research traditions we identify, academic works in tradition two stand out as they make these issues the central focus of their analyses. This second tradition closely relates to the institutional approach presented in tradition five, but differs from it due to its student-focused, experience-based perspective (as opposed to a direct analysis of systemic processes). Codjoe (2001, p. 355), for example, integrates black students' interpretations of the curriculum and teacher expectations while not actually analyzing the curriculum or teachers' practices themselves. Due to the emphasis on individuals' experiences of prejudice, structural-level recommendations to systemically challenge racism often come out of these analyses (Codjoe 2001). Main themes emerging in this tradition are illustrations of the ways in which discrimination takes place, individual conceptions and negotiations of racism and racialized identities, and activist attempts to challenge racism.

Due to its focus on individual experiences, works in this tradition provide evidence to show how discrimination occurs and what the negative outcomes can be for those targeted. For example, Hare and Pidgeon (2011) explore the schooling experiences of Indigenous Anishinaabe youth, who experience overt racism from teachers and peers as well as more subtle, pervasive cultural marginalization through teaching practices and curricula. Ouestlati et al. (2006) focus on experiences of Arab immigrant students (both Muslim and Christian) in Quebec. Their study confirms what previous research had pointed out in other places: Arab Quebecers experience racism regularly, and the situation worsened after 9/11 for Christians and Muslims alike. At school, the pervasiveness of stereotypes and prejudice regarding both religion and culture lead to insults, difficulties establishing friendships with Franco-Canadian students, and exclusionary practices (in group work, for example). Participants also reported difficulties in ensuring that school authority figures recognize and punish anti-Arab sentiment, or even accommodate diverse religious practices. Similar experiences have been documented more recently for South Asian Canadian students (Poolokasingham et al. 2014).

The complexity and sensitivity of experiences of discrimination often align with qualitative research methods privileging context and depth (for example, see Sium's (2014) multiyear ethnographic study of intersecting inequalities based on race, class and immigration experiences within a Toronto school). However, some quantitative work also stands out within this research tradition. Oxman-Martinez et al. (2012) draw on data from a large sample of recent immigrant children from China, Hong Kong, and the Philippines between eleven and thirteen years of age. They find that approximately 25 percent of children reported experiencing ethnic discrimination at the hands of peers, and 14 percent of children reported being the target of their teachers' discriminatory actions. The authors employ regression analysis to demonstrate that students' perceptions of discrimination were correlated with their sense of self, social exclusion, and beliefs about their academic abilities – findings that may also be shaped by their low income.

In order to comprehend how racism operates, it is necessary to understand how race and prejudice are conceptualized and interpreted by those in the education system (Ramos 2013). The concept of individual negotiation is well illustrated in Dei's (1997) examination of how black/African-Canadian youth manage their identities in the Toronto school system. He distinguishes between youth who articulate their identity as *being* members of a given racial group (black/African) in contrast to others who are *becoming* black/African, and thus more reflective of their politically aware racialized identity. Varying concepts of race and identity are uncovered and mapped by research in this area to help explain changing expressions of racism (e.g. 'new racism' – Raby 2004, p. 368; see also 'color-blind racism' – Bonilla-Silva 2010). Drawing on interviews with teenage girls in Toronto, Raby (2004) shows how understandings of racism are complex and contradictory. The youth in her sample primarily downplay the existence of racism, remove its systemic components by individualizing experiences, and consistently center and neutralize whiteness.

Studies of whiteness, particularly within the context of anti-racist education, have become quite common. The conflation of whiteness with what it means to be Canadian is a recurring finding within this literature – yet Lund and Carr caution that research on whiteness must be done without "reifying its centrality in multicultural education" (2010, p. 230, 2007). Recent research on the "smart Asian" stereotype explores the complex negotiations and implications of this seemingly positive classification (Bablak et al. 2016; Huynh and Woo 2014). Drawing on 60 in-depth interviews with teenagers in Ontario, Bablak et al. (2016) found this stereotype was employed to maintain the normativity of whiteness, bolstering racialized forms of exclusion even

while opening possibilities for academic benefits for some participants. Dominant representations of other minority groups, such as Filipinos, in Canada are also explored by scholars in relation to their implications for the self-conceptions, aspirations and educational experiences of young adults (Kelly 2014).

Research in the past few years has also paid attention to the emergence, response to, and implications of Africentric school programming, particularly in relation to dominant conceptions of race and multiculturalism (Gulson and Webb 2015, 2016; Levine-Rasky 2014). Through an analysis of comments appearing in national Canadian newspapers, Levine-Rasky (2014) found that despite African-Canadian communities successfully lobbying for the opening of an Africentric alternative school in Ontario, the public response to this school was overwhelmingly negative. Themes emerging through this analysis include idealized interpretations of multiculturalism, the denigration of blackness, and the persistence of white fear in the face of shifting power relations.

The third trend within this tradition involves research about the challenges encountered by students and teachers who seek to resist and transform racism at school. Researchers working in this area most often take a position that diversity is beneficial and that strong institutional measures need to be taken to alter power balances, and dominant narratives and histories. Howard (2014) describes the experiences of Anglophone Black educators – a minority within Montreal – as they make sense of and attempt to challenge racism and Eurocentrism in Anglophone schools within Quebec's complex racial-linguistic context. Lundrren (2006) focuses on the experiences of racially diverse student and teacher activists and highlights themes such as the denial of racism and the setbacks faced by these activists around that public denial. This research describes specific conceptions of racism and agency in relation to those conceptions.

Within the 'discrimination and racism' research tradition, the three predominant strains – activist challenges, student racial negotiations, and experiences of discrimination – shed light on the multifaceted dimensions and implications of processes of racialization at the individual level. Scholars illuminate intricate layers of individual experiences through a variety of qualitative methods. However, due to the highly contextualized and detailed accounts involving small numbers of research participants, this tradition's contribution has less to do with presenting generalizable findings than with uncovering concepts that may be used to understand broader patterns of discrimination.

Identity/Values

As opposed to a focus on discrimination, prejudice, or racism, studies in this research tradition are framed by an attention to cultural differences in regard to schooling. While these differences may sometimes lead to discrimination (e.g. religious shaming), the core focus here is upon different groups seeking to adapt to or redefine education so that it might work in their particular interest. The focus of these studies is not on the conflicts of racism, but on how the cultural values and individual identities of groups or individuals have been socially constructed. A central premise here is that the education system, especially in a country with a legally-mandated multicultural agenda, must be accommodating to the cultural differences of students in the system in order for those students to be academically successful.

One particularly strong theme is concentrated upon the utility of independent or private schools as institutions to promote cultural heritage while simultaneously fostering academic achievement. Choosing ethnically defined schools (e.g. an Islamic school) is a strategy for distinct ethnic communities to protect their cultural heritage while simultaneously being sheltered, at least in the school setting, from different cultural values (e.g. more permissiveness with sex and alcohol) and outright discrimination. So, for example, Asanova (2005) examines schooling for immigrant students from the former Soviet Union, Lenoir-Achdjian (1999) looks at political, religious, and social choices that Armenian parents make when choosing which schools to send their children to, Nault (2015) considers the decision-making processes of parents who send their children to Catholic French speaking schools in Ontario, and Zine (2007) focuses upon how Islamic schools seek to resist 'cultural assimilation' and engage in 'cultural survival'.

Zine's (2007) work, examining four independent Islamic schools, focuses upon school choices for parents and students. She explores, in particular, the tension between resisting cultural assimilation to the Canadian mainstream and promoting the cultural survival of Muslim values and traditions. Independent religious schools, the most prevalent form of private schooling that exists in Canada, segregate students into relatively culturally homogeneous classrooms, thus restricting their interaction and hence socialization with a more diverse array of young people. This limits a more universal civic engagement with the diverse, plural society characterized by multiple ethnic and religious groups.

The alternative to independent or private schooling is participation in the public school stream (where approximately 90% of Canadian students study).

Studies examining how students from different ethnic groups negotiate these public settings constitute another strong research trend (see Kayaalp 2014; Li 2010; Wang 2016). Members of different ethnic groups have been more or less successful with respect to academic achievement and these studies tend to highlight possible explanations for falling above or below the average performance level of all students. Sometimes the focus is upon specific ethnic groups as in Schroeter and James' (2015) research on French-speaking African-Canadian students with refugee backgrounds, Collet's (2007) work with Somali students, Triki-Yamani and McAndrew's (2009) focus upon Muslim students, Dei's (2008) and Smith et al.'s (2005) research on black/African-Canadian youth, or Goldstein's (2003) and Li's (2004) work on immigrant Chinese high school students. Beauchesne et al. (1983) compared similar processes among three groups in Quebec – francophone students, and students from Spain and Asia.

The concept of negotiation, a core theme in this area, is well illustrated in Mbuya Mutombo's (2003) exploration of two minority ethnic groups from sub-Saharan Africa and the Antilles. Students who accept the social hierarchy established by the majority group tend to do better in schools while those who challenge this social organization tend to not do well in school because they see education as a tool of domination. This research has obvious parallels to that of Dei's discussed in the 'Discrimination and racism' section above.

In the province of Quebec similar themes are explored in the context of the accommodation and integration of minority groups (Kanouté and Lafortune 2011). Here scholars pay attention to the ways schools accommodate religious, cultural, and racial diversity in everyday processes (Benimmas 2010; Bernatchez and Bourgeault 1999; Gérin-Lajoie and Jacquet 2008; Laferrière 1983; Laghzaoui 2014; McAndrew 2001, 2013; McAndrew et al. 1997). While this research combines elements of classroom practices and education policy, the emphasis is on what is considered reasonable accommodation. Many works place special emphasis on Quebec in terms of the integration of immigrants as well as francophone students (Jacquet et al. 2008). There is also a stream of this tradition focusing upon teenage disengagement with schooling with a focus upon particular ethnic groups (Dei 2003).

Comparisons between ethnic or racial groups are, to date, relatively infrequent. One exception is Faircloth and Hamm (2005), who examine how members of four different ethnic groups experience 'belonging' or feeling comfortable within the education setting, and the impact of this sense of belonging on academic achievement. Similarly, Taylor and Krahn (2005) contrast the educational aspirations of students from different ethnic groups. Ruck and Wortley (2002) compare the perceptions of different ethnic groups

to school disciplinary practices and the effect of these perceptions on educational engagement. Finally, Ryan (1997) uses more qualitative methods to explore inter-ethnic relationships in a culturally diverse school setting, trying to tease out how different groups construct their identities and the possible implications of this for school success.

In sum, most of the research in these subthemes of school choice and negotiation are characterized by thick descriptions *à la* Clifford Geertz (1973) – they provide rich ethnographic details of the experiences of a particular ethnic group negotiating tensions between cultural survival and cultural assimilation through everyday interactions as well as through school selection decisions. Studies focus on the ways in which cultural background shapes both perceptions of educational institutions, as well as experiences of belonging within those institutions. This in-depth qualitative approach allows for a well-developed understanding of the experiences of the students from different ethnic backgrounds but it makes comparisons between groups difficult. There are a few studies providing comparisons of experiences between ethnic groups, as noted immediately above, but this is an area where more work needs to be done. Work like Annette Lareau's from the US, where the ethnographic research design incorporates theoretically rich comparisons, still needs to be undertaken in Canada.

Aboriginal Education

Research examining schooling among aboriginal or indigenous peoples represents the most easily delineated category. For several reasons, this has been an important area of scholarship, including the historical legacy of residential schooling that continues to haunt First Nations communities, the challenges to school success that First Nations students continue to meet, and the fact that aboriginal youth are the fastest growing demographic group. Indigenous peoples, the longest standing group native to Canadian soil, are understood as neither an ethnic minority nor a founding charter group (i.e., English or French). Their distinct ancestral history, and treatment by the Canadian government, has resulted in a proliferation of research specific to aboriginal experiences. Furthermore, policy-makers, aboriginal leaders, and social commentators continue to see schooling as one viable solution for a host of problems confronting indigenous peoples and their communities (Satzewich 1997, p. 1299; Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015). This is particularly salient because schooling outcomes of indigenous people are frequently low, have been in relative decline compared to other population groups, and have garnered substantial research interest.

Across a wide range of educational metrics, aboriginal students have poorer outcomes than their non-aboriginal peers. Whether it is with respect to years of schooling or credentials achieved (Dahm 1995, p. 1005), aboriginal students have lower levels of attainment (Elgersma 2001; Bougie et al. 2013). Similarly weak relative levels of attainment hold when the focus is upon measured cognitive achievement as evidenced by school grades or standardized achievement tests (Richards et al. 2010). Even more worrying than the lower levels of attainments is the probability that the outcome gap between aboriginals and non-aboriginals may be widening, even though for both groups attainment is increasing (ibid., p. 51; Cherubini et al. 2010; Siggner and Costa 2005).

Figure 7.2 shows, for young people aged 20–24, high school completion rates. Among the non-aboriginal population, 88% of people have completed high school while for aboriginal people the percentage is 60. What Fig. 7.2 also reveals is that among aboriginal peoples there is great variation in completion rates, with Métis being more likely to graduate (75%), than either First Nations (52%) or Inuit (40%). Explanations for this internal variation have much to do with region (Inuit people living in the more remote Arctic and Métis tending to be more likely to live in urban centers) and colonial legacy (with First Nations peoples having been subject to residential schooling (see below)).

Richards et al. (2010) examine the gap in standardized test scores between aboriginal and non-aboriginal young people in the province of British Columbia. They begin by asking whether it is the more economically marginalized status of aboriginal peoples that explains the gap. Their conclusion is
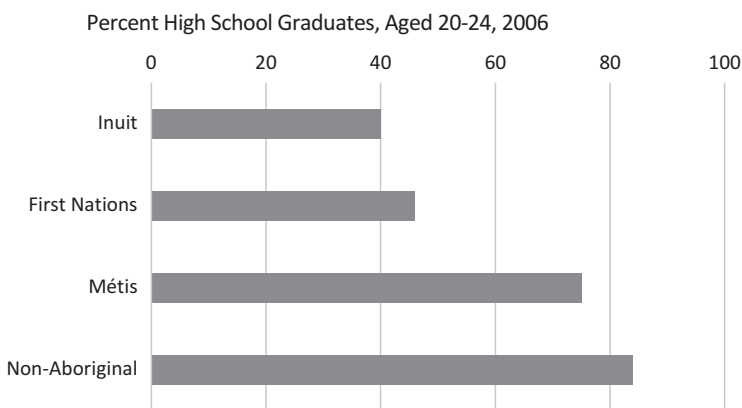
Fig. 7.2 Percentage of people aged 20–24 graduating from high school, by aboriginal/non-aboriginal status. (2006 Canadian Census data)

that while aboriginal people typically are less economically privileged, this more marginal status does not account for much of the educational gap. They point instead to a 'culture of low academic expectations – among teachers, students' peers, or both' (ibid., p. 59), a culture that is promoted, they argue, by the concentration of aboriginal students in specific schools. This perspective, however, has been heavily criticized as one that, reminiscent of 'culture of poverty' explanations once popular in sociological research, puts the blame on an already marginalized population rather than interrogating the effect of colonization and persistent systemic racism.

At least three important conclusions flow from this work. First, the gap between aboriginal and non-aboriginal students persists and looks to be growing. Second, there is more research needed to sort out the strongest explanations for this growing gap. Third, there appear to be school-level effects that are amenable to some forms of policy intervention. There is some disagreement in the literature as to whether or not concentrating aboriginal students in specific schools is a good thing, although the most recent work suggests that it is not as deleterious as Richards, Vining, and Weimer implied (Friesen and Krauth 2010). In our judgment the bulk of the research literature, based on both quantitative and qualitative research, suggests that school environments that promote culturally appropriate aboriginal-interventions (e.g. traditional First Nations knowledge on the environment) will help indigenous students prosper in educational achievement (see Baydala et al. 2009; Carr-Stewart and Steeves 2009; Cherubini and Hodson 2008; Greenwood et al. 2007; Marker 2009; O'Gorman and Pandey 2015; Pirbhai-Illich 2010). An expanded program of early childhood education in Canada might also be particularly advantageous for aboriginal children (Nguyen 2011).

As another example, attention has also focused upon teacher training, and in particular the training of aboriginal teachers, to help enhance the school environment for the academic success of indigenous students. Both Harper (2000) and Kitchen et al. (2010) have undertaken qualitative work pointing to the need for better, more culturally responsive preparation programs. Mashford-Pringle and Nardozi (2013) report on reforms in teacher education involving the infusion of more Aboriginal knowledge into training programs. This is an especially problematic area because of the legacy of colonial policies bearing on aboriginal schooling.

These colonial policies, which serve as another dominant explanation for the weaker academic performance of aboriginal students, are epitomized by the legacy of residential schooling (Blackburn 2000; Haig-Brown 1988; Milloy 1999; Milne 2016). Residential schooling was premised on the idea that aboriginal people needed to adapt to European culture and in particular

learn English and become Christian. Educating children, rather than changing the views of adults, was the operative strategy. Aboriginal children were placed in schools far from their communities, where aboriginal languages were not allowed, and where only European ideas and practices were permitted. The legacy of these schools among aboriginal students was one of humiliation and shaming, where physical and emotional abuse, and child labor exploitation were prevalent. Even though in the late 1990s most churches apologized for their roles in this program, and although the federal government set up a financial compensation package for residential school survivors, education remains a poisonous institution in the memories of many aboriginal people. The ghosts of this legacy continue to haunt aboriginal youth and their communities.

In sum, increasing research attention is turning to collaborative ways for indigenous peoples and others to work together to promote viable options for schooling successes (Canadian Council on Learning 2007; Raham 2009). A key trade-off is to on the one hand provide a culturally sensitive curriculum and learning milieu, while on the other hand also provide the training and skills that are necessary for success both with respect to aboriginal community heritage and long-term economic sustainability.

Institutional Processes

The last research tradition that we examine focuses upon the numerous embedded processes in the bureaucracy of schooling, including official policy, curriculum, teacher training and pedagogy, and parental and community input in schooling and school board decisions. Due to its broad scope, tradition five covers the most scholarly terrain and constitutes 40% of all articles in the review. As with all institutions, these overlapping processes systemically normalize certain assumptions and practices while making invisible the possibility of or need for others. Due to education's role as a crucial agent of socialization, researchers in the social sciences have paid particular attention to how these underlying processes of normalization have affected the outcomes and experiences of schooling for young Canadians.

Here the unit of analysis typically highlights some aspect of the educational system, whether a procedure, policy, or practice, that acts in a way to differentially impact racialized individuals and groups. While tradition three focuses on the perceptions and agency of specific minority groups, and tradition two pays attention to explicit racism, this last tradition allows insight into the structure of educational systems and the ways in which these systems provide

uneven fields for learning and advancement. Although discrimination certainly plays a role here, this tradition more often captures embedded or seemingly invisible processes of stratification.

Policy

Much research has focused upon the role of multicultural policy in managing racial and ethnic diversity at school (Bertheleu 2001; McLeod 1987; see Daley and Begley 2008 for an overview of the past decade; see Laferrière 1983 for an historical perspective on this issue). This emphasis is not surprising given Canada's constitutionally entrenched commitment to multiculturalism in all government institutions. Scholars in this area provide useful overviews of the historical roots and development of multicultural education policies across the provinces (see Ghosh 2004, pp. 545–548; Sokal and Katz 2015; Wallner 2014). Questions of diversity extend to all areas of education including language education policies (Eslingohn et al. 1989; Reynolds 1991; Sterzuk 2015). For example, Hebertonne (1992) considers whether the linguistic and cultural needs of minority students are being met, and Tavareso (2000) traces changes in language programs offered over time. Diverse approaches to multiculturalism, including more radical school-based anti-racist initiatives (Potvin and Carr 2008; Potvin et al. 2006) as well as questions about the potential for addressing race, ability, gender, and sexual orientation together in policy (DeLuca 2013; Snider 1996) are also developing.

A small amount of material consists of action-oriented reports, often conference-based and organized by academic or community organizations, with the aim of evaluating and improving multicultural policies and their implementation in education (Barr 1993; McLeod 1980). Conference presentations printed in McLeod (1980), for example, cover multicultural education with regard to provincial approaches, school board administration, curriculum, and teacher education. Much of this research presumes, correctly in our judgment, that greater diversity, more attention to anti-racist practices, and enhanced multicultural mandates will improve the educational outcomes for all students, and draws on an impressive body of literature on these topics in the United States. What may be lacking are studies demonstrating that this presumption has an evidentiary basis based on calculable, positive outcomes. Consistent with government multicultural and immigration goals, assumptions about the inherent desirability of ethnic diversity are fundamentally engrained within education scholarship. While scholars often critique conceptions and implementations of multiculturalism at all levels of government,

they consistently adhere to the notion that multiculturalism itself, in one form or another, is beneficial.

Challenges in the implementation of race relations policies have been monitored by scholars such as Echols and Fisher (1992) who consider the links between formal policy and practical application. Their work shows that race-related policies are often reflected in curriculum changes while other school practices continue unaltered. Further, they find that these policies are most effective in culturally diverse schools. Still others question the assumptions that inform the implementation of multicultural policies, cautioning against a conflation of 'multicultural' with 'immigrant': "Interpretations of multiculturalism have to be nuanced and contextualized in order to avoid a binary system of representation which solidifies and normalizes the gap between the "us" and "them", and which at present makes multiculturalism and interculturalism issues for the "other" to deal with" (Ghosh 2011, p. 7). More critical approaches to multiculturalism (Frost 2011; Gérin-Lajoie and Jacquet 2008) include abstract conceptual analyses as well as concrete evaluations of specific policies' ability to address the needs of ethnically marginalized groups (Rahim 1990). The connections between multiculturalism and neoliberalism are often explored by critical scholars, particularly within the context of Canada's colonial history and the ongoing commodification of education (Johnstone and Lee 2014; but see Ng and Metz (2015) for a competing perspective positioning multiculturalism as a strategy for national competitiveness).

We note that special attention is given to Quebec due to its unique response to federal multiculturalism (Kanouté and Lafortune 2011; Tremblay 2011). As we have already noted, the federal government's multiculturalism model frames Quebec and the francophone minority in Canada as little more than another minority group, thus undermining francophones as a founding charter group. Given the small population of francophones in North America, this history is compounded by a preoccupation for cultural and linguistic survival in Quebec and amongst francophone scholars. As a result, scholars in Quebec have historically resisted multiculturalism and its accompanying policies, preferring to embrace the concept of 'interculturalism', which is meant to facilitate and encourage exchanges across cultural differences while maintaining the centrality of francophone language and culture (McAndrew 2001; see also collections on this topic, Ouellet 1986; Ouellet and Pagé 1991). Ghosh (2004) highlights how this is reflected in the province's education policies, particularly with regard to language of instruction. Talbani (1993) further discusses Quebec's policy of intercultural education and considers the rights of minority groups in relation to the legal policy of placing their children in French-speaking schools. The intensity of debates in Quebec surrounding the

question of girls wearing hijabs to school (Ciceri 1998) illustrate that tensions also underlie the concept of interculturalism.

Curriculum

Curriculum is a telling component of the schooling system as it reflects the expert knowledge deemed most appropriate at any given time period. Embedded within seemingly objective subjects are assumptions about intended audience in addition to numerous choices about what content was included, excluded, or not even considered. Over the past 30 years the need for racially inclusive curriculum and methods of working toward their creation has been well established (Cancel 2009). Most analyses highlight problematic curricular aspects such as portrayals of specific ethnic groups along with broader conceptions of immigration, diversity, and racism (Blondin 1990; Werner et al. 1980; see also Bromley 2011 on the inclusion of human rights and multiculturalism in civic education in British Columbia; McAndrew 1986 on representations of racism, immigration, and the 'multi-ethnic reality' of Canada; McAndrew, Oueslati and Helly, 2007 on the treatment of Islam and Muslim cultures; and Mujawamariya 2000 for diversity in the Ontario science curriculum). For example, Lebrun (1999) examines the figure of the 'foreigner' in Quebec youth literature and traces the shift from 'foreigners' being portrayed as background characters and sidekicks to heroes. She notes that this change can be partly linked back to the increasing presence of recent immigrants (or those coming from families of recent immigrants) amongst youth literature authors. There is also limited discussion of the role of specific topics, such as the development, implementation and public response to Afrocentric curriculum (Dei 1996; Gulson and Webb 2012). More recently, scholars such as Pashby et al. (2014) have considered the curricular framing of citizenship and diversity within this neoliberal moment in Canada. Content and discourse analysis is the dominant research method in this area, leaving room for different approaches to curriculum examination.

Teacher Training and Practices

Teachers and training processes are shaped by and continue to reshape numerous aspects of the education system. Given the potential of training programs to highlight classroom diversity and power relations, scholars have rightfully emphasized this area in a growing body of research. Training programs and the experiences of teachers in those programs are analyzed with the aim of

understanding how processes and patterns in teacher training impact systemic racism in the education system (as well as how the inclusion of multicultural practices may help normalize understandings of race and ethnicity in schools).

Some scholars have asked how teacher candidates conceptualize the meaning and purpose of multicultural education (Moldoveanu 2010). Teacher's conceptions of whiteness in particular emerged as a strong trend beginning in the 1990s as scholars such as Peggy McIntosh (1990) and her now classic piece, 'White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack' began making white privilege visible. White teacher candidates' conceptions of and responses to white privilege are a central theme in teacher training research. Solomon et al. (2005, pp. 160–162), for example, note strategies used by instructor candidates including a narrative of 'liberalist notions of individualism and meritocracy' in which racialized privileges are denied based upon claims of equal opportunity and effort-based rewards. Policy recommendations suggest that more emotional and psychological support is required as issues of racism and privilege are tackled, and more applicable and concrete classroom strategies need to be provided for new instructors (Kelly and Brandes 2010). Furthermore, the colonial roots shaping teacher training and practices must be acknowledged in order to challenge 'Othering' discourses that can shape teacher-learner relationships (Higgins et al. 2015; Kitchen et al. 2010; Martin and Pirbhai-Illich 2016). Appropriate training is essential as the degree to which teachers are trained to deal with ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity is proven to shape the experiences of immigrant children and their parents (Benimmas 2010; Ghosh 1991; Jacquet 2007). More recently, scholars have focused in particular on teachers' preparation to work with English Language Learners (ELLs) (Faez 2012).

In contrast, the experiences of visible minority teacher candidates and current teachers are more often referenced in relation to discrimination and linguistic challenges (Howard 2014; Schmidt et al. 2010). For example, Mujawamariya (2001) interviewed associate teachers from Franco-Ontarian classrooms and found evidence of discriminatory beliefs toward visible minority teacher candidates. This discrimination was oriented around the idea that 'outsiders' must conform to the dominant francophone culture. Dlamini and Martinovic (2007) further show that teachers-in-training for whom English is a second language harbor deep concerns about cultural acceptance, recognition of their authority, and approval of their accent by both students and host teachers. Using ethnographic data from Manitoba, Schmidt (2010) argues that integration must be seen as a systemic issue more so than an individual responsibility for minority, often immigrant, teachers who may be working in environments where their differences as 'constructed as deficiencies' (Schmidt

2010, p. 235). Lund and Lee (2015) document how incorporating community-initiated service-learning into teacher education programs can challenge deficit-model thinking by helping enhance pre-service teachers' cultural humility and appreciation for immigrant children.

The classroom practices of current teachers, often in relation to racial literacy, are also examined extensively in the literature (Skerrett 2011). Here we see some attention to intersectionality, as is highlighted by Millington et al. (2008) in their case-study of physical education classes in British Columbia. They conclude that sport-related education contexts privilege dominant white masculine identities while subjugating the gender performances of Canadian-born and immigrant Chinese boys. The authors highlight the formal, if abstract, goals of anti-racism in the curriculum in contrast to the informal classroom practices of teachers who were not aware of any racial dynamics taking place. Findings show that teachers' instructions are not easily comprehended by ESL students, that vocal assertiveness and strong English speaking abilities are rewarded, and that activities such as football (familiar to the white Canadian boys) are routinely selected. As a result, the Chinese-Canadian boys lack an understanding of the exercises as well as the ability to influence the selection of class activities. Policy recommendations in this area include ensuring increased consistency between formal curriculum mandates and classroom practices.

The pedagogical practices and assumptions of teachers are additionally considered in relation to their impact upon student success and development (Morin 1993). Here we note a large diversity in methods and concepts employed. Clifton and Bulcock's (1987) work highlights a more quantitative approach to measuring teachers' influence on student success. Drawing upon a causal model, the author's argue that teacher expectations do impact students' classroom grades, however, that teachers develop these expectations based not upon students' ethnicity (ascribed status) but rather upon their past academic performance and cognitive ability (achieved status). However, Riley (2015) documents qualitatively that teachers' placement decisions can indeed be influenced by factors beyond academic achievement, including student ethnicity and ELL status. Other scholars consider less linear, yet equally significant outcomes for students based on teachers' racialized beliefs and pedagogical practices (Gallagher 2016). In her ethnographic analysis of an Ontario drama classroom, Rivière (2008) evaluates the instructor's understanding of ethnic diversity and privilege and the resulting pedagogical approach and dramatic exercises employed in class. She determines that the students' racial conceptions (for example, the continued uncritical use of cultural stereotypes in skits) and identity development were effected as a result. Schroeter (2013),

however, proposes that in certain contexts drama can be employed as critical pedagogy enabling marginalized students to build counternarratives regarding their experiences navigating citizenship, language and race.

Parent and Community Involvement in Schooling

The fourth process at the systemic level consists of patterns of interaction between parents, community groups, and the education system. Studies frame these relationships in terms of schools' integration of recent immigrant parents, the role of parents in student success, and community involvement in policy creation. Parents for whom English is a second language often face barriers to full participation in their children's education (Guo 2006), yet have valuable knowledge to share with their children's educators and administrators (Guo 2011, 2012). Scholars have identified factors such as linguistic barriers and trouble adapting to the new system as key areas school boards need to address to ensure the involvement of all families (Dagenais 2008; Kanouté 2007). Research also considers the ways in which parents of specific ethnic minority groups are involved with their children's education (for example, assisting with homework) and the impact of their involvement on students' academic trajectories and social integration (Benimmas 2010; Croteau 2006; Icart 2009; Kanouté 2007; Kanouté et al. 2008; Liboy and Venet 2011). Others document how parents' school choices and involvement are linked to and construct ethnic identity (Lenoir-Achdjian 1999). Overall, research suggests that parental participation is crucial for immigrant children's success but made difficult by a number of structural factors. Finally, the role of the broader community in influencing school policy, especially regarding inclusive education, is considered with special emphasis on marginalization and mobilization. Zine (2001) explores the narratives created by community members as they challenged alterations to Toronto School Board equity policies in the early 1990s. She notes in particular that a hierarchy of marginalization was constructed as different minority groups competed for the most recognition and status within equity policy materials (in this case between religious groups and the gay community).

Different structural components of the education system are each explored by these four subthemes focusing on parent and community involvement, teacher training and practices, curriculum content, and policy. While we constructed these clearly divided categories for the purpose of describing research patterns, it must be noted that in practice there is significant overlap; each component influences the operation of others. As mentioned above, scholars

have reflected upon this overlap by researching the links between curriculum content and classroom practices (Millington et al. 2008) and measuring the impact that teacher training and pedagogy can have on students' experiences and success (Clifton and Bulcock 1987; Rivière 2008). Future research may identify connections that have yet to be thoroughly developed, such as how specific multicultural approaches (rather than teaching practices) impact student achievement, or how school administrators influence teaching pedagogy.

Methods in this tradition most often include interviews, ethnography, discourse and content analysis, and in some cases quantitative methods. It is worth noting that scholars have begun to study not just systems of oppression, but the corresponding systems of privilege as well. This strain of research, involving studies of whiteness in particular (primarily for teacher candidates and, in fewer cases, students), has the potential to add necessary layers to understandings of racialized inequality in schools. A potential approach that is missing are discussions of cases where policies and practices of multiculturalism were implemented effectively, or cases in which teacher training or classroom pedagogies appeared effective in challenging problematic racial hierarchies (although determining what constitutes 'effective' is fraught with difficulty). By studying how privilege has been recognized, or how discrimination can be identified and reduced, scholars in this tradition may present policy suggestions based not solely upon identified problems, but upon potential solutions.

Discussion and Conclusion

Having reviewed the key characteristics of each research tradition, it is important to note trends observed *across* multiple traditions. These larger overlapping patterns relate, in particular, to methodologies and core concepts, external research influences, differences between English and French-language works, and changes in the volume of research published.

With regard to methods employed, we discern a general temporal shift across the literature reviewed. Closer to the 1980s, studies frequently utilized quantitative analyses with large data sets. With the rising popularity of poststructural, feminist, and qualitative methods, more recent research draws upon ethnographic and interview-based methods, demonstrates an interest in smaller, more contextualized samples, and makes an allowance for fluid, negotiated identities.

This change reflects broader sociological debates taking place regarding race and ethnicity which have been integrated in education research. For example,

we note two dominant approaches to conceptions of race in our sample. Some research takes racial identity for granted (e.g. using it as a variable) while other research looks at the way that racialization is a construction facilitated by educational processes. These unique assumptions and frameworks lead to dramatically different research questions, methods, and findings, even for similar topics. This is highlighted by contrasting research analyzing the impact of teacher expectations on students. Clifton and Bulcock's (1987) research measures the influence of ethnicity (conceptualized as an ascribed status variable) on student success, while Rivière's (2008) work examines the negotiation and development of racialized identities through teachers' classroom practices (discussed in tradition five). For these scholars, their unique conceptions of race mean they observe entirely different processes taking place at school.

Overall, we note that the majority of research on racial inequalities in education tends to assume that racialized identities are 'things' or 'facts' that exist outside of discourse. A smaller amount of work we discuss engages with the way that racial differences are created. Most research starts with the assumption that people can be categorized into racialized groups, and that these categories are then acted upon by (rather than being negotiated through) schooling processes. The work of Oyserman et al. (2003) provides an interesting hybrid between often opposing approaches to the question of racial categorization and academic disengagement. Focusing on 'racial-ethnic self-schemas (RES)' (p. 333), the authors measure individuals' conceptions of racial self-identification and inclusion in racialized groups of various scopes. Findings show that students are least likely to face academic disengagement if their RES includes both their in-group and the larger society. This quantitative model-based research allows students' subjective conceptions of racial-ethnic grouping to be measured in relation to their likelihood of disengaging from schooling. This is one way of bridging the gap between complex identities and large, generalizable samples. Specialized surveys and measurement tools are necessary for this approach, however, making it a challenge for researchers utilizing larger surveys for secondary analyses. As numerous scholars rely on data produced by Statistics Canada, this could present a significant problem. Despite its limited feasibility, the work of Oyserman et al. (2003) provides useful conceptual and methodological approaches to be considered and built upon.

In addition to diverse understandings of race, we find two polarized approaches to conceptualizing what educational inequality is and how it should be resolved. With the rationalization of the education system, a large group of scholars target measures of inequality in achievement. The emphasis here is upon understanding what factors influence academic success and how

to decrease disparities in success across ethnic groups. Another equally large stream focuses on the importance of cultural diversity and the celebration of that diversity. Proponents of this approach more often evaluate curriculum content and multicultural policies with the aim of ensuring that all racial groups are equally and respectfully represented. Although related, these two frameworks ultimately target different components of inequality. The first measures inequality through academic performance (linked to social mobility and labor market success) while the second measures inequality through representations of cultural knowledge, history, and difference (with the outcomes being somewhat less linear and clearly defined). This discrepancy is not surprising given the many interpretations and stages of federal multiculturalism in Canada, ranging anywhere from celebratory to anti-racist.

The patterns of change found in this research are commensurate with broader changes in the field of sociology and the professional academy more widely. As the intellectual divisions of disciplinary boundaries become more porous, contributions from scholars in diverse fields overlap. As advances in methodology proliferate, analyses become deeper and richer (as in larger samples with cross-time designs or with comparative ethnographic sites; both developments in Canada that are only just beginning to influence this research area). With sociology itself becoming more eclectic in the methodologies of its practitioners, and with cultural explanations rising in prominence, it is not surprising to see both of these disciplinary trends surface in the educational research reviewed above.

Despite the different historical narratives of French and English Canada, works produced in either language utilized similar frameworks, methods, and research questions. Even though the concept of interculturalism is largely preferred to the concept of multiculturalism in the French literature, this distinction did little to differentiate scholars across Canada, as they shared similar concerns and approaches for thinking about racialized inequalities in education. It is important to note, however, that a stream of linguistic-focused research questions did emerge in French-language pieces. We decided not to include these in our final sample since a purely linguistic scope did not satisfy the requirements of research focusing specifically on race, ethnicity, and ancestry (and language opened a much larger scope for inclusion).

Although we found only minor differences between provinces in terms of research produced, the provincial structure of the education system has implications for research funding processes. There is a disconnect between the structure of education and the way in which funding is distributed, namely that education is provincially mandated yet the bulk of research funding is federally directed through bodies such as the Social Science and Humanities

Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). As a result, provincially funded research is limited and more often contractually based. On the contrary, federally funded studies are abundant yet frequently disconnected from direct policy initiatives and more closely driven by scholars' own interests. Ultimately, the decoupled structure of provincial government authority over education and federal government authority over research funding has significantly impacted the connection between education research and policy. Complicating this further is the decision of the federal government, prior to the 2011 census completion, to have the 'long form' census filled out on a voluntary basis. Effectively this means that a great deal of data previously collected by Statistics Canada as a mandated aspect of the decanal census will now be unrepresentative of the population. Questions of race, ethnicity, and ancestry have featured prominently in the 'long form' census and thus this source of data will soon be lost (although the current government, elected in 2015, has promised to reintroduce the long form census).

The volume of works in each category is another topic of note. Tradition five was the largest by far, suggesting that a substantial portion of Canadian education research focuses upon embedded institutional factors. Particularly promising about this research trend is its potential to abet meaningful, systemic changes. The documentation of problematic components of education processes such as teacher training, curriculum content, and policy creation can be useful for policy-makers seeking to implement institutional changes. However, one potential limitation notable across all five traditions (with the exception of teacher training suggestions found in tradition five) is the lack of thorough, concrete recommendations emerging from research. Scholars produce strong analyses that highlight problematic elements, but are not as effective in articulating well thought out and manageable solutions for improvement.

Over time an expansion of research is observed across all five categories. Perhaps the slowest growth area in recent years has been in the category we label 'mobility/meritocracy' while the most growth over the 35 years is likely in the category 'discrimination/racism' (and one might understand this latter growth as a more focused examination of a key set of mechanisms influencing mobility). We expect that several factors are at play in this overall expansion. Methodologically, the search engines and databases consulted may have improved their record-keeping for works in more recent decades. Further, an increase in online publications and other publishing avenues may be responsible for a growing number of works being published in the more recent years of our sample. Additionally, the progression of transdisciplinary research may have allowed more articles now to be classified as sociological than in previous times. Finally, education and ethnicity may simply be gaining more attention as a research field.

The recent ascendance of human rights as a focus of progress and equality also has much to do with the growing interest of scholars dedicated to research in this broad topic. Education or schooling is frequently understood as both a solution to many social ills and as an individual as well as a national asset for human betterment. Having an educational system that promotes the welfare of all citizens, regardless of ancestry, ethnicity, or race is thus a major public policy concern. Our review of this diverse research canvas, although uncovering concepts and methods that do not always correspond, paints a well-developed picture of the various layers of Canadian schooling systems and the institutions and axes of oppression and privilege that interact with it.

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8

China: Sociological Perspectives on Ethnicity and Education: Views from Chinese and English Literatures

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Introduction

Since China's market reforms and opening up in the 1980s, growing literatures in Chinese and English have addressed issues associated with educational opportunity for ethnic minorities. Overall, despite certain similarities in subject matter and, in some cases, common authorship, these literatures have emerged in different forms. Consistent with a Marxist perspective that pervades both minority education policy and much of the scholarly writing about it, much of the Chinese literature faults underlying economic underdevelopment at the regional level and poverty at the household level as key

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sources of minority disadvantage. Some newer pieces, a few of which draw from a multicultural education framework, offer critical perspectives on minority education policies, but this body of literature is still small. Cultural disconnects between home and school are featured in this literature, but with a few exceptions, cultural attitudes of particular groups are cited as the barrier to educational success, rather than aspects of the organization and content of educational institutions or labor market conditions that might exacerbate unfavorable attitudes. Finally, much of the empirical work is applied and focused on problems, generally associated with poverty or underdevelopment, that need to be solved to support the goals of development, patriotism, and integration of minority populations.

Like the Chinese literature, a substantial portion of the English literature could be characterized as policy discussion, with emphasis on the integrative goals and implications of minority education policy. Moreover, the English-language literature recognizes the significance of economic poverty and geographic disparity in contributing to educational disparities. However, while some of the work is descriptive and neutral in tone, much of the work has a more critical edge than found in the Chinese language literature. The operating premise of much of the literature is one of deep questioning of the goals and tactics surrounding minority education policies. Empirical work has focused on characterizing the nature and scope of educational stratification by ethnic group, and on illuminating links between schooling processes and the conveyed and constructed ethnic identities of students, cultural disconnects between home and school, and incentives and disincentives for school continuation.

This chapter provides an overview of the Chinese and English language scholarship related to ethnicity and inequality in education. We begin by providing an overview of China's ethnic classification and education systems. Next, we present the search strategy used to identify papers for this literature review. Finally, we describe Chinese and English-language research. We close by discussing key differences and similarities between the two literatures, and by highlighting the need for both literatures to connect more directly to comparative sociological research on ethnicity and education.

National Context

Ethnic Minorities in China

The name used to refer to ethnic groups in China today, *minzu* (民族), is a 20th century adaptation of the cognate Japanese term, *minzoku* (民族), and is often translated as "ethnic nation," "ethno-nation," or "nationality" (Gladney 2004). The specific categories in use today were largely set in place after the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, as the State set out to identify and recognize as minority nationalities those who qualified among the hundreds of groups applying for national minority status. Following the Soviet model, decisions were based on the "four commons": language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up, meaning that ethnic minorities were identified as having common linguistic, economic, geographic, or cultural characteristics that distinguished them from the so-called Han majority population (Fei 1981; cited in Gladney 2004). Scholarly debates about their aptness notwithstanding, these classifications have become fairly set over time, with few new categories created in the ensuing years (Gladney 2004; see Tsung 2009, pp. 72–74 for examples of the complexity of the initial classifications). Today, the Chinese government officially recognizes 55 minority nationalities (少数民族,*shaoshu minzu*), along with the Han majority nationality (汉族, *hanzu*), a "naturalized" category, and an unknown category that encompasses about 350 other ethnic groups not recognized individually (Wong 2000, p. 56).

The officially-designated minority population in China grew from 5.8 percent of the total in the 1964 census to over 8 percent by the fifth population census in 2000 (West 2004). According to the sixth national census conducted in 2010, the total minority population of mainland China was 113.79 million, accounting for 8.49 percent of the total population and roughly the size of the total population of Mexico. Compared with 2000, the minority population increased by 7.36 million, which is an increase of 6.92 percent. The growth rate for the Han population in the same year was 5.74 percent (National Bureau of Statistics 2011). China's minority populations are culturally and linguistically diverse, as suggested by the fact that they span the Sino-Tibetan, Indo-European, Austro-Asiatic, and Altaic language families (Hannum and Wang 2012, Map 1).

China has designated a system of regional autonomous areas in locations where large numbers of ethnic minorities reside (China 2000, sect. 3). At the highest levels are the five provincial-level autonomous regions: the Inner

Mongolia Autonomous Region, founded in 1947; the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, founded in 1955; the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, founded in 1958; the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, also founded in 1958; and the Tibet Autonomous Region, founded in 1965. Also, below provincial-level administrative divisions are autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties, which can exist outside of autonomous regions. China's regional ethnic autonomous zones are in 21 provinces and 741 county-level administrative regions (Ma 2007).

Ethnic minorities disproportionately reside in the poor western region of China, with 71.63 percent of minorities living in this region. In the central region, 15.95 percent of the total ethnic minority population of China resides, and 12.42 percent reside in the eastern region. The western region accounts for 91.63 percent of all ethnic autonomous counties, or 741 regions, the majority of which are located in five minority autonomous regions. 5.13 percent of ethnic autonomous counties are located in the central region and 3.24 percent are in the eastern region. Among these county administrative units, almost 40 percent are designated as national poverty counties (National Bureau of Statistics 2011). However, there is great variability across individual groups in patterns of residence and vulnerability to poverty (Hannum and Wang 2012).

China's Educational System

China has a centralized education management system, and there has been much uniformity across the country in terms of curricula, textbooks, and examinations, particularly at the transition from high school to college.[1] With the exception of some special preparatory education classes, the education system for minorities and China's national educational system is very similar (Fig. 8.1). China's educational system includes general education, vocational education, and adult education, with the greatest resources and attention invested in general education. General education consists of nine years of compulsory education, divided into six years of elementary school and three years of junior middle school. Compulsory education plus three years of high school are considered basic education. Children six years of age are required to attend primary schools, most often located near their residence, and there is no examination requirement to transition in junior middle school. Junior

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[1] The high degree of uniformity remains true today in relative terms, despite policies that have promoted more local content and the development of some non-standard admissions procedures in higher education (Hannum et al. 2011).

Age	Number of years				
25-27	3	Doctorate			Post-graduation / work
22-24	3	Masters			
18-21	4	Undergraduate	Vocational education (tertiary education)	Tertiary level technical schools	Self-study
15-17	3	Academic high school	Secondary vocational education		Adult secondary education
12-14	3	Academic junior high school	Junior vocational school		Adult literacy programs
6-11	6	Elementary school			
3-5	3	Pre-school / kindergarten			

Fig. 8.1 China's education system. (Source: Ministry of Education 2010)

middle school graduates, however, generally have to pass an entrance examination to enroll in upper secondary schools (Ministry of Education 1983, 2001).[2] An entrance examination is also typically required for entrance into the university system, and remains the primary entrance requirement for the majority of universities in China (Hannum et al. 2011).

More than ten years ago, China initiated a large-scale expansion of its education system. Before this time, many students from rural areas or poor households enrolled in technical schools. However, after expansion, many junior high school graduates entered academic high schools that focused more on preparation for entry into colleges and universities. In 2009, 44.8 percent of all junior middle school graduates entered academic high schools, 47.2 percent entered vocational education schools, and 8 percent entered the labor market (Ministry of Education 2010). Higher education has expanded very rapidly in China, but the job market for college graduates has become much less favorable.[3]

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[2] In 2009, a very small proportion of elementary school students, 0.17 percent, enrolled in vocational junior high schools (Ministry of Education 2010).

[3] The rising number of college graduates in urban areas of China, coupled with dwindling number of jobs that demand college degrees, has created a concern over whether higher education can lead to middle-class attainment (Jennings 2010). In 2009, over 6 million new college graduates entered the labor market, many with the goal of finding white-collared employment in major cities (Ministry of Education 2010). However, a dearth of jobs in industries that many graduates would find desirable has led many to settle for low-paying manufacturing jobs. Recent media has described college graduates, who live in cramped conditions in cities and swarm to work each rush hour, as members of the "ant tribe" (Jennings 2010).

Table 8.1 Ethnic minority students in 2009

Level of school	Number of ethnic minority students	Percent of total student population
Academic high school	1,787,100	7.34
Secondary vocational school	1,072,000	17.23
Junior high school	5,012,200	9.22
Primary school	10,591,200	10.52
Special education	32,800	7.66
Preschool education	1,894,200	7.13

Source: Ministry of Education (2010)

Minority Education Policies

Table 8.1 shows basic descriptive statistics about minority students in 2009. (Ministry of Education 2010). In ethnic minority areas, the proportion of primary school students receiving pre-school education is lower than the national average. Ethnic minority students are more likely to enroll in secondary vocational school, as opposed to academic high school, than the Han.

In recent decades, educational access for ethnic minorities has expanded rapidly due to governmental efforts. In 1980, the Ministry of Education and the State Ethnic Affairs Commission strengthened its commitment to the education of ethnic minorities by introducing the "Law on Regional Ethnic Autonomy" and also recommending that funds subsidize minority education in areas with a large number of ethnic minorities, in addition to standard education funding (Ministry of Education 1983). In 2002, The State Council released a policy that emphasized accelerated development for minority education, and in China's tenth Five-Year Plan period (2001–2005), the central government invested 60 billion yuan for construction, of which 57 percent was designated to develop the western region and ethnic minority areas (Ministry of Education 2010). In 2004, the central government also invested heavily to support the construction of boarding schools in rural areas and to further develop ethnic minority universities (Ministry of Education 2004). From 2006 on, the government also decided that students attending school in rural areas of the western region would be exempt from all tuition and fees. China also implemented the "Three Guarantees" – guaranteed learning, food, and housing – in rural Tibet. In 56 counties in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, the government provided free books and waived many schooling fees, and subsidized boarding costs (Ministry of Education, National Commission on Development and Reform, Ministry of Finance

2007). Beyond these policies, there are numerous policy issues relevant to education in minority areas, ranging from language and curriculum policies, to inland boarding school policies, to affirmative action policies. Many of the studies in both Chinese and English focus on policies and policy implementation issues; we will discuss additional policies in turn at relevant points in the review.

Methodology

We review Chinese- and English-language literatures in turn, rather than integrating the two throughout; we close with a discussion of connections and disconnects. Though there are, of course, exceptions, studies in these two language traditions often operate from disparate theoretical starting points, conform to different norms of academic writing, and speak to different audiences in different sociopolitical contexts. Consequently, there are domains of discourse that are prevalent in one tradition that are much less common in the other. For example, there is a body of Chinese-language literature that analyzes the Marxist philosophies that underlie China's ethnic minority education policies. While this literature and perspective is acknowledged in the English literature, there is not really a cognate body of work engaging this topic in English. Before 2010, a key disconnect is that much of the literature in Chinese is implicitly about solving a highly sensitive problem in national educational and economic development, whereas much of the literature in English speaks to an academic audience fundamentally concerned with inequalities and identities. However, recent Chinese-language literature bridges this disconnect in that "educational equality" or "educational equity" for ethnic minorities appears in almost every title or subtitle (68 out of 69 articles) of Chinese language articles published between 2011 and 2016. Yet, although the titles and subtitles imply the importance of educational equality, most articles position equality as a means to achieving China's modernization and economic goals.[4] A few scholars define equality as essential to addressing ethnic minority discrimination and empowering ethnic identities.[5] We discuss disconnects and connections between the different language literatures in the conclusion.

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[4] See Gao and Zhao (2016), Han and Li (2012), He and Lan (2013), Li and Jiang (2012), Zhang (2011).

[5] See Hu (2011) and W. Wu (2014).

For our Chinese language search, we restricted our study to Chinese language literature focused on mainland Chinese ethnic minority education. We excluded literature about Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. The literature we reviewed was published from 1980 to 2016 and encompassed research drawing on sociological, pedagogical, and ethnological perspectives on minority education and inequality. We employed three specific search protocols. First, we searched China's largest periodical and journal database, the Chinese National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI), for titles with combinations of the following key words: nationality, education, and equality/equity. We also searched online for books in China's National Library, which is China's largest professional book collection. Initial searches yielded close to 470 articles and 150 books, of which 149 articles and 30 books were selected for quality and relevance.

For literature in English on ethnic minority education in China, we searched Sociological Abstracts and ERIC for articles with titles containing the words China, education, and ethnic or minority. We then performed the same search in WORLDCAT to obtain books. Given the relatively recent emergence of literature in English on this topic, we did not put date restrictions into our search, but no work found predated the 1980s. We supplemented the materials found in these systematic ways with other material we were aware of that was related to ethnic minorities and the context or outcomes of education.

Chinese-Language Traditions

We organize the Chinese-language research into six themes: Marxism and ethnic minority education, patriotism and national unity in education for ethnic minority students, multicultural education, determinants of ethnic differences in education, school facilities and teacher quality, and preferential or affirmative action policies. These traditions focus on the guiding ideology of ethnic minority education and its emphasis on national unity, ethnic differences in educational experiences and outcomes, and ways in which policies should address these educational differences. The majority of Chinese-language articles take a theoretical, rather than empirical, approach to ethnic minority education. Characterizing the empirical studies, scholars highlight the heavy use of qualitative methodologies and suggest the use of mixed methods to capture the interdisciplinary nature of Chinese ethnic minority educational research (Jing and Huang 2015). After 2011, there is an emerging body of research that employs quantitative methods—mainly descriptive

statistics and regression analysis (Du and Chen 2014; Fu 2015; Han 2012; Han and Li 2012; Huang 2015; Li and Li 2014; Liu et al. 2011; Ning et al. 2014; Sun et al. 2013; Zhao 2013; Zhou et al. 2015). Additionally, a growing body of research examines the intersectionality of ethnic minority education, beyond the Han-minority dichotomy (Hong 2010; Li and Long 2013; Li and Wang 2014; Liu et al. 2011; Sun et al. 2013).

Marxism and Ethnic Minority Education

One line of research has described the influence of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin on China's ethnic minority education system. Jia (2000, 2007) traces how China's definition of ethnicity borrows heavily from Marx, Engels, and Stalin; that is, the notion of ethnicity, or groups that share a common history of formation, language, geography, economic life, and culture, arises when societies transition from local, tribal communities to states which encompass different ethnic groups. Ma (2007) analyzes the influence of Stalin and Lenin on the goals of ethnic minority education. The author finds that Stalin and Lenin both argue that ethnic distinction is a large source of conflict among the common people, and that assimilation of all groups will eliminate ethnic differences and contention. As a socialist state, China should therefore create policies which assimilate all ethnicities under one mainstream culture. Because Marxism is the guiding ideology of the Communist Party of China, it is difficult to find sociological studies that offer direct criticism of Marxism or educational inequality in China.

Patriotism and National Unity in Education for Ethnic Minority Students

The Marxist ideology of assimilation and unity serves as the foundation for the second tradition found in Chinese-language research on ethnic minority education. This second research tradition focuses on the implementation of the Marxist ideals of integration, unity, and improvement in ethnic minority education. Emphasis on national unity and patriotism in ethnic minority education traces its policy origins to as early as 1983, when the Ministry of Education studied and implemented views which strengthened patriotism and propaganda in education in schools in minority areas (Ministry of Education 1983). Scholarship in this tradition states that the integration of ethnic minorities into mainstream society through schooling is necessary for

both the development of ethnic minority regions and the preservation of social stability. This tradition of scholarship continues in recent years, where education equality is depicted as a means to achieving national unity and stability (Zhang 2011). Most authors who do mention issues of ethnic minority identity argue that students who integrate into mainstream values do not compromise their minority identities. Yet, there are exceptions. Recent studies highlight the importance of nurturing ethnic and cultural identity at a young age alongside mainstream identity (Li and Jiang 2012; Liang and Liu 2014).

One body of literature focuses on inland classes and boarding schools for ethnic minority students, and argues that these programs improve education for ethnic minority students and promote national unity and the culture of minority groups. In 1985, the central government launched "Tibetan classes" (*Xizang ban*), which are cohorts of mainly Tibetan students in classrooms and provinces in majority-Han areas of China (particularly major cities). The overall purpose of these classes was to accelerate the development of Tibet and strengthen patriotism (Ministry of Education, the General Office of Tibet Autonomous Region People's Government 2007). The State deemed these classes an early success, and in April of 1988, the State Education Commission stated that these schools were vital in order to reform and develop education in Tibet. As of 2007, Tibetan classes across China included 4,840 junior high school students, 6,780 junior vocational students, 13,000 high school students, and 9100 college and university students (Ministry of Education, the General Office of Tibet Autonomous Region People's Government 2007). Similarly, "Xinjiang classes" (*Xinjiang ban*) were established in 1987, and have expanded to 1.5 million students in recent years (Li 2011; Xia 2007). One ethnographic study of middle school students enrolled in a "Tibetan class" in an eastern city argued that students were able to accept both the State ideology of ethnic unity and integration while also claiming a sense of Tibetan culture through the students' attachment to common Tibetan symbols (Zhu 2006).

Other work investigates language programs that educate ethnic minority students in Chinese, called "*min kao han,* 民考汉". This body of Chinese-language literature argues that these programs are highly beneficial to ethnic minority students. Ma (2008) surveyed parents of ethnic minority students in Xinjiang, and found that parents increasingly favored that their children learn Mandarin in lieu of their native language. This same study also found that students themselves were willing to learn Chinese and preferred Chinese language programs. Zu (2009) argued that "*min kao han*" students not only benefited from Chinese-language education, but also from exposure to "mainstream" cultural values. The author found that students who integrated into

mainstream society did not necessarily lose their ethnic identity, and that many ethnic minority students enrolled in "*min kao han*" programs formed "double identities" of Chinese and minority cultures.

One notable study of implementation of patriotic education in Tibet found that curricula did not sufficiently address contradictions between mainstream knowledge taught in schools and local cultural values (Zhu 2007). In qualitative case studies in primary schools in rural areas, the author found that the nuances of each school environment were not always incorporated into teaching, and that parents mentioned tension arising from this conflict. The author recommended that formal school curriculum should present traditional Tibetan culture, including local culture, history, and geography.

Multicultural Education

A third line of research discusses the viability of multiculturalism in the Chinese context. Multiculturalism, as defined by Chinese literature, encompasses the notions that different cultures are equal and mutually influence each other (Teng 1997). Some scholars argue that multicultural education can teach ethnic minority students about both mainstream and minority cultures while emphasizing the value of national unity (Ma 2007; Teng 1997; Tian and Zhou 2014). Learning about different cultures can also help eliminate ethnic and cultural discrimination experienced by many ethnic minority students (Teng 1997; Hu 2011; Tian and Zhou 2014; Wan 2006; W. Wu 2014). Multicultural education also promotes communication among ethnic groups and contributes to sustainable development of ethnic cultures (Chen et al. 2013; Dai 2012).

Other scholars have compared multicultural education in Western countries with China's Marxist ideology. In comparative studies of the teaching objectives and theories of Western multicultural education and minority education in China from a historical perspective, Wan and Bai (2008) conclude that issues addressed by Western multicultural and minority education are very distinct from China's ethnic education issues, and Western multicultural models could not simply be adopted in original form for the China context. The authors argue that in the West, the principle responsibility and demand of multicultural education is to address issues with rights and political equality. However, in China, the authors argue, the concerns with ethnic minority education focus on economic, social, and cultural development. Scholars also state that current ethnic minority education

policies, such as a set of reforms in 2001 that require schools to address the cultural heritage of ethnic groups (Ministry of Education 2001), already promote diversity and mutual interaction (Wan 2006; Yu 2010).

Multicultural frameworks have also been used to criticize education that is based on one mainstream culture. Yuan (2004) argues that a dominant Han culture permeates much of the education system in China, and much of this "official knowledge" is different from ideas taught in various ethnic minority cultures. This knowledge is found in unified standards, curriculum, and textbooks that often ignore the diversity of local culture, ethnic minority languages, and cultural differences. Qian (2007) found, in a study of ethnic minorities in the Northwest, a curriculum that contradicts local customs in favor of more mainstream values. The author argues that students gradually lose their ethnic identity as they progress in their education, and that this is of growing concern since curricula that emphasize national unity are replacing curricula that emphasize diversity in the schools in ethnic minority areas. This line of scholarship continues after 2011, highlighting how education for ethnic minorities focuses on access to mainstream society at the expense of developing ethnic minority cultures (Cao 2014). Li and Wang (2014) raise concerns about the urban-oriented curriculum and pedagogy in schools, which could be incongruent with the cultural capital possessed by rural minority students. They argue that curriculum, textbooks, and bilingual teachers should accommodate the needs and experiences of ethnic minorities living in remote, rural, and poverty-stricken areas, in order to aid learning amongst minority students.

Determinants of Ethnic Differences in Education

This tradition of research relies principally on quantitative analysis of education data, and focuses on "uneven development" of the educational systems in ethnic minority regions in China.[6] Some authors argue that the educational disadvantage experienced by many ethnic minority groups is due to regional and urban-rural differences in education, while others argue that economic and cultural differences are also important.

First, a body of literature documents regional differences in educational systems. In general, the eastern region has the most developed educational system and the highest quality of education. The western region, in comparison, is significantly underdeveloped. Urban areas in most regions provide

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[6] Literature in this tradition uses the Chinese phrase for unbalanced development, or 不均衡发展 (*bujunheng fazhan*).

much better access to quality schools than rural areas. There are also differences in educational access and allocation of educational resources among ethnic groups (Ma 2003; Wang 2003). For example, in 2000, 15.14 percent of individuals aged 15 and over in China were illiterate (Development Planning Division of the Ministry of Education 2000). In minority regions in the West, the percentage was 22.43 percent. A number of other educational gaps exist, such as compulsory education enrollment rates, dropout rates, and retention rates, shown in Table 8.2. In addition, there are also substantial differences in school conditions and funding between western minority areas and the eastern region. For example, only 0.28 percent of school facilities and campuses in the eastern region were officially classified as being in a "dilapidated state", but 2.62 percent of schools were dilapidated in the Northwest in 1999 (Yang 2006). Provincial funding for education was also 4.86 times greater in five eastern provinces (Beijing, Shanghai, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Guangdong) in 2003 than five northwestern provinces (Shaanxi, Gansu, Qinghai, Ningxia, Xinjiang) (Yang 2006). Resources still pose a challenge (Han 2012, H. Wu 2014). Additionally, there are fewer higher education institutions in ethnic minority areas in the western provinces compared to the number of higher education institutions in eastern provinces, which may limit ethnic minorities' access to higher education (He 2013). In addition, the facilities in ethnic minority areas are under-resourced (He 2013).

Other studies emphasize the importance of urban and rural educational systems in explaining ethnic differences in education. Hong (2010), using survey data from western regions, found that ethnic differences in enrollment in basic education enrollment are due to more urban-rural divides and class inequality than to ethnic inequality: while the probability that ethnic minority children are enrolled in high school is still significantly lower than for Han children, the difference can be explained mainly by urban and rural, regional,

Table 8.2 Averages of educational indicators in different regions of China in 2000

	Enrollment rate of primary school aged children	Dropout rate of primary school aged children	Primary school enrollment rate	Primary school 5-year retention rate	High school entrance rate
National	99.09	0.90	94.37	92.48	49.52
East	99.72	0.25	97.24	98.10	52.56
West	97.86	1.13	89.96	84.02	45.70
Western minority areas	95.78	1.50	84.37	74.84	47.43

Source: Development planning division of the Ministry of Education (2000)

and class differences. Ma (1998) found that in 1990, the illiteracy rate in rural areas of Tibet was 77.2 percent, but only 37 percent in urban areas. Scholarship in recent years continues to explain differential educational outcomes between and within ethnic minorities as a result of the urban/rural divide (Guo and Hou 2011). A new dimension of inequality, beyond the traditional urban and rural divide, is the recognition of migrant status for residents who move from rural to urban areas (Fu 2015; Sun et al. 2013). Using survey data from Zhujiang Delta, Sun et al. (2013) highlight that educational inequality exists between migrant workers based on home origin, regional location, and ethnic background. The greatest difference in educational attainment among migrant workers exists between urban and rural migrant workers (Sun et al. 2013). For migrant workers from urban or eastern areas, there is no significant difference in educational attainment between Han workers and ethnic minority workers. Yet, for migrant workers from rural or western areas, educational attainment of Han workers is significantly higher than that of ethnic minority workers.

Other work argues that economic poverty is an important factor in explaining educational inequality. One study found that financial difficulties were the primary reason minority children from poor families were not in school (Liu and Yang 2007). Another study, based on survey data from the Autonomous Prefecture of Xishuangbanna, Yunnan Province, described ethnic minority education in this region before and after the implementation of compulsory education with guaranteed funding (Teng 2004). The author found that even after reform, many families could still not afford average school fees. Some scholars have proposed that provincial and local governments establish priority development areas to improve education in impoverished ethnic minority areas (Hu and Wen 2001; Wan 2006). Gao and Zhao (2016) argue that it is difficult to disentangle economic poverty and cultural beliefs in explaining educational inequality. They suggest that economic poverty creates a subculture among poor, rural ethnic minorities that education is not necessary beyond meeting basic needs. Thus, parents do not set high educational expectations for their children, and a cycle of poverty is perpetuated.

Other literature also posits cultural reasons for ethnic differences in education. A number of studies that focus on specific ethnic minority groups, such as the Yao, argue that there is not sufficient parental support and encouragement of children's education (Qian 2007; Yuan 2004). One study of two Muslim minority groups, the Salar and Bonan, suggest that the dropout rate of students who reported strong religious beliefs was higher than those who were non-religious. The author places the onus on the parents,

arguing that they are instrumental in passing on cultural and religious values to their children and should also emphasize the value of education (Qian 2007). Similarly, Bo (1986) argued that Yao parents in mountainous regions did not see formal education as a wise investment, and preferred their children to help cultivate local farms. Wang (1990) found that there was still widespread resistance among Tibetan families in rural areas to send their children to school, despite rewards for school attendance and fines for non-attendance. A more recent ethnographic study by Wang (2012) identified low parental expectations as a barrier to ethnic minority education in Hubei Province. The idea that education is of little value is also identified as barrier in Han's (2012) quantitative research conducted in Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefectures in Guizhou Province. There are two perspectives that explain the Han-minority gap. Some scholars used a cultural deficit model regarding the cognitive and learning gap (Wu 2015). However, other scholars identified school factors such as culturally incompatible curriculum and lack of resources, as barriers to interest in education within ethnic minority students (Yuan and Hu 2014).

Related work focuses on gender differences in schooling for ethnic minorities. One study of ethnic minority schools with high female dropout rates argued that parents resisted sending girls to school (Qian 2007). However, research on the Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture in Guizhou found that families cited safety as an important factor, and argued that this concern could explain why dropout rates for girls were generally higher than for boys (Han 1999; Wang 2006). A quantitative analysis of ethnic minorities in Qinghai found that patriarchal preference for boys and economic poverty are the main barriers for girls' non-enrollment in schools compared with boys (Liu et al. 2011). Studies proposing cultural explanations have not developed or tested systematic theories about the educational, social, economic, or policy conditions under which cultural resistance to local educational systems emerges.

School Facilities and Teacher Quality

Another thread of work focuses on school facilities and teacher quality. Most research in this body of literature focuses on compulsory education and regions with a large number of ethnic minorities, including Guizhou's ethnic minority regions and minority autonomous areas of Gansu, Xinjiang, Tibet, and Yunnan (Zhou 1985; Bai 1986; Ma 2004; Teng and Su 1998; Wang 2006). These studies employ a number of methodological approaches, including ethnography,

questionnaires, and interviews. Overall, these studies find that impoverished ethnic minority areas lack educational resources. Many scholars working on this topic recommend that governing bodies adopt preferential policies to increase educational investment in these areas and help teachers understand and integrate local culture and social norms into teaching.

One body of literature emphasizes problems of teacher quality in ethnic minority regions of China. For example, in Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu Province, substitute teachers comprised 15.99 percent of total primary school teachers and 24.04 percent of full-time teachers (Minority Education Department of Gansu Provincial Department of Education 2010). Of these teachers, only a small number of substitute teachers had a college degree or higher and most had no professional training in pedagogy (Zhao 2010). A survey study in Miao Autonomous Prefecture in Guizhou Province found that only 34.2% of teachers had a bachelor's degree (Han and Li 2012). Other work also found a severe shortage of bilingual teachers in many ethnic minority areas and an absence of bilingual teacher training institutions (Ma 2007; Teng 2001; Xu 2009). Many challenges to teacher quality remain in ethnic minority regions (Huang 2015; Wang 2014; H. Wu 2014; Yuan and Hu 2014).

Another line of research in this tradition focuses on the shortage of investment in education in ethnic minority regions. Studies that focus on primary and secondary education in ethnic minority areas find that schools often lack laboratory equipment, library materials, and other resources (Teng and Su 1998; Wang 2014; H. Wu 2014; Xu 2009). In a case study of schools that serve Yao children, Yuan (2004) found that the far distance that students had to travel to school hindered their attendance, resulting in a large number of school drop-outs.

Preferential/Affirmative Action Policies

The final research tradition of Chinese-language literature focuses on the purpose of preferential policies towards ethnic minorities. China currently implements a number of preferential policies for ethnic minorities that affect education, employment, family planning, and Communist Party membership. In October, 1980, the government addressed issues of representation of ethnic minorities in higher education by stating that the proportion of ethnic minorities enrolled in higher education should not be less than the proportion of ethnic minorities in the population (Ma 2007).

The limited number of articles and books in this tradition rely more on theoretical arguments rather than empirical study. Some authors argue that affirmative action policies are necessary to address unbalanced economic development of ethnic minority regions, while others discuss the negative consequences of these policies. Some scholars argue that due to a disproportionate number of ethnic minorities residing in impoverished areas of China, policies should be created to foster educational development and "mainstream" language and values in these areas (Hu and Wen 2001; Wan 2006).

However, other scholars believe that these policies may have a number of negative consequences. Zhang and Liu (2010) argue that bilingual education may hinder the integration and upward mobility of ethnic minorities. Specifically, the author argues that because only ethnic minorities can enroll in "*min kao min,* 民考民", or ethnic minority classes taught in the minority language, students' future options may be limited. Other scholars also argue that affirmative action policies for ethnic minorities should only target individuals who live in remote or impoverished areas and not ethnic minorities who live in more affluent regions (Ao 2006; Huang et al. 2013; Wang 2007). Another argument is concerned with "reverse discrimination", in which the favoring of ethnic minorities students may disadvantage Han students (Ao 2006; Li 2014; Si and Lu 2013; Teng and Ma 2005; Wang 2007). In response, some scholars suggest creating preferential policies based on multiple standards such as region, urban-rural status, and economic conditions, in lieu of the current Han-ethnic minority dichotomy (Huang et al. 2013; Si 2013; Wang and Wu 2011).

English-Language Traditions

English-language literature on ethnic minority education can be categorized into four broad traditions: policy overviews, analyses of the relationships between education and ethnic identity, incentives and disincentives for buy-in to the education system, and studies of educational stratification. Policy overviews are in some cases exploratory cataloguing projects, and in others, more serious critical investigations of the nature of relevant policies such as affirmative action, higher education, and language policies. Much of the research on education and ethnic identity focuses on the role of the state and of students themselves in constructing ethnic identities. Finally, literature on educational stratification, which is not generally highly theorized, has sought to establish empirical patterns and trends in access, attainment, and the economic context and outcomes of education.

Policy Overviews

A number of studies have undertaken a basic descriptive task of cataloguing existing minority education policy in the contemporary period. Many scholars have noted the pendulum shifts in minority education policy, with the Cultural Revolution marked by extreme assimilationist policies and the subsequent reform era dating from the late 1970s marked by a broad variety of policies aimed at promoting minority education and development (Bass 1998, pp. 18–21; Dai and Dong 2001; e.g., Postiglione 2009; Tsung 2009, Chap. 4). Iredale et al. (2001) and Hannum and Wang (2012) provide brief reviews of reform-era minority education policies in the context of broader development policies and demographic trends, highlighting provincial "twinning" of rich provinces with poor and minority provinces and autonomous regions for educational support; preferential treatment of minority areas in poverty alleviation targeting; various affirmative action policies for matriculation into colleges and universities; subsidies for minority students; and establishment of inland (*neidi*, 内地) minority boarding schools in China's heartland (Hannum and Wang 2012; Iredale et al. 2001). Zhou and Hill have compiled an extensive series of studies addressing multiple dimensions of affirmative action policies in China (Zhou and Hill 2010). Clothey (2005a) has catalogued policies related to higher education, including university admission quotas that reserve spots only for minorities at universities, admissions policies under which minorities can be accepted with lower entrance scores on the Unified Examination for University Entrance (*gaokao*, 高考), and the establishment of twelve national minority institutes and one national minority university (Minzu University, Minzu Daxue, 民族大学) dedicated specifically to the higher education of minority students (Clothey 2005a; see also Lang 2010 on this topic). National policies aimed at supporting an elite tier of higher education institutions in China have led to improvement in Minzu University's resources, reputation, and status (Clothey and Hu 2015). Candidates for nationalities institutes may sit the *gaokao* in their native language, some applicants to minority region comprehensive universities and polytechnic institutes may also take the exam in their native language, and minority students may take higher-education courses in their region's main nationality language (Clothey 2005a).[7]

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[7] See Zhang and Verhoeven (2010) for a discussion of access to higher education among ethnic minorities in Yunnan Province, based on what appears to be a purposive sample of higher education freshman students.

A related line of work has considered language policies.[8] The Chinese Constitution has two provisions concerning language (Ma 2007): Article 4 states that each ethnic group has the freedom to use and develop its own language and writing system, and Article 19 states that the national government will promote a common language to be used throughout the country. The reform era dating from the late 1970s has seen increased support by policy makers for the use of minority scripts in literacy education and for increased bilingual education, with the goal that schools with a majority of minority language users can use minority languages as the primary medium of instruction (Adamson and Feng 2009, p. 323; Ministry of Education 1986, Article 6; 1995, Article 12; Lin 1997; Ross 2006, p. 25; Sautman 1999, p. 289). In a 1980 publication, the Ministry of Education and the China State Ethnic Affairs Commission required that every ethnic group with a language and writing system use that language for educational instruction, while also learning spoken and written Mandarin (Ma 2007). 1986 and 1995 education laws emphasize popularization of Mandarin, as well as use of minority languages. For example, the 1995 law states, "The Chinese language, both oral and written, shall be the basic oral and written language for education in schools and other educational institutions. Schools or other educational institutions which mainly consist of students from minority nationalities may use in education the language of the respective nationality or the native language commonly adopted in that region. Schools and other educational institutions shall in their educational activities popularize the nationally common spoken Chinese and the standard written characters" (Article 12).

Ross's (2006) review notes a significant commitment to minority language maintenance and bilingual education in China's language laws. At the same time, scholars have observed that there are gaps between policy and implementation, and that there are immense discrepancies in bilingual practice across minority regions, with regard to both state policies and local arrangements (Adamson and Feng 2009; Feng and Sunuodula 2009; Gao 2010; Postiglione 2009). One study (Ding and Yu 2013) found that the Liangshan Autonomous Prefecture government in Sichuan Province seeks to promote bilingual education in order to maintain minority language alongside Chinese language. However, a tension exists between ethnic minority language preservation and a national-level focus on academic performance in Chinese language, therefore making it a preferred practice by the local government to emphasize Chinese language over minority language in schools. Regional and local considerations—linguistic, demographic, and political—shape the ways

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[8] See Tsung (2009) for a recent review covering the PRC period.

in which bilingual and multicultural education can be and are incorporated into education across China.[9] Linguistic and demographic factors matter a lot: Ma (2007), referencing Zhou (1989, p. 31), states that when governmental educational authorities were planning and developing bilingual education, the principle they employed was consideration of the existing local language environment, along with social and economic development needs, pedagogical benefits, and preferences of residents. Scholars classify the modes of bilingual education in China as falling into transition models (transitioning to Mandarin) or maintenance models (maintaining the origin language), with the determination between the two affected by the existence of a well-established writing system and the ethnic composition of local areas (Feng 2005, p. 534; Lin 1997; Teng 2002).

Political considerations are also important. Scholars have argued that the design and implementation of minority language policies relates to the histories and political statuses of the groups and regions involved (Adamson and Feng 2009; see also Feng and Sunuodula 2009).[10] For example, Catriona Bass (1998) notes that in the wake of the resurgence of a pro-independence movement in Tibet in the late 1980s, the primary political goal for minority education—ethnic unity—was reasserted, and concessions to Tibetan language and culturally relevant curriculum made in the 1980s partially eroded (Bass 1998, p. 4). This development also led to retrenchment on some preferential policies to promote secondary and higher education among Tibetans, due to fears about these policies causing tension between nationalities.

Postiglione (2009) notes that *neidi* middle schools accepting Tibetan students in the 1980s recruited mainly from elementary schools where the medium of instruction was Chinese, although students were still instructed in Tibetan for one year to ease the language transition. In later years, these schools started to accept more students from Tibetan-language elementary schools, and in 1993, students were no longer categorized by the language of instruction in elementary school. In interviews with students, the author found that *neidi* schools did not improve Tibetan language skills, and in many cases, students reported their knowledge of Tibetan language had deteriorated.

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[9] For a discussion of legislation from different regional and local governments in China, see (Zhou 2005); for in-depth case studies of bilingual education in Yunnan and Sichuan, see (Xiao 1998) and (Teng 2002).

[10] Feng and his colleagues (Adamson and Feng 2009; Feng and Sunuodula 2009) present a case study of the status in the curriculum of minority languages, namely Uyghur, Yi, and Zhuang, vis-à-vis standard Chinese and English in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, the Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan Province, and the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. Their arguments draw on field visits to each site, including interviews with stakeholders and policy document analysis.

Similar to the case of Tibet, in Adamson and Feng's (2009) assessment, the difficult and contentious climate for political control in Xinjiang is reflected in the value attached to a distinct cultural identity by the people and a somewhat coercive edge to the promotion of standard Chinese as a language of instruction early on in school careers. The provision of English is mandated from the third year of primary school, but English teaching is very limited compared to other many other parts of the PRC (Adamson and Feng 2009, p. 328; Feng and Sunuodula 2009, p. 696; see also Tsung and Cruickshank 2009 for a case study in two schools in Xinjiang consistent with the notion of very limited English availability). Adamson and Feng write, "The coercive nature of the language policies implemented in Xinjiang suggests that the rhetoric of a collaborative approach to language policies in minority areas uttered at the state level is not always translated into reality at the regional level, when national cohesion is deemed to be at stake" (2009, pp. 330–331).

At the other extreme is the case of the Zhuang, a group that Adamson and Feng characterize as highly assimilated and "until recently, [demonstrating] little interest in cultural diversity" (2009, p. 330). Adamson and Feng argue, in this case, that the prime status accorded to standard Chinese and the lower "vernacular" status accorded to the Zhuang language in the curriculum appeared consistent with a consensus (at least as observed in their fieldwork) about the appropriate roles for the languages, although the authors also argue that there is a lack of regional government commitment to "genuinely collaborative" language policies (2009, p. 326). English is offered, by policy, from the third year of primary school, but the predominance of standard Chinese as the language of instruction for English classes disadvantages Zhuang students.

The challenge of balancing preservation of minority languages against instrumental pressures favoring Chinese, and sometimes English, is a common theme. In Adamson and Feng's (2009) assessment, the Yi in Liangshan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan Province, in an impoverished area of western China, attach high value to maintaining a distinct cultural identity. Yet, Yi stakeholders face systemic pressure for academic success in standard Chinese in the form of high stakes tests. This situation inhibits the capacity and motivation of teachers to teach the Yi language, and the engagement of some Yi students. Here, English teaching is characterized as piecemeal.

Wang's (2011) study in Yingjiang Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan argues that the knowledge-based economy that privileges Chinese and English language over Dai language motivates some teachers and administrators to hold a utilitarian attitude towards bilingual education. Gao's (2010) study found certain parallels in a bilingual school in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, despite dramatic differences in context. Koreans in

Yanbian live in the rustbelt Northeast, an area in the old industrial heartland that was reasonably advantaged prior to the massive shut-downs of state-owned enterprises. Koreans are a group with a history of very high educational attainment and they are a group whose home language is increasingly an economic asset—relevant to rising cross-border trade with Korea. Yet, as in the case of the Yi, the author of this study found a strong tension among school teachers themselves between the desire to preserve Korean culture and identity, and the strong push toward promoting a curriculum that would enhance high performance in standard Chinese for test-taking, and thus economic mobility (see also Choi 2010, p. 172; Gao 2010).[11] Gao and Park (2012) found that Korean-Chinese parents valued both Chinese and Korean language. The two languages have different social-political and economic functions—Chinese is viewed as crucial for upward mobility in Chinese society, while Korean language is viewed as a heritage marker of ethnic identity. Korean-Chinese parents value additive bilingualism for their children.

Adamson and Feng (2009, p. 331) conclude that "additive trilingualism", in which the learning of three languages is without mutual detriment, must address "the low social status ascribed to minority languages because of their lack of associated economic and political capital [and] the high status accorded to standard Chinese and English," reinforced by systemic mechanisms such as university entrance exams, geopolitical tensions, and a lack of resources to teach English to the level achieved in more affluent parts of the PRC. As Ma (2007, p. 11) observes, the low perceived value of minority languages in general is reflected in the low number of Han people who learn minority languages, even where those languages are considered official languages. Language policy can be linked very directly to issues of equity. Standard Chinese and, increasingly, English are key to the strong test performance necessary for promotion in the Chinese educational system and for economic mobility.[12] Duan (2011) suggests that in order to improve trilingual literacy, it is essential to train adequate and qualified teachers, encourage native language development

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[11] Consistent with the Korean case just cited, Ojijed's (2010) study of attitudes toward Mongolian, standard Chinese, and English amongst a small purposive sample of students at Inner Mongolia Normal University was suggestive of a high instrumental value attached to the latter two languages, relative to Mongolian.

[12] While much work has catalogued minority education policies and discussed potential impacts, it is striking that few studies have sought to investigate in a direct manner the impact of specific policies around language use in schools. An exception is Tsung and Cruickshank's (2009) comparison of a minority mother tongue school and a mixed school in Xinjiang, which, the authors suggest, indicated that mixed schooling will not address disparities in educational outcomes, as learning materials in the minority language remained poorly resourced.

in order to bridge the home and school settings, and create rich environments for English study.

Education and Ethnic Identity

The "Civilizing Project" of the State

As Postiglione (2009, p. 5) writes, "…the extent to which schools in China create an atmosphere that has positive institutional norms toward diverse cultural groups is limited by notions of cultural backwardness." A significant line of research in English is grounded in this observation. Drawing on critical anthropological and sociological perspectives, much of this work focuses on the ideological objectives of the State, and their impact on students.

Citing Stevan Harrell's work, many of the English-language publications on ethnicity and education refer to education as an element of the "Civilizing Projects" of the Chinese State (Harrell 1995, p. 3). As Hansen notes, "… through the State educational system, the Chinese government transmits its ideology of the nation and of the relationships among the peoples in China who have come to be categorized into static ethnic groups. Education of minorities plays a central role in implicitly reproducing notions of cultural inequality while explicitly promoting ethnic unity (*minzu*, 民族团结)]" (Hansen 1999). Minorities are taught the names of the groups to which they belong, and the implications of belonging to that group, versus the Han majority, as indisputable, scientific facts (Hansen 1999). They learn that minorities were "backward" at the time of liberation, relative to the Han majority, in economy and culture, and that the CCP helped them to develop so that they could live in a multi-ethnic socialist society, and they also learn ancient history that highlights common ties to the Chinese (Hansen 1999). A recent critical discourse analysis of Chinese elementary textbooks suggests that these materials reflect unequal power relations between Han and ethnic minorities (Chu 2015). Elementary textbooks are presented from a Han perspective and ethnic minority cultures are reduced to a few cultural practices and artifacts to be celebrated. Patriotism and ethnic solidarity are highlighted. Moreover, images of ethnic minorities' dependency on Han are reinforced. Schools take as an explicit goal to "enhance the cultural quality"—to civilize—minority populations (Hansen 1999, p. 160).

A study focusing on boarding schools for minority children has taken up this theme. Zhiyong Zhu's (2007, p. 256) ethnographic study of Tibetans in an inland (*neidi*) boarding school makes the argument that in these schools,

the identity of "Tibetan" comes to the foreground in organizing students' daily school life. Tibetan primary school graduates are selected and sent to boarding schools far from Tibet—and not allowed to return home for years at a time.[13] The boarding schools have a clear mission of inculcating students with an integrative message: creating ties between Tibet and China's inland areas. Schools convey a notion of Tibetan identity that includes membership in the Chinese nation, along with cultural distinction that is part of the "treasure trove of Chinese culture" (2007, p. 277). The identity conveyed by the schools—and indeed the premise for their existence—is the economic and educational "backwardness" (*luohou,* 落后) and premodernity of Tibet, and the superiority of the Han. This idea is reinforced in the perceptions of Tibet and Tibetans, reinforced by official narratives, which pervade the community surrounding the school.

Yangbin Chen has conducted a parallel study of Uyghur students in an inland school (Chen 2008). The work focuses on inland "Xinjiang classes." Like the Tibetan boarding schools, the existence of these "Xinjiang classes" is also predicated on the assumption of backward, poor quality education in Xjinjiang proper. Policy documents laying out the plan for "Xinjiang Classes" highlight the goals of patriotism, national unity, modernization, and development of the homeland. The classes aim "to train quality senior secondary school graduates, who achieve overall developments in morals, intellect, physics, and atheism. The graduates must possess ideals, morals, culture and discipline, uphold national unity, and are dedicated to the Great Development of the Western Region." (Chen 2008, p. 45). Minority customs are to be respected, but at the same time, any religious practice is prohibited (Chen 2008, p. 45). Chen details the integrative aims of these schools, which are very similar to those laid out in Zhu's (2007) work.

Construction of Ethnic Identity

The other side of the "Civilizing Project" is the ethnic identity constructed, partly in response, by students. Hansen (1999, p. 159) notes that, "the classroom is an arena where processes of ethnic identification become highly relevant to students, who are confronted with the government's monopolizing interpretation of their identity". Hansen's and Shen and Qian's fieldwork in the Southwest and Yi's fieldwork in the Northwest suggest that students are also confronted with a daily curriculum that suggests to them the uselessness,

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[13] See Wang and Zhou (2003, p. 99) for a list of inland Tibetan schools and classes.

or at least low level of relevance, of their own language, history, religion and customs to State education (Hansen 1999, p. 159; Shen and Qian 2010, p. 57; Yi 2006). Ou and Du (2012) found that teachers' multicultural awareness is crucial to promoting ethnic minority students' cultural identification, which positively impacts students' self-esteem, self-efficacy, and academic achievement.

Zhu's study of Tibetans in an inland boarding school suggests a high degree of internalization of the narratives of identity offered in schools, but Zhu also discusses additional dimensions of identity asserted by students that diverge from the official narrative. Zhu highlights identities and values rooted in Buddhist religion and ethics as a key dimension of identity that diverges from State ideologies. Chen's work on inland Xinjiang classes similarly highlights Muslim religious traditions as an area of resistance to State ideologies of ethnic identity (Chen 2008). Yi (2006) argues that minority education policy in China is shaped by a strong perception that religious-based allegiances undermine the capacity of minority people to be loyal political and cultural citizens of the Chinese State—particularly in the case of the Northwest, and particularly for Tibetans and Uyghurs (p. 41).

Students in Zhu's (2007) and Chen's (2008) studies seem to reflect on their identities and their responsibilities to their homelands in ways that reflect the overt and implicit goals of the schools in which they study and the attitudes of the Han people they encounter there. The students discuss their religious identities and values, as well as the extreme personal and family sacrifice involved in being selected and attending an inland school. Chen, moreover, argues that these students' ethnic social capital is *strengthened* by the schooling experience, as they become highly dependent on family support back home, and on co-ethnic support in the school environment, to succeed (Chen 2008).[14]

Hansen argues that the impact of State schools on student identity has been ambiguous: Chinese State education is part of a "hegemonic project" to modernize society and define the nation, and thus plays a role a resurgence of ethnic identities all over China. This project has had fragmenting, as well as intensifying, effects on ethnic identities, as illustrated in profoundly different responses to the expansion of formal education of the historically-integrated Naxi and the more marginalized Dai (Thai) minorities in Yunnan. Consistent with this view, Zhu and Chen highlight that the context of boarding schools brings ethnic identity to the fore in Tibetan and Uyghur students' daily

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[14] In another paper, Chen (2010) focuses on the continuing importance of the family element of social capital for Uyghur students, despite the impediment of distance.

lives—and not always in ways that are consistent with the policy intentions. Postiglione et al. (2004) studied the ethnic identity formation of rural Tibetan children in schools in Tibet proper, and use multiple sources of data, including policy analyses, student recruitment and curriculum data, and interviews with students and teachers. The authors find signs of resistance: despite official policy rhetoric that emphasizes national unity and patriotism, there are still many symbols of Tibetan culture that reinforce Tibetan identity. The authors argue that this dual representation of State and local interests lends support for a more "even-handed" approach to cultural policies. Clothey draws a similar conclusion based on her study of students at the Central University for Nationalities (*Minzu Daxue,* 民族大学, now known in English by the transliterated name Minzu University): the university's overt goal is promoting ethnic unity and a sense of Chinese patriotism, but the experiences of students there foster a sense of individual ethnic identity, not necessarily in line with official goals (Clothey 2005a, b). Gao's (2012) case study of two Korean-Chinese youth suggests how the market economy influences individual construction of cultural identity through the use of language. By having linguistic capital in both Chinese and Korean language, Korean-Chinese youth gain membership into an imagined cross-ethnic community.

Incentives and Disincentives for Buy-In to the Educational System

Field-based studies in China have suggested that members of ethnic groups develop unfavorable attitudes toward education if they do not observe tangible economic benefits from education among members of their own communities or if they perceive that the school system is incompatible with aspects of their own cultures (Hansen 1999; Harrell and Mgebbu 1999; Postiglione 2007; Wu 2012, 2016). Harrell and Mgebbu (1999) showed that expectations of rewards decisively influence educational participation among the Yi ethnic group in Sichuan. On the basis of fieldwork in schools in Qinghai Province, Lin Yi argues that the devaluation of Tibetan culture within the State school system in Northwest China precludes activation of the cultural capital possessed by Tibetan children, and can create atmospheres in the schools that are socially hostile. As a result, the social mobility of these children can be hindered (Yi 2006).

In Tibet proper, Postiglione and his colleagues found that despite alleviation of school tuition and fees in efforts to address high dropout rates in rural Tibet, many families preferred to have their children work at home due to a

perceived low quality of education and inability of schools to provide graduates with competitive jobs (Postiglione et al. 2005). Postiglione's (2007) fieldwork illustrates a number of problems that serve to disincentivize children from engaging with education. Poor rural schools attended by Tibetans at the time had little of the income-generating potential of urban schools, and for these schools, attracting good teachers was difficult. Further, poverty has a reinforcing effect, as parents in poor rural villages do not necessarily observe examples of education leading to economic improvements and thus are often unwilling to provide financial support for children's schooling. Yet, as important as regional and economic factors are in explaining ethnic differences in education, additional factors are also significant. Postiglione also highlights that the content of schooling may be perceived as being inconsistent, or even oppositional, to Tibetan traditions.

Similarly, Hansen (1999) argued that educational disparities between the Dai, Naxi, Hani, and Jinuo in Yunnan can be traced to ethnic differences in perceptions of the economic benefits of education and the accord or opposition between their cultural heritage and the educational system. Focusing on the two cases of the Naxi and the Dai, Hansen argues that the Naxi were thoroughly enmeshed in Confucian education during the Qing Dynasty. Due to this long history of acceptance of Chinese education, the Naxi have been able to obtain a degree of social mobility and status that has made it possible to express an educated identity that is at the same time an ethnic identity – within acceptable political bounds. Educated Naxi are in a position to influence the educational system from the inside (see also Yu 2010 on this point).

In contrast, Hansen notes that the Dai first encountered Chinese schools in the Republican Period, and experienced them as a colonial-style imposition—a forced alternative to the monastic educational institutions in place previously. Chinese education is more widely available than ever, but Hansen suggests that there persists a wide range of problems in convincing Dai children to remain in school, and that the practice of Buddhism and monastic education are thriving with economic modernization and increased cross-border contact with Thailand (Hansen 1999, p. 165). She suggests that educated Dai, unlike the Naxi, are likely to dissociate themselves from their village's cultural heritage (Hansen 1999). Shen and Qian's (2010) fieldwork suggests that education is not necessarily widely viewed as a viable route to social mobility among the Dai.

A "cultural rupture" between home and school may contribute to the problem (Shen and Qian 2010). Shen and Qian's (2010) fieldwork among the Dai in Yunnan suggests that there are considerable differences between Dai students' home and school lives, in terms of the content of a curriculum that is

highly exam oriented and contains little material on Dai daily lives, history, religion, or culture, and in terms of expected orientations and behaviors. For example, some scholars indicate that there are diverse mathematical systems in use across ethnic groups in China (Peng and Song 2014). They argue that mathematics teaching grounded in Han cultural practices may create a learning disadvantage for other ethnic groups. Peng and Song (2014) recommend that curriculum and textbooks should be adapted to accommodate the diversity of ethnic minority mathematical systems. Language use in school may also contribute to a disconnect, bilingual policies notwithstanding. Shen and Qian's (2010, p. 57) fieldwork indicated that most students reported difficulty learning standard Chinese, and that the use of the Dai language by students is "peremptorily reprimanded" by teachers. Similarly, Bass notes that Chinese language of instruction in upper secondary creates a barrier to enrollment and promotion to the "fast" stream for Tibetans, vis-à-vis Han students in Tibet (Bass 1998). Yet, Bass also connects this issue, at least in part, to politics: she argues that political considerations have hindered balanced reflections on what language policies are most sensible, from a pedagogical perspective (p. 258).

Educational Stratification

Detailed empirical attention to documenting the scope of educational inequalities by ethnic group has been limited in the English language literature. Much of the quantitative work on access and attainment, executed by stratification researchers in sociology and development economists, has been exploratory. It addresses both access and attainment, and the economic context and outcomes of education. This work links conceptually to many of the issues raised in the field-based studies cited above, but those connections are not generally explicitly present in the work.

Access and Attainment

Analyses of data from a 1992 survey of children demonstrated substantial ethnic differences in enrollment among rural 7- to 14 year olds, with rates for ethnic Chinese boys roughly double those for girls from certain ethnic groups (Hannum 2002). The same study showed that the ethnic gap could be attributed, in part, to compositional differences in geographic location of residence and socioeconomic background (Hannum 2002). There is no general tendency of a greater gender gap for minorities than for the ethnic Chinese, but

significant differences in the gender gap emerge across individual ethnic groups. Evidence from census data showed that ethnic disparities in junior high school transitions increased between 1982 and 1990. More recent analyses of national census and survey data show generalized improvement in educational attainment for China's ethnic minority groups, but considerable gaps still persist across individual groups (Hannum and Wang 2012; Sun and Qi 2007). A study comparing the six major ethnic minorities with smaller minority groups found that a gap persists in opportunities for higher education. Smaller ethnic groups tend to be underrepresented in prestigious universities in China compared with major ethnic minority groups (Wang et al. 2013). Language fluency in standard Chinese appears to matter for educational attainment, but in different ways in different regions (Hong 2010). Work has yet to really theorize the patterns of advantage and disadvantage that exist across individual groups.

The Economic Context and Outcomes of Education

As theorized in the anthropological, field-based studies of ethnic differences in the experience of education, the likely outcomes of schooling are an important potential factor feeding back into the educational attainment process (Yang et al. 2015). Several studies have established the different context and outcomes of education by ethnic group. Minorities, on average, are poorer than the majority in China, though the trend is toward poverty reduction for all groups and a reduced ethnic poverty gap (Gustafsson and Ding 2009; Hannum and Wang 2012). On the other hand, an income gap favoring the Han appeared to have widened between 1988 and 1995 (Gustafsson and Shi 2003). Analyses of data from the early 2000s show that minorities as a group are less likely to have access to wage employment and earn less than Han, though estimates of the scale of the gap differ widely by data source (Hannum and Wang 2012). A study in Qiandongnan Prefecture of Guizhou Province found that high dropout rates are a result of a gap between school education and the lived experiences of Miao and Dong ethnic groups. As a result, youth leave school to work in sweatshops for low wages (Wu 2012). Yet, some minorities also had higher returns to education, on average, compared to the ethnic majority population (Hannum and Wang 2012; see also Sun and Xu 2010 for evidence from Gansu Province).

A major part of the story of income, poverty and employment gaps has to do with segregation: many ethnic minority groups live in much more disadvantaged contexts, from a development perspective (Gustafsson and Ding

2006; Hannum and Wang 2012). This situation also raises the potential problem that social returns to schooling are less likely to be enjoyed by minority regions, to the extent that brain drain is an issue in these places (Zhang and Wang 2010, pp. 23–24).

However, studies have also indicated that the "average" labor market situation of minorities is unlikely to apply in a uniform way. For example, studies of particular ethnic groups' labor market experiences show considerable diversity of experience. An analysis of 1982 and 1990 census data from the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region revealed that the Uyghur population was more likely to be working in agriculture, and that rising ethnic disparities in occupational attainment point to a growing ethnic gap in educational credentials as the most likely source of this change (Hannum and Xie 1998). More recent analyses of the 2005 mini-census showed a continued Han-Uyghur difference in non-agricultural employment (Wu and Song 2010) Excluding those in agriculture, Uyghur were more likely to work in government or institutions than either Han locals or migrants, and also more likely to become self-employed. Earnings inequality was negligible in government or institutions, but it increased with the marketization of the employment sector (Wu and Song 2010). More recently, a resume audit study focusing on firms indicated discrimination against applicants with Uyghur names in China's urban labor market (Maurer-Fazio 2011). In neighboring Gansu Province, a different story emerges for the urban Hui and Han populations. A study of labor market inequalities between the Han and Hui minority in urban Lanzhou shows evidence of labor market discrimination in access to state-sector employment: ethnic differences in the likelihood of state-sector employment persisted net of education and other background differences (Zang 2008). At the same time, gaps were lessened at higher levels of education, highlighting the implications of education for broader stratification patterns.

Discussion

In some sense, there is a great deal of common ground connecting the Chinese- and English-language literatures. These literatures focus on similar case studies, settings, and problems. It is striking that much of the work in both languages comes from scholars working outside of the field of sociology of education. Much of the existing work comes out of educational stratification, anthropology, or development economics traditions, or is conducted by educational researchers operating outside of sociological traditions and frameworks altogether.

Yet, there are certain differences across the two literatures. These literatures draw on different ideological starting points. They conform to different norms of academic composition and speak to different audiences in different socio-political contexts. In one realm, authors write carefully on topics that are both highly sensitive and highly salient to the national development agenda, and often seek to provide direct suggestions about improvement strategies. In the other realm, authors speak primarily to an academic audience. As a consequence, the focus and tone in the two literatures sometimes diverge. Certain lines of policy-related work appear primarily in Chinese. For example, there is a debate in the Chinese literature between Marxist and multicultural perspectives that is not prominent in the English literature. Many Chinese-language studies espouse and explicate a Marxist ideology of ethnic minority education. These studies focus on the ways that education can and should emphasize national unity and patriotism. Although most of the policy literature supports this ideology and policies and programs based on this framework, there are a handful of scholars writing in Chinese who are critical of this perspective. These authors argue that assimilative schooling often ignores other values, which may lead to the disappearance of distinct cultures. Many of these scholars favor what they call a multicultural approach, which places equal emphasis on all cultural groups.

In the remainder of this concluding section, we discuss a few key themes, noting where relevant when and how interpretations differ significantly in the two literatures. We discuss how the literatures on ethnic disparity address the role of poverty, the role of culture, the role of policy, and the tensions between language offerings that prioritize cultural preservation and those that prioritize social mobility in a globalized China.

The Role of Poverty

A discussion and empirical documentation of "uneven development" of educational systems, facilities, and teachers is prominent in the Chinese literature. Much of this research suggests that ethnic differences can be explained by regional economic development differences and class disparities, as well as associated differences in access to adequate school facilities and teachers. More recent research includes a more nuanced discussion of the influence of migration status on educational outcomes of ethnic minorities that moves beyond the traditional urban and rural divide. This work parallels a line of quantitative work in English that has sought to establish empirically the disparities across ethnic groups in educational outcomes. The English literature on educational

stratification by ethnicity in China attests to successes in expanding access to schools to previously excluded groups, to persisting disparities across many groups, and, like the Chinese literature, to the significance of economic and geographic context in contributing to persisting ethnic disparities in education. While it is clear in both literatures that many of the ethnic gaps in outcomes can be explained *statistically* by incorporating variables accounting for geographic location, what this insight really tells us is very unclear. In the Chinese literature, and in some of the English literature, a prominent interpretation is that the problem of minority education is one primarily of poverty and insufficient economic development. Without discounting the obvious importance of poverty as a significant contributing factor to educational disparities by ethnic group, the qualitative work in both languages certainly suggests that other issues are also at play.

The Role of Culture

Cultural issues are commonly cited in the qualitative literature as contributing factors. Some of the work in Chinese puts forth what might be termed a cultural deficit model – characteristics of groups such as religion or gender norms may depress educational levels. Some of this literature does not really reflect on the school structures or practices that may contribute to unwillingness to attend schools, even though "educational equality" and "educational equity" are sometimes included in the titles and subtitles. There is a contrasting notion of cultural disconnect in the multicultural tradition in Chinese and in much of the ethnographic literature in English. The cultural disconnect literature describes school and classroom settings where members of certain ethnic minority groups face discouraging, dis-incentivizing messages of linguistic and cultural inferiority; however, there is tremendous variation in experience across minority groups. Some recent scholarship in Chinese moves away from the cultural deficit model and seeks to more carefully contend with issues of minority identity and schooling practices.

The Role of Policy: The Education Project, Intended and Unintended

A related strand in both literatures includes a substantial number of papers that catalogue existing minority policies and highlight the integrative goals of policies. The assimilative functions of minority education as promoting devel-

opment and national unity are problematized in some of the multicultural literature in Chinese, and quite commonly in the English literature. Further, the English-language research and a few of the Chinese studies suggest that the assimilative mission of minority education utilizes tactics that devalue or suppress certain minority identities. Yet, a few studies in English suggest that ethnic identities and networks are in some cases strengthened by the experience.[15]

Tradeoffs? Globalization, Instrumentalism and Language Preservation

A theme in both language literatures is the instrumental pressure for language assimilation, even in the context of language policies that seek to preserve minority languages. Both literatures describe an educational system that has policies in place for preservation of minority languages, and both describe a system that tends to promote the dominant culture and standard Chinese language acquisition. Scholars writing in both languages acknowledge the instrumentality of this latter approach for fostering economic mobility, and highlight the rising economic incentives faced by schools, teachers, and students to privilege standard Chinese and English over minority languages. However, the English literature focuses strongly on the costs of an approach that devalues minority language and culture, whereas even the more critical Chinese language literature tends to frame the problem as an omission, and not a devaluation, of minority language and culture. In both literatures, the pressure outside the purview of the school system for students to be fluent in standard Chinese and proficient in English are challenging the preservation of minority languages. Recently, within the Chinese language scholarship there is an emerging discussion around the use of instructional technology to alleviate the shortage of qualified minority language teachers and the creation of diverse learning environments for minority students.[16]

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[15] An interesting example of the disconnect between these viewpoints is the tension between China-based and overseas scholars' interpretations of the boarding school phenomenon, according to Postiglione. He finds that North American and Australian scholars' reactions to boarding schools are highly critical, due to their very overt assimilation agenda and, likely, the extremely unfortunate histories with ethnic boarding schools elsewhere.

[16] To address regional inequalities and resource constraints, recent Chinese-language literature suggest that internet-based information technologies should be implemented in ethnic minority areas (A 2011; Duan 2015; Huang 2016; Kang and Yang 2012).

Conclusions

This review has sought to provide an enumeration of some key themes emerging in two linked literatures: themes of the complex interrelationships of ethnicity with cultural, policy, development, and language issues. We have also highlighted certain divergences in the literatures, and suggested certain reasons why this divergence is present. While there are, of course, many exceptions, a key element of the divergence is that economic development and poverty alleviation are key orienting issues in the Chinese literature, while much of the English literature is oriented to a largely academic audience interested very centrally in issues of inequality and ethnic identity. Although recent Chinese-language literature bridges this disconnect, in using the language of educational equality, the discussion of educational equality is still largely focused on China's development. After 2010, within the Chinese literature, a focus on educational equality for ethnic minority children emerges. This work highlights, for example, the importance of preschool education as a means to achieve equality between Han and ethnic minority students.[17]

Studies in both languages pave the way for comparative sociologists of education to learn from the case of China. Close analyses of China's diverse groups and institutional arrangements hold great potential for theoretical and policy-relevant insights. Yet, certain new work is needed to move forward in this direction. Few studies in either language develop a strong comparative framework for investigating or characterizing the policies in China or the problems associated with education amongst minority communities. In addition, though some of the studies are very well theorized, most are not framed in a way that facilitates dialogue with comparative scholarship in the sociology of education, or comparative theories about ethnicity and education. This situation is understandable, given the still-nascent state of the field and the need for empirical description to aid in theory building. However, more heavily theorized work, and more comparatively framed work, will be needed to enable the Chinese experience to be informed by and inform the development of the field of sociology of education.

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[17] Several studies focus on the importance of preschool education in achieving education equality and cultural equality between Han and ethnic minorities (Li and Jiang 2012; Liang and Liu 2014; Wei 2014; Yuan 2012; Zhao 2013).

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9

Cyprus: Educational Inequalities in a Divided Country

Spyros Spyrou and Marios Vryonides

Introduction

This chapter deals with research on inequalities in educational processes in the Republic of Cyprus. In order to understand the social context within which educational processes take place in Cyprus one needs to take into account recent socio-economic and historic developments in the country especially during the past four decades.

Cyprus is a small island country in the southwestern corner of Europe. It has often been described as being at the crossroad of Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, a position that influenced the way the history of the island evolved since antiquity. In the late twentieth century Cyprus has been heavily affected by the antagonisms of Greece, Turkey and Britain which let the two communities of the island—the Greek Cypriot majority (80%) and the Turkish Cypriot minority (18%)—in direct confrontation with each other. This eventually led to the violent partition of the island in 1974 (following an invasion and occupation of the northern 37% of the country by the Turkish army) with the two ethnic communities living with very little contact. The

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Turkish invasion resulted in thousands of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot refugees with the former moving to the south and the latter to the north. The division line or what has come to be known as 'the Green Line' extends for 180 km from East to West and divides the island in north and south. For almost three decades, the Green Line prevented (with few exceptions) any real contact between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots on the island. This changed in 2003 with the partial lifting of restrictions in movement and the opening of a number of checkpoints which allow for the controlled movement of people across the dividing line. Another major turning point in the country's recent history was the entrance of Cyprus in the EU in 2004. Together with other socio-economic changes, this contributed significantly to Cyprus becoming from a source country for migration to a destination one. This inevitably produced a new form of multi-ethnic environment wherein social relations (and educational processes) take place. It is within this context that one needs to address issues of research on ethnicity and educational inequalities; at one level, in relation to the main ethnic division between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities and, at another level, in relation to the ways Cypriot society is faced with, and handles, the challenges of multiculturalism.

The reader should be aware that references to Cyprus in this chapter pertain to the Republic of Cyprus and to research carried out in the area currently controlled by the Republic. Most of the research discussed was carried out with participants who live and/or go to school in the Republic of Cyprus, that is the government-controlled southern part of the country. Given access limitations a review of research carried out in the occupied north was not possible.

Within this social context distinct research traditions have evolved which examine issues of race and ethnic inequalities in educational processes. Qualitative ethnographic studies of educational processes and schooling in particular are a fairly new research trend in Cyprus with the majority appearing as published work during the last fifteen years. These studies have come about mainly as a reaction to the questionnaire-survey style of quantitative research which characterized much educational research until then. It has to be noted that these quantitative pieces of research were mainly in the form of unpublished reports with minimal theoretical discussion or in-depth analysis of any kind. Carried out by anthropologically and sociologically-minded and trained researchers who sought to provide more in-depth and contextually rich accounts of school learning, the qualitative studies that were subsequently produced focused mostly on issues of identity construction especially as this takes place in key school sites such as the classroom.

A major concern of these studies is what *actually* happens in school, rather than what is simply prescribed by the curriculum or what is expected to happen. Though most of these studies privilege the classroom as the most important site of school learning, a few are also concerned with what happens outside the classroom both within the school (e.g., break time, school trips, etc.) and beyond the school (e.g., the home and the neighborhood). These studies are placed, on the one hand, within the overall context of a well-established nationalism that characterizes contemporary Cyprus as a politically and territorially-divided country, a fact that is ideologically reflected in educational policy and practice and, on the other hand, within the context of an emerging racism resulting from the arrival since the early 1990s of large numbers of economic migrants on the island.

In brief, one strand of these studies focuses on how the schooling experience results in particular constructions of 'self' and 'other' especially in the context of a nationalistic educational system, while another strand explores the outcome of racialization and ethnicization processes in schools as a result of the presence of non-majority children whether these belong to ethnic minorities on the island or immigrant groups. (The focus here is on what is called "ethnogenesis" (Singer 1962) or "new tribalism" (Greeley 1971), or "the quest for peoplehood" (Gordon 1978). Another strand examines the way textbooks and the curriculum represents the "others" while another looks into teachers and intercultural education.

This chapter starts with a brief overview of the national educational context of Cyprus. It then goes on to describe four traditions of educational research on race, ethnicity and inequalities by presenting relevant publications.

National Context

The Educational System of Cyprus

In the Republic of Cyprus education is being provided by both the public and private sectors. The educational attendance in primary and secondary public schools is free for all students whereas private schools charge tuition fees. The official language of instruction in all primary and secondary public schools is Greek. In private schools the language of instruction is either English or Greek, or both. Until 2010 it was mandatory that all children from the age of 5 years and 10 months to attend the first grade of Primary School. The compulsory age for attendance was lowered recently to cover for the pre-school level as well (ages of 4 and above). The 'compulsory educational' system requires students to attend schools until the age of 15.

After the completion of primary school all students proceed to public secondary school for six years (three years of lower secondary and another three years of upper secondary education). The transition from primary to secondary public schools depends primarily on the school certificate obtained from the primary school. For children attending certain private secondary schools, this serves as a key selection moment through the use of entrance examinations for admission.

The Ministry of Education determines the compulsory curriculum that students must follow during the course of their studies in public schools which up to the first year of the upper secondary education is uniform for all students. In the second year of students' attendance in the upper secondary school, students have the opportunity to select courses of their interest along with the few mandatory courses given which to a great extend determine the kind of studies or vocational training students will follow after that.

Tertiary education in Cyprus is provided by colleges, which offer mostly vocational courses, and private and public universities. Admission to public universities serves as a key selection moment in the educational system of Cyprus through the use of national entrance examinations. Students seeking admission to private universities can enrol with their high school leaving certificate. There is high attendance to higher education, both in Cyprus and universities abroad. Around 80% of secondary school leavers proceed to some form of tertiary education ranking Cyprus among the countries in the Western world with the highest number of university graduates (Fig. 9.1).

Main Migration Patterns and Composition and Size of Ethnic Minority Groups

Demographic data derived from the Statistical Service (2015) offer us statistical information regarding migration and ethnicity of the total population in Cyprus. The data show that migration in Cyprus has gradually increased during the last ten years. Specifically, in 1998 8801 people were immigrants out of a total population of 679,000 whereas in 2011 the number of immigrants reached 23,037 people out of a total population of 849,000. The highest number of migration movements that occurred in Cyprus was in 2011 and after a short period of decline due to the 2012–13 economic crisis the number picked up and reached 15,185 in 2015 out of a total population of 843,000.[1] Some of the recorded reasons which led people to immigrate to Cyprus were

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[1] All population data come from the Demographic Report of the Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, 2015.

Structure of the Education System of Cyprus

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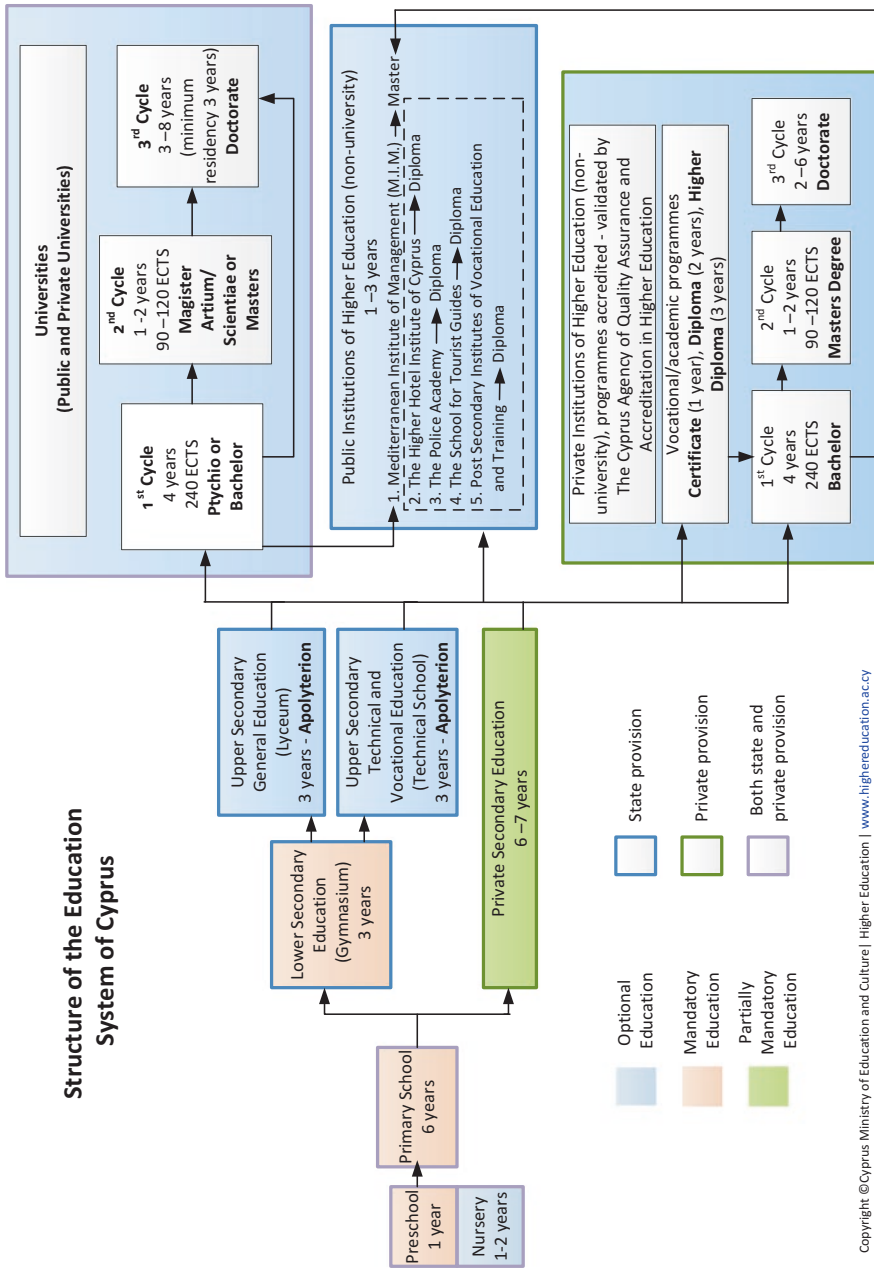
Fig. 9.1 Cyprus education system

educational or employment opportunities and/or long-term permanent settlement. In the 1990s, a large number of people from Asian countries (mostly women) immigrated to Cyprus looking forward to achieving better life conditions. They worked as child/elderly caretakers, and/or domestic workers. However, data from the latest population census show that in 2011, the highest number of immigrants came from Greece, the UK, Romania, Bulgaria and the Philippines. The Table 9.1 below depicts a list of the country of origin of most of the foreign ethnic groups living in Cyprus in 2011 (the year of the last population census).

Official records also demonstrate that there has been an increase in the number of illegal immigrants arriving in Cyprus. Specifically, data derived from the Police Annual Report show that in 2007, 7770 people migrated illegally to the Republic of Cyprus. The report also shows that most people who arrived illegally to Cyprus came from the Northern Turkish-occupied areas of the country ($n = 5162$). In 2009 the number of illegal immigrants increased to 8037 whereas in 2010 numerical data show that there has been a decrease in the number of illegal immigration to the Republic of Cyprus; however, the number is not significantly different from 2009, that is 8005 people illegally arrived to Cyprus (Police Department: Annual Report 2009). Illegal migration to Cyprus has increased because of the Syrian civil war but accurate figures at the time of writing this chapter were not available.

Regarding school attendance, in the 1990s only certain ethnic minorities were visible in the Cypriot student population, such as Maronites, Turkish Cypriots, Armenians and Latins. Currently, Greek Cypriot students consti-

Table 9.1 Foreign ethnic groups living in Cyprus (2011)

Country of origin	%	N (Total number)
Greece	17.3	31,044
United Kingdom	14.8	26,659
Romania	13.6	24,376
Bulgaria	10.7	19,197
Philippines	10.7	19,197
Russia	4.8	8663
Sri Lanka	4.1	7350
Vietnam	4.0	7102
Syria	1.8	3235
Ukraine	1.7	3023
India	1.6	2955
Poland	1.6	2951
Georgia	1.2	2113
Germany	0.6	1162
Other EU countries	4	7035
Other non-EU countries	12	22,938

Source: Demographic Report of the Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, 2015

tute 86.05% of the student population in primary schools, whereas the 4 minority groups constitute just 0.54% of this population (This 0.54% includes 0.18% Turkish Cypriots, 0.27% Maronites, and 0.09% Armenians). These percentages are very small but are very significant since members of these groups hold high political positions that influence legislative decisions regarding educational issues. The historic minority groups have long been well-integrated in the Greek Cypriot educational system and society and are well accepted by the majority ethnic group. Current data obtained from the Ministry of Education and Culture (2014) shows that a total number of 8381 of foreign students registered nationwide for primary education and 6657 of foreign students attend secondary public schools. Most of the foreign students were registered in Nicosia rather than any other region of Cyprus. The countries of origin of students who attended primary and secondary schools were Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Georgia and Russia. Of particular interest are students with Greek-Pontian background who have a significant presence in schools. Pontians are ethnic Greeks who come from Pontus or the Black Sea area and who migrated to Greece following the collapse of the Soviet Union. After becoming naturalized Greek citizens a number of Greek-Pontian families found their way to Cyprus for employment.

Developments in Terms of Relevant Educational and Social Policies

Up until 2008 very little emphasis was given to issues of multiculturalism or ethnic diversity in Cyprus by educational policy. Since Cyprus' accession to the EU in 2004 the European discourse on these issues became more influential in the shaping of domestic educational policy and provided fertile ground for recognizing the realities brought about by migration trends. One of the educational reforms that the Ministry of Education and Culture decided to implement in 2008 was a program of intercultural education and a program for integrating foreign students in public schools. Due to the fact that the number of students (from different ethnic backgrounds) enrolled in public schools had been increasing each academic year, educational policy makers sought to achieve a 'smooth' integration of these children into public schools. The measures that the Ministry of Education introduced to avoid stigmatization and discrimination of migrant students included the dispersion of bilingual students into different schools in all provinces and the integration of these students in classes with the native-speaking students (Ministry of Education and Culture of Cyprus 2009). Also, teachers and academic staff

were specifically trained to be prepared and aware of how to deal with and assist foreign students to easily adjust to the Cypriot educational conditions.

Specific practices have been introduced for the learning of the Greek language, such as the development of Greek intensive classes that take place at a time that does not affect other academic activities in school. Schools are encouraged to adopt innovative teaching methods in order to assist migrant students to be integrated in the public school environments. In must be noted that while the language being used refers to "integration" in effect these policies are assimilation-related policies. In 2008, initially the program was implemented only to 352 bilingual students nationwide. Following the completion of the program's evaluation procedure by the Educational Research and Evaluation Centre in 2010, the Ministry of Education and Culture aimed to extend this program in all Cypriot public schools (Ministry of Education and Culture of Cyprus 2009). Currently, all new bilingual students who enroll in public schools are equipped with an 'induction guide' that aims to inform them and their parents about the Cypriot Educational system (Eurydice 2010).

Within the social and educational context described above several pieces of research have been conducted either as part of doctoral theses or as part of drafting national reports on the state of the presence of migrant students in Cypriot schools or lastly as part of externally funded research projects in collaboration with research teams from European universities.

Methodology

The methodology followed in writing this chapter was to select papers that were published on the subject in journals and national reports as well as studies published in the national context. Also, we reviewed relevant postgraduate theses on these topics by students studying for their doctoral degrees. The criteria for selection were rather relaxed given the fact that there is a scarcity of studies on this topic in Cyprus. Also because the research community of Cyprus who deals with such issues is relatively small, many pieces of research were identified using personal networks and connections. The fact that there are limited references in electronic databases was confirmed by using well-known academic search engines (i.e. ERIC- EBSCO). There are broadly speaking four research traditions in Cyprus, which deal with issues pertinent to the content of the present volume.

Research Traditions

The first tradition, 'ethnographies of identity construction', focuses on the role of schooling in children's national identity constructions in the context of Cyprus' political and territorial division through the use of detailed ethnographic investigations of school life. The second tradition, 'ethnographies of racism', also through the use of ethnographic methods, explores the role of schooling in processes of racialization (including discriminatory practices) and ethnicization as a result of the recent increase of immigrant presence in schools. The third tradition, 'studies of curricula and textbooks', focuses on the critical analysis of curricula and textbook production in public schools with a view to deconstructing their ideological content. The last tradition, 'studies of teachers and intercultural education', focuses on the role of teachers in the production and reproduction of educational inequalities and on the recent policy turn towards intercultural education.

Ethnographies of Identity Construction

Ethnographies of identity construction (EIC) focus on the role of school in children's identity constructions as this takes shape within the existing nationalistic educational system which encourages particular constructions of 'self' and 'other' in divided Cyprus. The first in-depth ethnographic study of identity construction within a school context was carried out during 1996–1997 as part of a doctoral dissertation (see Spyrou 1999) and subsequently published in a series of articles (e.g., Spyrou 2000, 2001a, b, 2002, 2006, 2011). The study was unique mainly because it adopted a child-centered approach which problematized earlier approaches to socialization which mostly treated children as passive objects under the direct and overpowering influence of adults, whether these were teachers or parents. The study was ethnographic in nature, and focused on the daily lives of elementary school children who attended two different schools, one urban school in Nicosia near the buffer zone which divides the island in two, and the other in a rural village community south-west of Nicosia. Participant observation and interviewing were the principal methods for data collection used, though the researcher also collected and analyzed children's drawings and essays, and administered a series of pile-sorting and ranking exercises with the children. The study's key aim was to examine children's national identity constructions both inside the school and in contexts outside the school, such as the home and the playground. Taking as its starting point the theoretical assumption that children

are social actors who are able to impact their social worlds, even in contexts such as the school where their power and ability are largely limited by institutional constraints, the study explored children's schooling by situating identity construction within the larger social and political contexts which shape children's lives. According to Spyrou, the continuing Hellenocentric character of Greek Cypriot schools, as reflected in the curriculum, provides an overall framework for the practice of teaching that allows limited room for challenging the ideological status quo. As a result of the nationalistic character of education, most teachers, even those who are critical of nationalism in other contexts, end up essentializing and stereotyping national identities. By focusing on teacher–student and student–student exchanges as these unfold during classroom lessons, the study reveals the dynamics of identity construction as a process whereby history, nation, and identity acquire meaning and substance through social interaction. The educational preoccupation with the 'Turks' as the nation's enemy *par excellence* penetrates all aspects of school life and creates an oppositional logic which sustains a firm and problematic boundary between 'self' and 'other'. Yet, despite these structural constraints, both teachers and children from time to time challenge, resist or rework, and negotiate received knowledge to construct alternative understandings of identity to those entailed within the nationalist outlook of the educational system. Through detailed ethnographic accounts of children's everyday lives in school and beyond, this study initiated a critical discussion on educational process and practice, and what this entails for constructions of 'self' and 'other' in the context of a divided society.

The key findings from Spyrou's study have been confirmed by subsequent studies and especially Philippou's study with 10-year-old Greek Cypriot students (fifth grade, primary school) carried out during 2000–2001. Philippou's study (see especially Philippou 2005) which explored children's national and European identities also found that children's representations of national identities were essentialist and ahistorical, and very much influenced by the highly Hellenocentric ideological context of the school and the educational system at large. Children's representations of their European identities were more instrumental in character because of the perceived benefits for Cyprus from joining the European Union but these identities were essentially imagined only in relation to Greek Cypriots rather than all Cypriots (i.e., they excluded Turkish Cypriots). Similarly, and in line with Spyrou's findings, Philippou found that a so-called 'Cypriot' identity was also very much defined by children as being exclusively 'Greek Cypriot' and monoethnic. Of interest here is also Philippou and Theodorou's (2014) meta-analysis of data from their dissertation studies which show more specifically how Greek Cypriot

children mobilize the concepts 'Europe' and 'European' in their constructions of national others. The authors argue that children not only used these concepts to exclude, hierarchize, rank and order different categories of people (e.g., with Turkey at the very bottom) but also to diversify the category 'European' itself (e.g., by being more favorable towards Western Europeans than Eastern Europeans) (see also Philippou and Symeou 2013).

At the secondary school level, Christou's (2006, 2007) work with students at a Greek Cypriot school provides a fruitful and productive account of the role of schooling in the negotiation of memory and history. Christou's analysis of the slogan 'I don't forget and I struggle' which has become the single most quoted slogan on which an educational ideology of liberation and reunification of the island has been built, reveals what she terms a 'double imagination': on the one hand, the slogan becomes a call for students to imagine how peace will eventually prevail and their island will be reunited; on the other hand, it leaves them with few options of what this future might look like and how it might be achieved but through the well-known recipe of the past, the armed national struggle for liberation. As Christou writes, 'the aspiration to unify Cyprus is contradicted by the lack of understanding of what this solution means and the continuing desire to relive old glories' (2006, pp. 301–302). Using focus group discussions with 20 Greek-speaking and 20 Turkish-speaking young people (aged between 13 and 15 years of age), Leonard (2012) has also explored some of the contradictions and complexities faced by young people in relation to their respective nationalist narratives and their understanding of 'Cypriot' identity. Leonard's study provides rare comparative data (i.e., from both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot young people) which highlight the role of competing national narratives and their impact on young people's imaginations in divided societies like Cyprus which strive towards reunification (see also Leonard 2013).

A number of other studies have also explored the overall ideological climate of public education in Cyprus and its role in shaping the identities of young Greek Cypriot children (see for instance, Zembylas 2010a, b, 2011). Zembylas (2010a), using an intersectional approach which highlights the overlapping effects of nationalism and racism as ideologies of exclusion (see also Spyrou 2009) provides an ethnographic case-study of the educational context for studying constructions and experiences by both Greek Cypriot majority students and Turkish-speaking minority students. The intersection between nationalism and racism in these schools brings into sharp focus the power of each to reinforce the other. As Zembylas shows, each group's understanding of these two ideologies differs given that their schooling experiences are radically different. The majority status of Greek Cypriot children and the

institutional backing they have operating in a largely nationalistic educational context reinforces their sense of superiority as 'white Greeks' set in opposition to the 'dark Turks'.

Though the EIC tradition reviewed here focuses on qualitative, ethnographic studies of identity construction it is worth noting that some studies have used a mixed methods approach whereby quantitative and qualitative methods have been used together to complement and enhance understandings of identity construction processes. Stevens et al. (2014) have used quantitative data to illuminate the intersection between nationalism and racism by exploring how Greek-Cypriots' national and ethnic in-group identifications influence how they perceive ethnic and racial minority out-groups (including both groups such as Turks and Turkish-Cypriots which are implicated in Cyprus' history of conflict and more recent immigrant groups such as Asian and Eastern European immigrants) which are meaningful to them in the national context of Cyprus. The study was carried out with 1637 Greek-Cypriot secondary school students from four state (two ethnically heterogeneous urban schools, one ethnically homogeneous urban school and one ethnically heterogeneous rural school) and two private schools (both urban and ethnically heterogeneous schools with a substantial number of Turkish-Cypriot students) in Nicosia. The findings from this study suggest that it is crucial to consider the relationships between particular national/ethnic in-groups and out-groups in order to understand the relationship between nationalism and racism. The findings from this study confirm assumptions and findings from earlier qualitative studies which show that students who tend to be more nationalistic are also likely to perceive ethnic and racial out-groups more negatively. More specifically, students who identify with a more Hellenic in-group tend to have more negative perceptions of Turks and Turkish-Cypriots. The same is true for those students with a refugee background (i.e., children or grandchildren of Greek-Cypriots who became refugees in 1974). As the authors argue, these negative attitudes are largely explained by the perceived threat from these ethnic and racial out-groups that these students experience. On the other hand, there seems to be no difference in how students who identity as 'Cypriot' or 'Greek-Cypriot' perceive Turkish-Cypriots. Apart from confirming earlier qualitative findings, this study suggests the strong need to provide more nuanced analysis of the relationship between nationalism and racism by taking into account sub-identifications within larger national/ethnic in-group categories.

Though the overwhelming number of studies exploring children's ethnic and national identities in Cyprus have focused on the privileged and determining role of formal schooling in children's identity constructions, a recent

study exploring children's experiences of crossing the Green Line to visit the other side of the island has sought to explore children's social engagements beyond the school and to highlight the role of the family as an important element in children's identity constructions and negotiations. The study was carried out in 2010 with 10–12 year-old Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot children and aimed to explore their views and experiences from crossing the Green Line following the 2003 partial lifting of restrictions in movement across the dividing line. Data was collected through a variety of child-focused, ethnographic methods including in-depth interviews, map-making and drawings. In their first published article from this study, Christou and Spyrou (2012) illustrate how Greek Cypriot children's 'border' crossings to the occupied part of their country is a highly emotional experience which is greatly informed by their existing cultural knowledge and the discourses surrounding the Cyprus Problem but also by the emplaced experience of the visits—encountering a variety of Others (e.g., mainland Turks, Turkish soldiers, Turkish-Cypriots), places (e.g., a grandparent's occupied village and home) and things (e.g., monuments, flags, etc.) which often carry ideological and cultural meaning informed by these children's schooling and upbringing in a society that is deeply divided along ethnic and political lines. The fact that these are family visits adds another layer of complexity to the children's unfolding identity negotiations and their constructions of Self and Other. The pre-1974 memories and experiences of their parents and grandparents (especially of those who are refugees) inform these visits and children's emerging understandings of their spatial experience in unique ways. Christou and Spyrou argue that though these visits often end up reproducing stereotypical understandings of Self and Other they also occasionally offer opportunities to rethink such binaries and to challenge inter-ethnic boundaries. The study, though acknowledging the significance of school learning, pinpoints to the need for recognizing the role of extra-educational experiences in children's identity constructions. In subsequent published work from the same study, the authors further elaborate on the empirical findings from this study to consider how Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot children construct the 'border' in different ways (Christou and Spyrou 2014), how children's emotional geographies constitute the geopolitical situation in divided Cyprus (Christou and Spyrou 2016), and how the identity work which takes place during children's border-crossing experiences provides them with opportunities for more intersectional understandings of Self and Other (Christou and Spyrou 2017).

To sum up, the EIC tradition produced a small but significant amount of work which supports the thesis that the Greek Cypriot educational system

operates within a nationalistic framework and utilizes a Hellenocentric approach to education. These studies illustrate how this system works in practice to facilitate the construction of an 'us' versus 'them' worldview among children, but they also highlight the dynamics of this process which also gives rise to resistance and negotiation of received dominant identity narratives by both teachers and students in the flow of everyday school life. Utilizing mainly qualitative, ethnographic approaches, these studies provide rich and detailed accounts of children's daily engagements with ideology and their identity constructions.

Ethnographies of Racism

Ethnographies of racism (ER) focus on processes of racialization and ethnicization as these unfold in school and particularly in relation to immigrant children. These studies aim to deconstruct dominant educational discourses which sustain, on the one hand, nationalist ideologies and, on the other, racist ideologies and practices which encourage prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination against certain ethnic groups. As is the case with the EIC tradition described above, the ER tradition is also preoccupied with school practices, and especially with the way school administrators and procedures, as well as teachers, contribute to the reproduction of structures of inequality and the exclusion of immigrant or ethnic minority students.

The findings reported by these studies confirm the general finding reported by studies carried within the EIC tradition, namely that Greek Cypriot schools operate within an ideological climate which reinforces feelings of superiority ('Greeks are better and far superior than other ethnic groups') over ethnic others, especially over those who are considered to be enemies of the nation such as the Turks or happen to be in subservient social positions to Greek Cypriots, as is the case with economic migrants who work in Cyprus.

In a study which focuses explicitly on the issue of racism through an investigation of 10–16-year-old children's attitudes and perceptions of immigrants, Zembylas and Lesta (2010) analyze the interpretive repertoires used by children to report their understanding of immigrants and of their presence in Cyprus. The study, which combines a survey with qualitative interviews, focuses on the complexity in children's stances and repertoires. Though the survey reports a whole range of responses, from negative to positive, it is clear that more than half of the children (54%) exhibit negative or mildly negative stances towards ethnic others. These children view immigrants as dirty, dangerous, and criminals, to mention a few of the attributes they report, and in

general express feelings of antipathy, disgust, and fear towards them. They consider that the presence of immigrants makes Cyprus worse off, and that the rise in the rate of crime is primarily due to immigration. Interestingly, some of these children report that they are aware their stances and behaviors are racist. However, others lack this capacity and seem to be mostly unaware that their racist actions have an impact on immigrants. The relatively small number of children (about one-quarter) who have positive stances towards immigrants highlights the potential for alternative constructions of immigration and immigrants. From a theoretical standpoint, of more interest is the group of children who express more ambivalent and contradictory stances towards immigrants. On the one hand, for these children, immigrants exhibit many of the characteristics pointed out by children who had more clearly negative stances (e.g. immigrants are criminals, bad, wild, and should leave Cyprus); on the other hand, they consider that there is a lot to learn from immigrants and that it is important to get to know them better. These contradictory stances suggest, perhaps, that there is a plurality of discourses and value systems which co-exist giving rise to positive, negative, and mixed repertoires among children.

A number of other studies focus on the impact of racism and racist practices on children who are constructed as ethnic minorities or immigrants within the school system, whether these are Turkish-speaking children (mostly Turkish Cypriot and Roma children, but also other children who speak Turkish such as Kurdish asylum seekers) (e.g. Spyrou 2004; Trimikliniotis and Demetriou 2009; Zembylas 2010a), Pontian children (e.g. Theodorou 2011a, b; Trimikliniotis 2001) or children who belong to particular immigrant groups and categories such as Iraqi-Palestinian or Eastern European children (e.g. Papamichael 2011). Most of these studies provide a critical look at the emerging educational and other problems which have appeared in recent years as a result of the rise in the populations of these 'other' children in Greek Cypriot public schools. For instance, Spyrou (2004), in his ethnographic study of schools with Turkish-speaking children, identifies a number of educational problems faced by these children. These include: a curriculum which is designed primarily for the majority (i.e. for Greek-speaking children) thus largely ignoring the differences of immigrant and ethnic minority children from the majority; serious problems with discipline, aggression, and conflicts with children both within and outside of the classroom; incidents of prejudice and racism such as name-calling and labeling; and difficulties in communication and high levels of absenteeism by Turkish-speaking children and lack of teacher–parent communication.

Papamichael's (2011) more extensive ethnographic study of an ethnically mixed primary school—with one-third of the children being of Eastern European background and rapidly increasing numbers of asylum-seeking Iraqi-Palestinian children—reveals more clearly the role of teachers in differential racialization of the two minoritized groups of children. Papamichael explores the role of diverse factors such as the children's national origin, their skin color and gender, and their time of arrival at the school, to show how the constructions which emerge—whether positive or negative—are the outcome of the strategies and practices adopted by different teachers, and the acts of resistance or negotiation adopted by different children, even when faced with the same structural constraints. Though Papamichael shows us that most teachers, most of the time, unintentionally and without fully recognizing the effect of their practices, collude with and reproduce school racist practices, her study also provides us with productive insights into the nuances of racialization processes in school settings as these unfold in a dynamic fashion within specific contexts occupied by specific actors.

Theodorou's (2011a) work explores a further dynamic of the racialization processes at work which involves children themselves as both victims and perpetrators of othering. As Theodorou explains, Pontian children who are themselves immigrants and often otherized by the majority (i.e., Greek Cypriot children and occasionally teachers), are often also involved in othering their non-European immigrant classmates by internalizing Eurocentric stereotypes and assumptions about the putative superiority of white Europeans.

The dynamic and complex processes of racialization and marginalization are further elaborated in a follow up article co-authored by Theodorou and Symeou (see Theodorou and Symeou 2013), where the authors draw on two distinct qualitative studies with immigrant and minority children in Cyprus to identify not only similarities but also differences in how these two groups of children experience their minority status at school. The two studies, both carried out with primary school children attending public schools in Cyprus, were carried a year apart from each other and so offer relatively comparable contextual parameters. Theodorou's study (see also Theodorou 2011a, b above) was an ethnographic investigation of immigrant Pontian children's identity negotiation while Symeou's study focused on exploring indigenous Roma children's concepts of inclusion through schooling. The authors illustrate that despite the shared minority status of the two groups of children, each group experienced their exclusion differently, something which they primarily attribute to "their dual multilayered position as both insiders and outsiders to the dominant Greek-Cypriot majority" (Theororou and Symeou 2013, pp. 14–15). Since both groups are Turkish-speaking they occupy an

'outsider' position (associated with 'Turkishness'). But both groups are also insiders: Pontians as Greeks of the diaspora and Roma as indigenous Cypriot. Thus, while Pontian children tried "to hide elements in their cultural and social background that could potentially render them as outsiders … Roma children … had to juggle their self-identifications as Cypriots amidst conflicting discourses whereby they were positioned as Cypriots by the official state rhetoric but were outcast as Others in their daily lived experience" (Theodorou and Symeou 2013, p. 15). The authors conclude that research needs to attend to the relations between cultural groups (especially between minority and majority groups) in order to de-essentialize notions of the 'minority child' as a monolithic and homogeneous category.

Expanding the scope of this research tradition, Stevens et al. (2016) have sought to investigate how Turkish Cypriot students who are enrolled in two private secondary schools in the areas controlled by the Republic of Cyprus respond to the racism they experience from teachers and other students at school. Drawing on data from qualitative interviews with Turkish Cypriot students, the authors illustrate the complex and dynamic ways by which Turkish Cypriot students respond to racism variously in the two school contexts. Students' responses, they argue, vary based on the size of the school, its ethnic composition and the school's policies in relation to racism: "The analysis of these two case studies showed that smaller, and ethnically more heterogeneous schools, as well as school policies that take a clear and consistent anti-racist stance, with identifiable and trustworthy senior members of staff as recognized points of contact, seem to be in a good position to provide the necessary social support for ethnic minority students, since they tend to foster a sense of social protection amongst ethnic minority students as well as closer inter-ethnic relationships between students" (Stevens et al. 2016, pp. 91–92). Interestingly, their findings in relation to one of the two schools, Green Lane, show that the school's "anti-racist policies interact to develop a situation in which minority students feel both protected but also more disliked by their Greek Cypriot peers: (1) overemphasizing the existence of the anti-racist policy in the school, (2) allowing anti-racist school policies to be interpreted by the majority students as targeted against them and (3) displaying inconsistencies in the anti-racist approach" (Stevens et al. 2016, p. 92). This particular finding provides an interesting insight into school policy making, suggesting that the structures in place at school should not be perceived as unfairly targeting the ethnic majority for this could create more resentment by the majority towards minorities (Stevens et al. 2016, p. 92). In a recently published monograph (Stevens 2016), Stevens provides more contextual depth to the above findings and elaborates further on the relationship between national

pride and ethnic prejudice in Cyprus through a closer look at the cultural, religious and racial configurations of identity construction among students. The book provides a rare glimpse into inter-ethnic contact between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot students which greatly enhances our understanding of processes of ethnicization and racialization in school.

An exception to the above studies which are mostly preoccupied specifically with the role of schools in racist practices, Spyrou's (2009) study of Greek Cypriot children's constructions of Filipino and Sri-Lankan domestic workers explores the more general attitudes of two groups of children, those whose families employ domestic workers and those whose families don't. Though children's constructions and feelings towards these women are not always negative, but are rather characterized by contradictions and ambiguities, the overall context which shapes these women's presence in Cyprus (i.e. the fact that they are economically subordinate but also constructed as racially inferior by prevailing discourses coupled with their status as females) gives rise to attitudes and understandings on the part of the children which, even when on the surface they appear to be positive, are in fact qualified statements which reveal a deep sense of discomfort and a sense of superiority in relation to these women.

In a more recently published piece of work but drawing on the same pool of data (see Spyrou 2013), Spyrou has used a mixed methods approach to explore Greek Cypriot children's constructions of Russian and Romanian immigrant women who live and work in Cyprus. Though the study does not focus on the role of formal education in children's understandings of these women, it does provide important insights into processes of identity construction at the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. Spyrou shows how Greek Cypriot children partake into processes of sexualizing Russian and Romanian women who are seen as a threat to the nation's moral sense through their putative sexually promiscuous behavior and their encounters with Greek Cypriot men. Children do so by drawing on existing cultural ideologies which inform their understandings of notions of family, gender, and sexuality and their wider lived experience, including media exposure (and of television in particular), with immigration in Cyprus. As Spyrou argues, the threat that these women's sexualized ethnic identities pose to Greek Cypriot culture inadvertently highlights the Greek Cypriot family's moral superiority and the need to defend and protect it for it directly contributes to a sense of national superiority. In addressing the sexualized construction of otherness, this article contributes to our limited understanding of intersectional identities in Cyprus and children's participation in their construction

and draws attention to the need to integrate influences beyond formal education in understanding identity construction.

To summarize the ER tradition, we could say that ethnographic studies of racism, especially in educational contexts, have been slowly but steadily contributing to our understanding of racialization processes at work and how these processes shape both majority and minority children. Being primarily qualitative and ethnographic in their approaches to studying children's and implicated adults engagement with racism, ethnocentrism, prejudice, and stereotyping, these studies shed light on the dynamic processes at work which give rise to these problematic social phenomena. It is important to note that conceptually it is not easy to separate the ER tradition from the EIC tradition mainly because identity construction intersects with both nationalism and racism and therefore any classification of studies within one or the other tradition is more a matter of theoretical emphasis rather than distinct categorization.

Curriculum/Textbooks

The next group of studies examine the way the curriculum and textbooks contribute to either strengthening or soothing ethnic divisions for much of the recent history of the Cypriot state.

One of the older studies focusing on curricula development in Cyprus is that carried out by Koutselini (1997) nearly 15 years ago. Koutselini's study sought to investigate how the national problem of Cyprus, and its development during various periods of its history, affected educational policy and consequently the secondary school curricula. Following the lead of earlier studies, Koutselini suggested that curriculum choices were to a significant extent determined by the political situation in Cyprus. Furthermore, she showed that the philosophy and character of Greek Cypriot secondary education was shaped under the pressure of monolithic cultural considerations which prevented structural changes to its educational system. She identifies three periods of curriculum changes corresponding to major political events. First, the period of colonial rule (1935–1960) when the opposing groups were the colonial government and the Greek Board of Education in Cyprus (which represented the interests of the Greek Orthodox church and the government of Greece). Second, the period of independence (1960–1974) when the debate over the secondary school curriculum was between pragmatic labor-related demands, which advocated increased technical and vocational education offerings and generally reduced offerings of humanistic or subjects

deemed 'useless', and nationalist supporters who regarded any reduction in ancient Greek courses as a hidden plot against the national cause of enosis. Third, the period from 1974 to 1990 which saw a focus shift to an independent educational policy and the internationalization of education. Within the context of the shifts in educational policy described above, Philippou's doctoral thesis (2004) and subsequent publications based on her thesis (2007a, b) explored how the European dimension was conceptualized as a subtle approach to alleviate the ethnocentrism of history and geography curricula, and to shift pupils' extreme views as a result of any remnants of the previous educational policy's focus on ethnocentrism. Her study pointed to the potential of education in providing children with a wider range of 'tools' with which to construct their identities. Further, she argued that in a context where 'Europe' is a 'normativity' and the 'Other = Turk' is polarized, the European dimension might be useful to hybridize a European identity so as to include the 'Others'. In a latter paper Philippou (2009) examined how 'Europe' is constructed in Greek Cypriot civic education and its interplay with the internal citizenship debates and political divisions of the country. Although 'Europe' provides a framework from which policy documents increasingly draw to introduce curricular innovation, European citizenship is not substantially addressed in the syllabi and textbooks. Nationalistic discourses of citizenship 'appropriate' 'Europe' in ways which legitimize both ethno- and Euro-centrism and which fail to alleviate existing tensions between ethno-national and state identities in Cyprus. To address this question, among others, she focused on current official secondary school civic curricula used by Greek Cypriot schools to explore how Cypriot and European citizenship are constructed within the text; analytical tools are drawn largely from nationalism theories and their implications for discussions of European integration. She argued that local and European debates seem to have influenced the curricula used in Greek Cypriot state schools in conflicting ways, which do not address the issues underlying the Cyprus problem.

Within the context of a divided island Papadakis (2008a, b) conducted a comparative study of schoolbooks used to teach the history of Cyprus in primary and secondary education on the two sides of the divided island, with study material being analyzed according to guidelines outlined in UNESCO's handbook on textbook research. Despite their different political goals, the two nationalisms that emerged in Cyprus shared the same form, namely, an ethnic nationalism stressing common history, descent, language, culture, and religion with the people of the 'motherlands', Turkey and Greece. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots were only taught the history of Greece and the history of Turkey respectively, while the history of Cyprus has only relatively

recently been introduced and with considerably less time allotted for its teaching. On the Greek Cypriot side, the history of Cyprus has been presented as an extension of the history of Greece, and on the Turkish Cypriot side as an extension of the history of Turkey. Papadakis's study found that Greek Cypriot schoolbooks currently in use on the island and older Turkish Cypriot schoolbooks employed until 2004 employ similar models of ethnic nationalism. According to his analysis, both present history 'from above', focusing on dynastic change and diplomatic and political history; both are male-centered, with little attention being paid to social history, internal differences, interaction, and cooperation; both sets of textbooks adopt monoethnic and ethnocentric approaches to the subject matter, rejecting any conceptualization of Cyprus as a multicultural and multi-ethnic space in past and present. Further, he argues that the view of history they contain is strongly dualistic, depicted in terms of black and white, good and evil. An interesting observation that he makes is that there was a substantial revision of history schoolbooks on the Turkish Cypriot side after the left-wing party CTP came to power in 2003, leading to the production of new textbooks during 2004. These textbooks represented a radical change in terms of content and methodology, highlighting not just conflict, internal divisions, and discontinuities, but also social and cultural interactions and cooperation between the two communities. The new model of history presented had noteworthy implications regarding the notions of memory and trauma, blame, and retribution, as well as allowing for the possibility of making one's own choices regarding political allegiance in the present. Beyond the main ethnicity divide of Cyprus and the multiculturalism front, Angelides et al. (2004) examined the ways schools shape students' multicultural awareness. They stated that it was necessary to implement an educational awareness in all students within the primary schools of Cyprus concerning the negative attitudes that were developed towards the foreign students. The authors point out that negative attitudes such as 'racism, xenophobia, ethnocentrism' and violent behaviors by Cypriot students toward foreign students was a reality in Cypriot schools. They describe a single episode where a foreign student felt that she could not be integrated in the school environment due to the lack of support by the educational system and not by other Cypriot students. The researchers believed that the Cypriot educational system does not motivate students to acquire knowledge about other ethnic groups and cultures. For example, in 2004 all history and religious textbooks included information that related only to the Cypriot and Greek related topics. As a result, the lack of knowledge regarding other ethnic backgrounds, histories and ethnic origins, leads to the development of stereotypical attitudes towards these students. Consequently, these negative attitudes could

further result in violent behavior towards this group of students. Despite the fact that the system might not assist the foreign students to efficiently integrate into the Cypriot school environment, the group of students studied was willing to be part of Cypriot society and to enjoy all aspects of the Cypriot culture, such as religious and national celebrations, customs, and traditions (Angelides et al. 2004). In order to recognize the vital impact of the educators on the student's identity formation, Spyrou's (2002) study, which was presented in a previous section, may be looked at again in relation to this issue. Specifically, the author examined how the educational system influenced the way students form their own and others' ethnic identities. The author observed that in order to teach history courses (e.g. Greek liberation struggles) in class, the teachers tended to provide a vivid context that might cause various negative effects. As the author explicitly stated, the teacher provided an example (for instance, the Turkish soldiers brutally murdered the Greek population to conquer a specific area) that enhanced the hatred of students towards the Turks. Consequently, as Spyrou (2002) argues, the students shaped their understanding of the Turks as the 'enemies' and attributed their negative beliefs and hostility to this group of people. In addition, Spyrou (2002) affirmed that this kind of teaching method compels students to segregate themselves from other ethnic groups. Particularly, Greek Cypriots tend to acknowledge themselves as 'us' and people of Turkish origin as 'them' (Spyrou 2006).

The latest educational reform of 2004–14 provided the framework for revisiting the issue of curriculum and textbooks. Philippou (2012) argues that the latest educational reform of (2004–2014) was materialized through curriculum review processes. As with her previous work, presented earlier here, she finds that the concept of 'Europe' has been repeatedly invoked to legitimize and explain its introduction. According to the author although 'Europe' provides a framework to legitimize curricular innovation towards tolerance and respect for diversity, human rights and democracy, reconciliation and inclusion, it is not systematically addressed in curriculum texts in locally relevant ways to alleviate existing tensions between ethno-national and state identities which have historically fueled inter-communal conflict and division in Cyprus.

Also in the context of examining the educational reform in Cyprus from 2004 until 2014, Klerides and Philippou (2015) argue that it was materialized through the development, introduction and implementation of new official school curricula texts. These texts were influenced on the one hand by Greek national culture and identity and European and global priorities and ideologies on the other. Inevitably, this, according to Klerides and Philippou

(2015), produce tensions between the local, the national, international and global trends. The authors suggest that in the reformed curriculum Greek culture and civilization was named as the framework of democratic education within which national, religious and cultural identity would be formed whilst at the same time the students would learn to respect the characteristics of other communities and children of different origin.

By analyzing the policy documents of the same educational reform Theodorou and Philippou (2013) offer a critique and argue that these policy documents are characterized by contradictions, gaps and tensions. Specifically, the local, national, European and global rhetoric in these texts is unclear and fails to produce far-reaching results. Following the same line of argumentation and on the same topic Philippou and Theodorou (2014) argue that even though the accession of Cyprus in the EU in 2004 was an opportunity for addressing diversity in a historically ethnocentric educational system through the introduction of a European dimension, the concept of 'Europe' was mobilized by children in highly similar ways to distinguish, evaluate and hierarchize various others and to re-produce ethnic, racial, and Eurocentric stereotypes against national outgroups and their immigrant classmates from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

This section dealt with the way textbooks and curricula treated the historical context to cultivate ethnocentric identities in a politically turbulent period. The ethnic divide has dominated much of the research agenda of many researchers until recently when the notion of multiculturalism emerged and added a newfound focus in the research repertoire of researchers to which we now turn.

Teachers and Intercultural Education

This section looks at the research which focused on teachers and intercultural education which incorporates not only the ethnicity divisions and stereotypes seen in previous sections but also the integration of migrant students in Cyprus. A research study by the Centre for Educational Research and Evaluation (KEEA 2010) examined whether educators in Cyprus are aware and trained on how to promote solidarity and assist the integration of foreign students. The authors focused more on the importance of the intercultural knowledge of the educators and on how they can acquire this knowledge. The research findings show that more than half of the sample of educators were trained on intercultural issues, by either attending seminars or by taking courses during their graduate and undergraduate studies. Moreover, results

showed that educators were well prepared to implement practical methods to enhance the intercultural awareness of all students. However, the study showed that even though educators were aware of the institutional instructions set by the Ministry of Education and Culture regarding teaching methods applied to foreign students, few of them were familiar with the guide developed by the Ministry of Education on welcoming students into the school environment. Also, a large number of teachers were not informed about the seminars offered by the Ministry of Education regarding methods of teaching Greek as a second language. It is important to note that most of the educators wished for more training on issues of multiculturalism and on practical ways to support the integration of foreign students in the school environment. Papamichael (2009), through a qualitative study with unstructured interviews with teachers and head teachers, investigated the teacher's role in the policy and practice of intercultural education in Greek Cypriot primary schools, amidst an environment which has gradually transformed the educational setting of Cyprus to a multicultural one. Zembylas (2010a) showed the vital influence of educators on students by discussing the importance of the implementation of the 'integrated education' in Cypriot schools by educators. As Zembylas (2010a) discussed in his study, this type of education was derived from the conception of the 'inclusive education', which is the amalgamation of a diversity of students in one class or school. The author asserted that this type of educational measure assisted all students who come from different ethnic, social, and religious backgrounds, to integrate more easily in the mainstream Cypriot school environment and to avoid being stereotyped or discriminated. It is assumed that based on this 'integrated' educational system, all educators must be aware that their class encompasses students with different cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. They also need to be informed about these differences and be academically prepared to provide all students with the necessary tools to understand and accept diversity in their class, and school in general. If educators are willing to accept and respect differing opinions and beliefs among the students, this would be an effective tool for influencing all students' reactions and attitudes towards intercultural circumstances (Zembylas 2010a). The researcher strongly stated that the exclusive method of 'reconciliation pedagogies' is just the acknowledgement of cultural and ethnic differences, and it is not sufficient to assist students in forming their assumptions and further in understanding interculturalism.

Philippou, Kontovourki and Theodorou produced a series of papers and book chapters dealing with teacher professionalism and autonomy in Cyprus trying to uncover the context within which they deal with educational reforms

and especially on curriculum change in an autonomous manner. For example, in a recent publication in 2014 they reported an empirical investigation with individual and focus group interviews with in-service elementary teachers, regarding their sense of professionalism within this curriculum change process. This investigation revealed that teachers positioned themselves in multiple ways on a continuum of minimum and maximum autonomy over their participation in the development and introduction of the new official curriculum (Philippou et al. 2014). The same argument was made in a Greek language chapter in 2015 where the same authors reported on the same empirical investigation where teachers talked about the special conditions relating with the introduction of New National Curricula and of having to deal with non-Greek language students and the lack of proper training of educational material (Theodorou et al. 2015).

Liasidou and Symeou (2016) used a critical discourse analysis in order to discuss the equity and social justice implications of two consultation reports conducted by the World Bank in close collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Culture (World Bank 2014a, b). The purpose of these reports was to highlight the imperative to improve teaching and enhance accountability regimes with regard to students' learning and were subsequently used to implement a number of reforms in the educational system. Through document analysis Liasidou and Symeou (2016) showed the absence of a social justice discourse in the rhetoric of educational reforms, despite the alleged centrality of a social justice discourse in official policy. Moreover, they concluded that the World Bank reports failed to include issues of social justice and learner diversity in discussing the necessity to strengthen the existing teacher policy framework and to mobilize structural educational reforms. Liasidou and Symeou (2016) attributed this omission to neoliberal imperatives that drove education policy reforms as well as the low priority attributed to issues of equity and learner diversity.

Zembylas (2010b) demonstrated that when 'integrated education' was applied in a private Greek Cypriot school, this approach was effective on students' attitudes and behaviors. The particular interrelations of groups of students that were examined in the research included Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot students. It was evident that there were many rivalries among these groups due to the increasing stereotypical and racist beliefs and attitudes towards each other. Teachers showed themselves to be increasingly aware of issues pertaining to several different cultures. Specifically, educators in this school tend to show understanding and acceptance of all students' beliefs and encourage children to think critically and analyze these issues based on their own views. Other teachers use various practical ways to bring Greek Cypriot

and Turkish Cypriot students together, such as the establishment of a students' 'club' that would include students from all ethnicities. However, the effort that teachers put in creating school harmony is demanding since most of the students struggle to cooperate and not all of the academic staff is involved in this effort. Another study conducted by Symeou et al. (2009) revealed how teachers reacted and felt when having Roma students in their class. More specifically, the authors showed that most Greek Cypriot teachers were not adequately equipped with the necessary knowledge and educational materials to teach classes where Roma students were enrolled. Even though there was an inadequate supply of instructional materials that would effectively train and assist teachers to help Roma students, teachers also had to cope with the unwillingness of Roma parents to cooperate with them. According to the authors, some Roma parents decided that their children might not attend school to avoid the negative effects of exclusion, segregation, and racist actions against them. Therefore, Symeou et al. (2009) argued that a methodological training program provided to the teachers could support them to overcome these difficulties. Such a program attempted to increase teachers' understanding regarding Roma historical and social background, and therefore, they would recognize more easily the learning and social needs of these students. Moreover, the program's goal was to facilitate the willingness of Roma parents to be committed to their children's academic state, and therefore to reinforce their school attendance.

Hajisoteriou and Angelides (2013) examined the politics of the development of intercultural education policy in Cyprus by looking at the content of intercultural policies developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The Ministry has initiated a reform of the national towards a more intercultural orientation. The authors focused on the challenges that impede the development and implementation of such policies. Their analysis drew upon policy documents collected from the Ministry of Education and Culture and interviews carried out with Cypriot policy-makers. They, along the lines of similar research on the topic found that there was a gap between policy rhetoric and practice.

In a more thorough and systematic thematic and textual analysis of various official and unofficial documents of the Ministry of education and culture of Cyprus, Theodorou (2014) examined the position of migrant children in the Greek Cypriot education system in relation to the meanings of the concepts of intercultural education and culture. The findings of her work demonstrated the existence of paradoxes and contradictions and opposing meanings to the word, and the form of intercultural education policy in Cyprus. Theodorou highlighted the need to establish a coherent and holistic education policy that

can meet the needs imposed by the multicultural classroom. According to Theodorou (2014) the presence of migrant students was treated as a problem and as a cause of tension in the education system which reportedly disrupts the existing uniformity. The result follows that bilingualism and multiculturalism are not treated as a source of wealth but rather as disadvantages that need to be offset. Children of immigrant origin or/and their families become responsible for many of the educational and social problems faced in school while the educational system remains untouched by any criticism or self-criticism for the condition.

As Cyprus appears to be moving more to the multicultural agenda, there is a growing body of research work on intercultural education which focuses on the co-existence of multiple ethnicity groups in the educational system. This is a move away from the well-researched area on the rivalries that may be found in educational settings between the two main ethnic communities of Cyprus, and may be interpreted as a consequence of the long-lasting ethnic division of the country whereby the feeling is that little can be done to reverse a permanent partition along ethnic lines.

Summary-Conclusion

In this chapter we have identified and reviewed four main traditions of research for studying inequalities in educational processes in Cyprus: (1) ethnographies of identity construction, (2) ethnographies of racism, (3) studies of curricula and textbooks, and (4) studies of teachers and intercultural education. The research tradition we have identified as ethnographies of identity construction focuses primarily on school-based studies of identity construction with children being the principal research targets. These studies provide context-specific, in-depth explorations of children's school lives and, especially, of the role of schooling and educational ideology on children's sense of national identity. Taken as a whole these studies shed light on the role that formal education plays in constructing oppositional identities ("us" versus "them") in Cyprus which is divided as a result of Turkey's 1974 invasion and occupation. The second research tradition we have identified and discussed—ethnographies of racism—focuses mainly on the exploration of processes of racialization and ethnicization which take place in school as a result of the increased presence of immigrant children in recent years. These studies are also primarily ethnographic in nature and seek to problematize educational policies and practices and their role in reproducing inequalities in relation to immigrant children. In addition to the policies which guide educational prac-

tice, these studies explore the role of school administrators and of teachers in particular in order to deconstruct the assumed equality that is supposed to exist in school life. Regarding the way textbooks and curricula have been researched over recent years one may observe that education has been a vehicle for promoting the politics of ethnocentrism to the extend that the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus which appears to monitor the content of them reacts forcefully even when there is even a hint that they may deviate from the ethnocentric agenda of "Hellenism" and "Greek-Orthodox Christianity". The ethnic divide that has dominated much of the research agenda of many researchers until recently appears to be losing out to the multiculturalism agenda possibly in the realization that the de facto partition of the country cannot be changed in the foreseeable future.

The still limited number of studies on educational inequalities in Cyprus have yet to have any significant impact on social policy development though they have given rise to public dialogue on the issue. It is clear from the existing literature that there are emerging inequalities in education which need to be addressed. However, given that the phenomenon of in-migration in Cyprus is fairly recent coupled with the fact that Cyprus is a divided country whose educational system sustains a nationalistic outlook provides for a challenging task ahead as far as developing social policies that will address the emerging problems effectively. At the same time, these are the same factors that entice more and more researchers in Cyprus to explore issues of diversity and inequality.

Though the four research traditions and the work carried out to date has provided significant insights into the workings of the educational system in Cyprus and its role in the production and reproduction of inequalities much more needs to be done in mapping and assessing the empirical realities of the situation. Mixed methods approaches that map and contextualize at the same time the experiences of different migrant groups in school would help provide the currently missing larger picture of the phenomenon while also account for gaps of knowledge in relation to particular migrant groups and ethnic minorities. Similarly, large-scale quantitative studies on a representative population that test the insights of the context-specific qualitative case-studies on in-out group relations carried to date would enhance our understanding of the larger structural mapping of this phenomenon. Another fruitful direction for future research would be to explore the role of the family and the home in relation to that of the school as well as the respective roles of the Church and the military to provide for a more comprehensive analysis of the factors that play a role in understanding and explaining educational inequalities. Last but not least, a focus on wider outcomes that move beyond the in-out group focus

which has been predominant to this day, could also provide a more comprehensive understanding of educational inequalities in Cyprus.

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10

The Czech Republic: From Ethnic Discrimination to Social Inclusion in the Educational System

Laura Fónadová, Tomáš Katrňák, and Natalie Simonová

Introduction

Development of the educational system in Czech society before 1989 mirrored the development in other countries of the former Eastern bloc. As Simonová (2011) shows, educational opportunities grew relatively slowly as judged by the proportion of the population completing a full high-school education (SLC – school-leaving certificate) and/or degrees in higher education. Both levels of educational achievement were considered elite and only a small percentage of people reached them. For example, in 1980, a total of 17% of citizens, men and women equally, completed SLC, while only 7% of men and 3% of women gained a university degree (Simonová 2011). There were no incentives to reach the highest levels of education, as higher education did not lead to higher incomes and better quality of life. Hence, there was no change in the effect of social origin on achieved education (or it even slightly increased) because the majority of people choosing to study were those for whom education had value in itself, regardless of its economic returns. These people were mainly descendants of highly educated parents.

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The post-1989 Czech Republic has undergone economic, political, and social transformations that have led the country to a gradual convergence with Western European societies. Accordingly, social inequalities have been analysed with a primary focus on the social origin of students (Matějů 1993; Katrňák 2004; Simonová 2003, 2008; Matějů et al. 2007; Simonová and Soukup, 2009, 2010; Katrňák and Simonová 2011; Konečný et al. 2012). Analyses dealing with the effect of ethnic origin on achieved education only gradually began to appear at the margins of mainstream sociological research. The results of such research can be found not only in sociological articles and books but also in the official reports and policy papers produced by non-governmental organisations, non-profit organisations, and the Czech government. This chapter presents a critical review of this literature, produced between 1990 and 2015. We have organised it into three traditions, which developed in chronological order and are to some extent thematically linked.

The first tradition is comprised of studies *mapping Roma discrimination* in the Czech educational system. These studies analyse the systematic placement of Roma pupils in special schools, which gravely limited their social opportunities in Czech society. Publications in this tradition date back mainly to the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century. The second tradition contains studies that *map ethnic inequalities in education*. These studies focus on describing ethnic differences in the educational system. Their appearance logically follows the increase of ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic after 1989, as well as the dominant impact of European discourse on social exclusion and inclusion. Research in this tradition begins in 2005 and can be understood as a thematic continuation of the first tradition. The third tradition concerns *educational resources, social contexts*, and *under-achievement*. Publications within this tradition analyse the causes of lower educational opportunities and achievement for ethnic minorities as compared to the majority. They include quantitative sociological research on the economic, social, and cultural determinants of ethnic minorities' failures in the educational system, as well as qualitative sociological research on ethnic minorities in schools and families. Although the publications come from the same time period as those of the second tradition, beginning in 2005, the third tradition can be understood as a thematic broadening with respect to the reasons for the failures of ethnic minorities within the Czech educational system. All three traditions have led in the present year (2017) to the implementation of socially inclusive policies within the Czech educational system, whose goal is the common education of children with special needs, as well as socially and culturally disadvantaged pupils, together with other children. Based on the available literature, we understand the development of writing about ethnic

inequalities in the Czech educational system as a transition from ethnic discrimination to social inclusion.

This chapter has the following structure. First, we briefly describe the Czech educational system, the main ethnic minority groups and migration patterns in the country, also outlining the main features of social policy development. Then, we present the method of selecting individual studies focused on ethnicity and ethnic difference in the educational system and justify their organisation into three traditions. The main body of the chapter is dedicated to reviewing the works within each research tradition. To conclude, we provide an overview of our findings and formulate recommendations for further research on ethnicity in the Czech educational system.

National Context

The Educational System

As part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (i.e. between 1867 and 1918), the Czech territory became a region with one of the highest literacy rates in Europe (Simonová 2011). Compulsory eight-year education was introduced as early as 1869, and there existed a wide network of schools offering vocational as well as academic education. Between 1869 and 1882, university education in Czech language was also made available. In this time period, only men were allowed to study at higher levels of education. However, with the establishment of a grammar school for women called Minerva in 1890, from 1895 women also started to attend universities (first as auditors, then from 1897 also as regular students). During the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1938), the primary school system was reformed. The number of universities increased. However, these were subsequently closed between 1939 and 1945, under the rule of Nazi Germany, along with many secondary schools. After World War II and the establishment of Communist Party rule in 1948, an egalitarian policy gained prominence, and the primary goal of all educational reforms was to decrease inequalities in access to education (Simonová 2011). Two means used to achieve this goal were education free of charge and a so-called quota system (i.e., political control over the allocation of educational places). During the 1970s and 1980s (i.e. roughly in the second half of the socialist period), the development of the Czech educational system, and especially its tertiary sector, quantitatively slowed down. This was a consequence of massive wage-levelling, which was caused by a decrease in the importance of education in the labour market.

In 1975 compulsory education was increased to 10 years, which meant that entering some type of a secondary school became mandatory (Simonová 2011). In contrast to secondary education which was quantitatively expanding, tertiary education was stagnating. Higher education institutions were not absorbing the increasing demand from secondary school graduates, which resulted in downward educational mobility in this time period (Matějů 1986). After the fall of socialism in 1989, the value of education in the labour market started to increase again, and educational mobility became the mediator of intergenerational social mobility (Tuček 2003).

Since the 1996/1997 academic year, the length of primary education, i.e. the compulsory educational period in the Czech Republic, has been 9 years (see picture 1). Primary education (first and second stage) therefore concerns children aged 6–15. The first level includes grades 1 to 5 (ISCED 1), the second level includes grades 6 to 9 (ISCED 2). Pupils in the 6th or 8th grade, who are interested and who have passed through entrance examinations, may transfer to a grammar school, or to an eight-year music conservatory (Euridice 2009/10). However, most pupils (around 80%) stay in primary schools organised into two levels.

Since September 2007, primary as well as secondary school education is organised according to the Framework Education Programme for Elementary Education. This framework outlines the teaching content, and the expected knowledge outcomes by the end of the first and the second levels of primary school education. Some subjects, such as Czech language, mathematics, a foreign language, music, art, and physical education as well as information and communication technologies are taught as compulsory at both primary school levels (foreign language starting in 1st or 3rd grade, depending on the school decision). Other subjects, such as history, civics, physics, chemistry, natural sciences and geography are taught only at the second level (Ministry of Education… 2013).

The school report, which pupil receives twice a year, specifically at the end of the first and the second semesters, is the result of the pupil's assessment throughout the academic year. There is no leaving examination at the end of primary school. The school issues a certificate assessing how the educational goals outlined by law were met by the pupil (Fig. 10.1).

After successfully completing primary and lower secondary education, 98.6% of pupils transfer to non-mandatory upper secondary education (ISCED 3). This level of education is either comprehensive, taught at high schools (eight-, six-, or four-year), or it focuses on a specialised area, taught at other secondary schools (four-year study programmes are completed by the school-leaving certificate (SLC); two- and three-year study programmes are
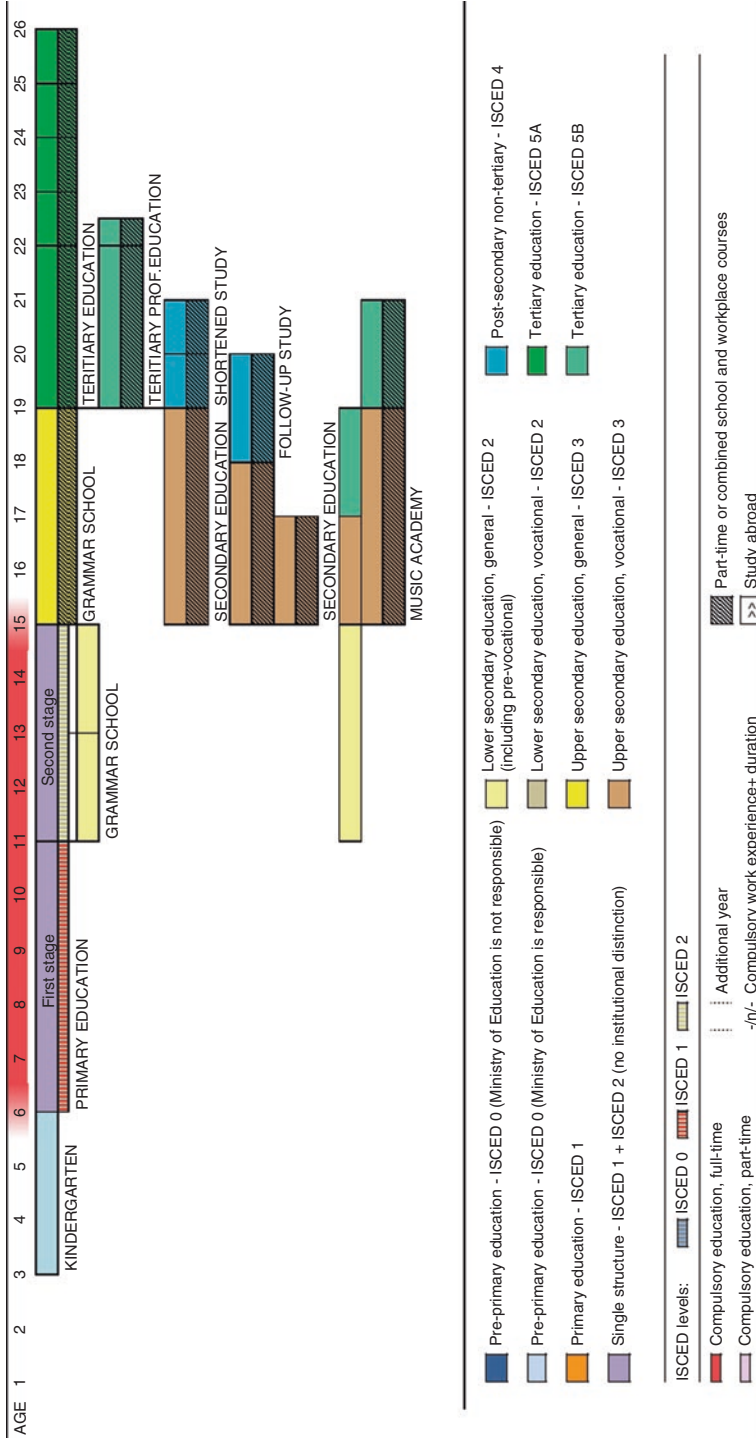
Fig. 10.1 Educational system in the Czech Republic. (Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports)

completed by a certificate of apprenticeship). Another option is upper secondary education offered by music conservatories (Ministry of Education… 2015).

Those who receive a certificate of apprenticeship are eligible for extension or continuing-education study programmes (ISCED 4A), completed by the school-leaving certificate (SLC), or expand their qualifications via post-secondary study programmes offered by secondary schools (so-called shortened study). Secondary school graduates with a diploma (having passed the school-leaving certificate (ISCED 3A or 4A)) can continue with tertiary education, which includes higher professional schools (or community college) (ISCED 5B) and universities (ISCED 5A and 6).

Completing study at a higher professional school (community college) is accompanied by a certificate granted based on passing examinations in at most three specialised subjects, a foreign language, and a thesis defence. With this certificate the graduate receives a "specialist with a diploma" (or associate's) degree (DiS.). To complete university education, students take a final state examination, which includes a bachelor's or master's thesis defence. In the former case graduates receive the title of "bachelor" (Bc.) or "bachelor of fine arts" (BcA.); in the latter case they receive the title of "master" (Mgr.), "master of fine arts" (MgA.), "engineer" (Ing.), or "engineer of architecture" (Ing. arch.). Doctoral study is completed by passing a doctoral state exam and a dissertation thesis defence. A successful graduate receives the title of "doctor" (Ph.D.).

According to Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, out of the total number of 4,140 primary schools, 95% were public and 5% were private or church schools in academic year 2016/2017. Among 1307 secondary schools 74% were public, 23% private and 3% church. Among 168 higher professional schools 68% were public, 27% private and 5% church. Among 67 universities, there are 26 public, 2 state and 39 private. Church universities do not exist in the Czech Republic.

If we want to describe the Czech educational system as a whole, we can say it is highly standardised and to a large extent centralised, based on achieving universal educational levels and acquiring diplomas (i.e. the state organises centrally administrated national examinations), especially in the earlier stages of life. Similar conditions are characteristic among other European countries as well, which have a so-called continental type of welfare state. An important asset of the Czech educational system is the fact that a vast majority of the population enters secondary education (i.e. the upper secondary level of education) and this has been true for a long time. The Czech Republic is also among countries which more or less combine theoretical and practical teach-

ing at the secondary level of education in a so-called "dual system".[1] At the same time, there is a general awareness of which schools are better and which are worse (especially at the tertiary level of education), which employers use when seeking new employees. "On-the-job-training"[2] commonly used in other countries is not very common in the Czech Republic. If it is used, then very marginally – a job-seeker should instead have obtained most of the substantial competences from the school.

The Czech educational system is defined by two selection stages (or filters), which every pupil must pass. If we leave aside the voluntary selection of entering a multi-year grammar school at the age of 11–12, each pupil faces (1) entrance exams for different types of secondary schools and (2) university entrance exams. From 2017, a unified set of entrance exams, organised by the government, is used to qualify for secondary schools. University entrance exams are not standardised, but determined by each type of university. The choice of secondary school type strongly influences, or even determines, one's further educational career. If a pupil chooses a school without school-leaving certificate, s/he is then unable to continue onto university. Thus, the first selection stage has a greater impact on the future life of a pupil than the second. Elementary school pupils have for many years been assessed through international comparative tests in their reading, mathematical and scientific abilities; however, the results have had no impact on the schools. Institutions of secondary and tertiary education have not been subjected to any centrally determined standardised criteria and thus there are no public comparisons of schools' respective quality.

According to the Czech Statistical Office, in 2016, 14% of the Czech population older than 15 years had completed primary school, 33% vocational training (secondary education without the school-leaving certificate), 34% secondary education with the school-leaving certificate, and 19% tertiary level education. This means that 86% over 15 years old had completed higher than primary (compulsory) education. This number was 93% in the age group of 25–34. As one considers the youngest generations in time, the level of education attained is increasing. It is a consequence of the expansion of

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[1] The so-called dual system is a system of teaching, in which an apprentice is educated mostly directly at the place of employment, which allows the apprentice to develop practical skills (i.e. the study programme is a formal contract between the employer and the school). In addition, the apprentice is taught theoretical knowledge at the school one or two days a week. Some employers also run their own training centres, which can offer theoretical teaching as well.

[2] This is a method of extending qualification, in which the apprentice is trained by doing a particular job, usually under the supervision of a more experienced employee.

secondary as well as tertiary education after 1989 in the Czech Republic, and especially between 2000 and 2010.

In 2014, the expenditure on education from public and private funds represented 3,9% GDP in the Czech Republic, while the OECD average was 5,2%. As for the ratio of all public expenditures, OECD countries spend on average 11,3% on education in 2014, and it was 7,8% in the Czech Republic. Together with Hungary, Italy or Russian Federation this is the lowest value of total public expenditure on education, as a percentage of total government expenditure (OECD 2017).

Main Ethnic Minority Groups and Migration Patterns

In terms of nationality, the Czech Republic is a homogeneous country with dominant representation of the Czech nationality. The contours of the population were formed by historical and political developments, in particular the migration of people during World War II; losses during the war of some national and ethnic minorities; the displacement of German inhabitants after the war; and by exchange, re/migration and displacement (CZSO 2014b).

At the time of the creation of independent Czechoslovakia in 1918 the main nationalities in the Czech part were the Czechs and Germans, together forming 98% of the population. After World War II, when representation of the German nationality decreased significantly, Slovaks became the largest minority. Between 1948 and 1989 the structure of the nationalities remained about the same. The 1990s saw larger changes, when after the split of Czechoslovakia there was a decrease in people with Slovak nationality in the newly formed Czech Republic, and an increase in the proportion of people with less traditional nationalities, mainly Ukrainian, Vietnamese, and Russian (CZSO 2014b). Table 10.1 shows that according to the last Population census in 2011, the most numerous minority nationalities in the Czech Republic were Moravian (5%), Slovakian, (1.41%), Ukrainian (0.51%), Polish (0.37%), and Vietnamese (0.28%). More recent data show that the most numerous nationalities of people migrating to the Czech Republic in 2014 were Ukrainians, Slovaks, and Russians (CZSO 2015a, b, c).

Some differences in the populations of specific nationalities between censuses can be attributed to changes in methodology of data collection, such as the possibility of reporting two nationalities in 2001 and 2011 compared to 1991; the fact that in 2001 answering the question became voluntary; and different definitions of nationality (in 1991 nationality was defined as affiliation with a nation or nationality according to the subjective consider-

Table 10.1 Population of the Czech Republic by nationality. Population Censuses 1991, 2001, and 2011

Nationality		1991 (total)		2001 (total)		2011 (total)	
		absl.	*%*	*absl.*	*%*	*absl.*	*%*
Total population		10,302,215	100	10,230,060	100	10,436,560	100
out of which	Czech	8,363,768	81.18	9,249,777	90.42	6,711,624	64.31
(nationality)	Moravian	1,362,313	13.22	380,474	3.72	521,801	5.00
	Silesian	44,446	0.43	10,878	0.11	12,214	0.12
	Slovak	314,877	3.06	193,190	1.89	147,152	1.41
	Polish	59,383	0.57	51,968	0.51	39,096	0.37
	German	48,556	0.47	39,106	0.38	18,658	0.18
	Ukrainian	8,220	0.07	22,112	0.22	53,253	0.51
	Hungarian	19,932	0.19	14,672	0.14	8,920	0.08
	Russian	5,062	0.05	12,369	0.12	17,872	0.17
	Roma	32,903	0.32	11,746	0.11	5,135	0.05
	Bulgarian	3,487	0.03	4,363	0.04	4,999	0.05
	Greek	3,379	0.03	3,219	0.03	2,043	0.02
	Serbian	–	–	1,801	0.02	1,717	0.02
	Croatian	–	–	1,585	0.02	1,125	0.01
	Ruthenian	1,926	0.02	1,106	0.01	739	0.01
	Belarusian	–	–	–	–	2,013	0.02
	Vietnamese	421	0.004	17,462	0.2	29,660	0.28
	Other	9,860	0.1	39,477	0.39	52,225	0.5
	Unknown	22,017	0.21	172,827	1.67	2,642,666	25.32

ation of the respondent; in 2001 and 2011 it was defined as the affiliation to a nation, or national or ethnic group regardless the respondents' mother tongue or their most commonly used or best used language) (CZSO 2014b). For instance, the decline in Czech nationality between 2001 and 2011 was caused by a high incidence of refusals to answer the question (a 25.3% refusal rate in 2011 compared to 1.7% in 2001), as well as by an increase in declared Moravian nationality in this period, as well as the possibility of claiming two nationalities at the same time. The increase in Moravian nationality in 1991 was probably due to the fact that in this year it was possible for the first time – and with a lot of media attention on this issue – to declare Moravian and Silesian nationality.

Roma nationality was reported by 5,135 people in 2011, which is 27,768 less than twenty years earlier. The reason for this decrease is probably the voluntary nature of the question on nationality, as well as a significant increase in declaring the category "Other", compared to 1991. Qualified estimates, however, show that there are many more Roma people than reported in the Czech population, and the data from the census therefore do not represent the overall Roma population. Such a phenomenon can be observed across most European countries. Various independent organisations (e.g. UNDP, UNICEF, the

European Roma Rights Centre) estimate that the number of Roma people in the Czech Republic is between 160,000 and 300,000 (around 2 to 3% of the whole population of the Czech Republic). Minority Rights Group, an international human rights organisation, estimates the number of Roma people in the Czech Republic as between 150,000 and 200,000.[3] This number is in accordance with the estimate by the Open Society Foundation, which is 180,000 (Open Society Foundation 2010). However, these estimates typically focus on areas with higher spatial concentration of the Roma population (higher than the ratio of the Roma population across the whole country), which means that only the Roma people living in concentrated areas are accounted for. But it is known that a considerable fraction of the Roma population includes those who have assimilated, whose number is even more difficult to estimate.

What are the main emigration and migration patterns in the Czech Republic? For a significant part of Czech history, emigration rather than immigration was characteristic (Drbohlav 2001; Lišková et al. 2015). This resulted in a marked degree of homogamy in respect to the ethnicity and nationality of the population (Lišková et al. 2015; Čermák and Janská 2011). The situation changed after the fall of communism in 1989 (Čermák and Janská 2011; Drbohlav 2001, 2003). As described by Drbohlav (2001: 203): "International migration very quickly became a feature of the newly established Czech democratic system. In contrast to previous decades, immigration and transit migration… clearly outweigh(ed) emigration". Economic migrants, i.e. foreign nationals seeking work, dominated in the 1990s and 2000s (Drbohlav 2003); however, Blahoutová (2013) reported that in 2010, 43% of residence permits were issued for "family reunification", 34% for work, and 15% for education. The main migration flows have traditionally come from Ukraine, Slovakia, Vietnam, Poland, and Russia (Drbohlav 2003; Čermák and Janská 2011; Blahoutová 2013). According to the Czech Statistical Office, foreigners in the Czech Republic in 2014 were mostly the citizens of Ukraine, Slovakia, Vietnam, Russia, Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, the USA, and the Great Britain (CZSO 2015a, b, c).

Social Policy Developments

Until the fall of communism in 1989, there was no integration policy for foreigners in Czechoslovakia. The time period between 1989 and 1999 repre-

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[3] Cf. http://minorityrights.org/minorities/roma-5/

sented a liberal and unregulated approach to migration (for more on this, cf. Baršová and Barša 2005). Only after this "wild period" did integration become part of Czech state policy. Between 1999 and 2003, integration policy was created and implemented by the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, whereas from 2004 it became the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (cf. Uherek and Černík 2004).

In 1999 the Czech government approved a document called *Principles of Policy for the Integration of Foreign Nationals in the Territory of the Czech Republic,* which emphasises the role of the state and its responsibility for the integration of foreign nationals, as well as the principles of equal treatment and equal opportunities. It also introduces the term "integration community". These principles were followed by *The Policy for the Integration of Foreign Nationals*, approved by the government in 2000, which considers the integration of foreigners to be a complex issue, with which both state and non-governmental organisations need to be involved. In contrast to the former *Principles of Policy,* the *Policy* of 2000 emphasises individual integration instead of integration communities. In 2002, a government document called *The Czech Government's Migration Policy Principles* was formulated, which was concerned with the migration and integration of foreigners in the context of the Czech Republic's accession to the European Union. According to this text, the purpose of integration policy is the elimination of illegal migration and support for legal migration and immigration. One principle is the participation of the Czech Republic in dealing with migration caused by humanitarian crises in other countries. In 2003, the Czech government published a document called *Analysis of the Situation of the Position of Foreign Nationals*, which was part of a larger document about the implementation of the *Policy for the Integration of Foreign Nationals in 2003 and its further Development in Relation to the Admission of the Czech Republic into the European Union* (2004). The aim of this analysis was to assess the results of the current integration policy in various areas such as the participation of foreigners in public and political life, employment, housing, social security and education. In terms of the general strategy of integration policy, the main shortfall seems to have been the lack of coherence of particular policy measures, and their limited reach to the local level.

At the end of 1990s, apart from the policy documents, the most important legal regulation concerning the conditions of acceptance and residence of foreign nationals in the Czech Republic was a law called "Act No. 326/1999 Coll., on the Residence of Foreign Nationals in the Territory of the Czech Republic" (the Foreigners Act). Since then, this regulation has been updated many times in response to changes in immigration and integration policy.

Simultaneous with the increasing number of foreign nationals in Czech society during the 1990s (particularly from Ukraine, Vietnam, and Russia), in 2004 the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs took over integration policy, and approved an updated version of the *Policy for the Integration of Foreign Nationals* (2005). This was the first of three updates of this document (subsequent updates were enacted in 2011 and 2016). The Policy defined the role of the state and non-governmental organisations in integration policy, and provided the basis for monitoring foreign nationals. The means and goals of integration policy were clearly defined. Data on migration and integration started to be processed in ways that supported appropriate social policy decisions. Thus, the status of foreign nationals was gradually being grounded in Czech legislation. The question of foreigners' rights was no longer the only problem; the main issue was one of social integration. In contrast to the earlier documents, under the new policy foreign nationals are perceived primarily as members of Czech society, not members of an international community, and the responsibility of the individual is emphasised. Furthermore, the bringing of Czech integration policy into line with the EU is important. The document and its updates suggest specific measures which should serve to fulfil key prerequisites of integration: the economic self-sufficiency of foreign nationals, competence in the Czech language, their knowledge of society, and their relations with the majority population.

However, the integration of foreign nationals into Czech society based on this document and its revisions has not been completely smooth. Obstacles to successful integration include insufficient proficiency in the Czech language and the facts that children of foreigners do not have free access to learning Czech, foreigners are insufficiently informed about Czech society, and foreigners often face disadvantages in the labour market (e.g. unstable employment). Further complications include widespread negative attitudes towards foreign nationals in Czech society, inadequate information for foreign nationals about the services of non-governmental organisations, and underfunding of projects aimed at integration (Uherek 2003; Schebelle and Horáková 2012; Rákoczyová and Trbola 2012).

On the basis of these findings, current integration policy is being extended with a number of additional provisions ("Policy for the Integration of Foreign Nationals – in Mutual Respect" 2016). Courses on adaptation and socio-cultural orientation are being created, and language courses and courses on general societal awareness are being expanded. The integration policy is moving from the central to the regional level, and foreign nationals are beginning to take part in public and political life. Centres for the support of the integration of foreigners have been established. Health insurance

for foreign nationals remains a problem. Currently, there is an effort to include them in the system of public health insurance. Acceptation of children from third countries to free Czech language courses and pre-school education has also been provided, in order to eliminate the effects of ethnicity or national difference as an ascriptive criterion in the educational process. In 2014, a network of 13 regional contact support centres was established to support teachers and schools in educating the children of foreign nationals. In 2016, the policy for systematic and complex support of educating foreign pupils or pupils with a foreign first language was put into place. The concept of inclusion is a part of this policy. In policy documents, inclusion is understood as a means to overcome inequalities in access to education. In her overview, Votatová (2013) specifies that "the terms integration and inclusion are used in relation to the acceptance and efficient education of students with special educational needs." The term "special educational needs" was used for the first time in the Education Act (No. 561/2004 Coll.), and it relates to the differences between the expected and actual skills of a child, where expected skills are in the earliest phases derived from "regular" child development, and in the later phases from the school curriculum (Hájková and Strnadová 2010). Integration and inclusion are not precisely defined, and they are often used interchangeably. The use of the term integration was more common in the 1980s, while the use of inclusion has been more common in the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century (Votavová 2013).

Czech education policy makes reference to disadvantaged children. The new Education Act (No. 561/2004 Coll.) defines children, pupils and students with special educational needs as those with a health disability, health disadvantage, or social disadvantage (Section 16, paragraphs 2–4). Ethnic disadvantage is missing. The term socially disadvantaged (Education Act, 2004, section 16) refers to a child (1) living in a family environment of low socio-cultural status, at risk of socio-pathological phenomena; (2) raised in an institution or protectively placed; or (3) with refugee status, the beneficiary of subsidiary protection, or who is in the process of being granted international protection in the Czech Republic based on special legal regulations.

Children in these categories have the right to adequate education, school counselling and school counselling facilities. In 2016, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports defined "inclusive education" in the main educational sector as one of its priorities. Support measures are to be used towards this end, with the goal of overcoming disadvantages (regardless the type).

Methods

Sociological research in education concerned with the problem of educational inequalities in relation to social origin has for a number of years produced a rather large number of original studies in the Czech Republic (cf. Matějů 1993; Katrňák 2004; Simonová 2003, 2008; Matějů et al. 2007; Simonová and Soukup 2009, 2010; Katrňák and Simonová 2011; Konečný et al. 2012). Thanks to the existence of these studies, the disadvantaged position of lower social classes has been empirically established, although formally there are no obstacles for anyone, regardless of social origin, to participate in the educational system. It is therefore clear that neither free education, nor positive discrimination (which was used during socialism before 1989 to favour working-class children) has secured equal access to education for all social classes and ethnic groups.

In Czech social science, there are not as many analyses concerned with ethnic differences as there are concerned with the effect of social origin. One reason for this lacuna is that the Czech Republic is ethnically rather homogeneous. Another reason is that data on ethnicity (as with health disability) are considered "sensitive", which means that ethnicity is often not studied in sociological research. The third reason is that there is no unified definition at the official level of ethnicity and its measurement. And the final reason may be that Czech legislation does not recognise terms such as "a Roma pupil" (or "a Roma job-seeker"), and therefore, various interest groups repeatedly dispute the legality of collecting ethnic data, with appeals to human rights and personal privacy (Hušek and Tvrdá 2016).

Notwithstanding these circumstances, between 1990 and 2015, a number of peer-reviewed sociological journal articles, books, official reports and policy papers were written, which were concerned with ethnic differences in education. This topic is the subject not only of sociological reflection, but it is also researched by non-governmental organisations, and it also appears in documents produced by central and regional governmental authorities. We consider all these types of documents in our analysis.

We employed a snowball sampling method that started with databases such as Sociological Abstracts, ERIH, and the Web of Science, and continued with the publication lists of major research institutions, non-governmental and non-profit organisations, universities, and governmental publications. First, we used the following key words: "ethnicity", "race", "minority", "Roma", "immigrant", "inequality", "school", "education", "social origin", "Czech Republic", and "Czech society". Once we located a publication and checked

its content, we continued to research thematically similar texts listed in the bibliography. We then repeated this process with those texts as well and so on until our list of publications was complete and we were able to consider it saturated (with no new texts appearing in bibliographies). Because we have limited the scope of our study of ethnic inequality in the Czech educational system to the time period between 1990 and 2015, we are convinced that our bibliography is nearly exhaustive. The texts were sorted chronologically within the three traditions identified above (from oldest to most recent), and our main findings are presented in the following section.

Three Research Traditions on Ethnicity and Educational Inequality

In Czech society, the topic of ethnicity and educational inequality is relevant almost exclusively to the Roma. Other minorities, such as Slovaks, Ukrainians, Vietnamese, and Russians, show a much smaller ethnicity effect as a determinant of educational inequalities compared to the Roma. These other minorities traverse the educational transitions between elementary, secondary, and tertiary educational levels with far less difficulty than the Roma do.

The first research tradition we present focuses on *ethnic discrimination in the educational system.* Many studies in this tradition focus on the inferior social status of the Roma in Czech society. The studies show that Roma pupils were systematically placed in special schools prior to 1989 and even during the 1990s, which resulted in reproducing their inferior status with little chance for changing social position from one generation to the next. This body of literature consists of research reports produced by international organisations, various policy and programme documents, as well as sociological studies published in scholarly journals and books. Publications in this tradition appear exclusively during the period 1990–2010. Later, the topic of ethnic discrimination in the educational system makes only a rare appearance.

The second tradition concerns the *mapping of ethnic inequalities in education.* Studies in this tradition map the ethnic origin of pupils and show to what extent ethnic origin influences educational achievement. This tradition consists of research reports, policy documents and scholarly sociological studies. These studies begin to appear in 2005 and continue until the end of the covered research period (2015).

The third tradition highlights the *educational resources, social contexts*, and *under-achievement* of ethnic minorities. Although the concept of *ethnic inequalities in education* is also part of this research tradition, the literature focuses primarily on explaining why the educational opportunities of ethnic minorities are lower than for the majority. This tradition consists mainly of sociological studies published in scholarly journals or books between 2005 and 2015.

Because all three traditions focus on similar topics, it is important to emphasise that they overlap to some extent, in spite of the fact that we keep them analytically separate. For instance, studies within the first tradition (ethnic discrimination in the Czech educational system) usually also touch upon the second tradition (mapping of ethnic differences in education). Within the third tradition, which is focused on educational resources, social contexts, and under-achievement, in many cases, the literature also touches upon the mapping of educational inequalities based on ethnic origin (the second tradition). We have chosen to classify the studies according to the dominant topic they cover.

Ethnic Discrimination in the Educational System

The first two research reports, carried out at the beginning of the 1990s (cf. Helsinki Watch 1992; Human Rights Watch 1996), give overviews of the general conditions for the Roma in Czechoslovakia before and after 1989, detailing widespread discrimination in areas such as employment, housing, and access to services. In a section on education, it is reported that Roma generally attain lower levels of education than members of the majority of society. This is attributed to discriminatory educational policies in place during the communist regime – mainly the practice of channelling Roma pupils into "special schools" (which limited further educational and career options). After 1989, Roma children continued to be overrepresented in special schools receiving inferior education, even though many of them could attend regular schools.

Srb (1998) is concerned with the numbers of Roma pupils at Czech and Slovak schools, which can be traced until 1990, when the method of statistical record keeping changed. Until 1990, ethnicity was determined by teachers; since 1990 it has been reported by parents, who tend not to identify Roma ethnicity. Srb shows that the transfer of Roma pupils to special schools increased in the 1970s, "because the criteria put on Roma children were more and more strict supposedly because the barriers consisting in the lack of

knowledge of the Czech or Slovak language should be decreased among the children during the process of assumed integration of the Roma ethnicity into the majority ethnicities" (Srb 1998: 179). At the end of the 1970s, the number of Roma pupils accepted by high schools and secondary vocational schools increased. This increase was the result of "administrative orders, following on the orders of political bodies, who came to the opinion that in order to improve the reputation as regards 'solving the Gypsy problem' it was necessary to show a more accommodating approach also in terms of allowing a larger number of Roma children a higher level of education" (Srb 1998: 180).

The sociological study *Roma Children in Czech Schools* (Balabánová 1998) deals with the situation of Roma children in primary education. It mentions the inadequacy of tests used to assess Roma pupils as mentally handicapped. These tests are "composed according to the average of a regular population of pre-school children, and moreover they do not take into account a different social and cultural experience of the child being assessed" (Balabánová 1998: 173). Furthermore, the author describes the practice of sending Roma pupils to special schools; she mentions that "the tendency to transfer Roma children to special schools is so far still the only option provided by the state to help Roma children survive the trauma of school failure in a regular primary school. The price for this is however lowered expectations of knowledge, which means limited professional possibilities in the future… This still generally prevalent trend in the upbringing and education of Roma children, which is to a large extent enforced by social pressure, is discriminatory" (Balabánová 1998: 173). The author sees the main goal for the state to provide education to Roma children at regular primary schools; this means facilitating a shift from segregation to integration. The problem is the prevailing orientation of the society's majority population against the Roma, as well as insufficient statistical data on the real numbers of Roma pupils in regular and special schools. The author sees a solution in the transformation of schools in areas where the Roma live to schools with a "special programme", which would motivate them to educate Roma children, including pre-school education.

The report entitled *A Special Remedy: Roma and Schools for the Mentally Handicapped in the Czech Republic* (Cahn and Chirico 1999) details the situation of Czech Roma and their access to education, providing (interview-based) examples from various cities. It points out that Roma pupils are overrepresented in special elementary schools (relative to the proportion of Roma in the overall population) where they receive inferior education which affects their further educational career. It is estimated that more than half of all pupils enrolled in special schools are Roma. Yet, many of these children are not mentally disabled and therefore could attend regular schools. The Czech

system of education is described as segregated: "The nexus of this segregation is the existence of a network of so-called special schools (schools for mentally handicapped children). Roma children are disproportionately placed in such schools because they underperform in tasks designed for majority Czechs, and because of the racist attitudes of schooling authorities. However, a student who has completed special school has greatly restricted choices in secondary education compared to a student who has completed mainstream primary school. Roma children are thereby effectively condemned from an early age to a lifetime of diminished opportunity and self-respect. In addition, the segregation of Roma in inferior schools is used as constant legitimation for discriminatory attitudes and actions by members of the majority society" (Cahn and Chirico 1999: 11).

The report *Roma and Other Ethnic Minorities in Czech and Slovak Schools (1945–1998)* (Canek 2000) is a brief historical overview of ethnic minorities' standing within the Czechoslovak (later Czech and Slovak) system of education since 1945. The report shows that while official policy promoted integration in mainstream schooling, many Roma were actually placed into schools for intellectually deficient pupils. There was a marked increase in Roma placement into special schools after the 1976 school reform which introduced a more demanding curriculum. "By the mid-1980s almost every second Roma child attended such a school in the Czech lands while before the reform it was not even every fourth" (Canek 2000: 12). Additionally, Roma were not encouraged to strive for higher education as earnings in unqualified manual jobs were good at that time. After the fall of the regime in 1989, the Roma were officially recognised as a national minority in the Czech Republic but no Roma-language schools were established. Roma children are still overrepresented in schools for the mentally handicapped despite the introduction of a decisive role for parental consent. Policies aimed at the Roma situation are formulated in ethnic-neutral terms (Canek 2000).

A study by Ivanov & Zhelyazková (Regional Human Development Report 2002) is concerned with the state of Roma integration in five Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries (including the Czech Republic) before their accession to the European Union. The study draws attention to the fact that the problems faced by the Roma people in these CEE countries – such as persistent patterns of exclusion and tension between the Roma minority and the majority, with elements of direct rejection by the majority population – have been neglected. Ivanov & Zhelyazková (2002) believe that the reason is primarily paradigmatic. It is manifested primarily in a general lack of integrated solutions, which would capture the problems of marginalised communities in their complexity (for instance, in the form of a community project

that would connect the fields of education, employment and health care). According to the authors of this study, it is for this reason necessary to use or apply the human development perspective in the field of Roma integration. In addition, they state that "education is the critical element in short- , medium-, and long-term programs supporting the development opportunities for Roma, and should be accorded the highest priority" (Ivanov & Zhelyazková 2002: 79). This report also draws attention to the ambiguity whether the reasons for the low level of education among the Roma population are poverty-related, or whether they are the result of explicit discrimination, and it emphasises the importance of preschool education for improving educational opportunities.

A number of sociological studies (cf. Sirovátka 2003, 2006; Mareš 2003; Šimíková 2003) show that after the fall of communism in 1989 the Roma found themselves in a new situation. The low qualifications of the Roma people, augmented by their ethnic origin, systematically disadvantaged them in the labour market under the new economic conditions, as well as in the educational system. Looking for work became much more difficult than before 1989. The Roma also went through a profound social and cultural disintegration. The state's assimilation measures in socialist Czechoslovakia had disrupted the structures of coherent Roma communities that had functioned well in the past. During the period of rapid socioeconomic change in the 1990s, these assimilation policies ceased. The Roma people were not in the centre of interest for Czech policy makers, which led to their disintegration, discrimination, social exclusion and resulted in many social disadvantages.

The report *Stigmata: Segregated Schooling of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe* (European Roma Rights Centre 2004) focuses on access to education of Roma children in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia. It concludes that in all these countries, Roma pupils do face educational segregation and receive inferior education which limits their further education and career choices. The report is based on field research undertaken during 2002 and 2003 by European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC). In the Czech Republic, the research took place in three towns (Teplice, Sokolov, and Kladno). The selection was based on the size of Roma populations in these respective locales. The researchers visited special schools in these towns and also collected information on the ethnic composition of student populations at local mainstream schools. The findings show that Roma pupils continue to be overrepresented in special schools with minimal chances of transfer to regular mainstream schooling. This limits their choice of education at the secondary level. The placement into special schools is either direct ("denial of equal start") or a result of transfer from regular school ("failure to educate

Roma pupils" within the mainstream system), due either to neglect of Roma pupils' needs or harassment and abuse by teachers. While parental consent is needed for transfer to a special school, many parents – faced with the situation at hand – give it willingly; some of them are unaware of consequences. Sometimes, Roma parents are pressured by school authorities to make the transfer. The report also summarises that the placement tests for special schools are "racially biased" as they "do not account for the linguistic and cultural difference of Roma children and hence do not provide reliable information about the Roma child's capacities" (European Roma Rights Centre 2004: 50).

A number of other NGO reports (cf. European Roma Rights Centre 2007; Roma Education Fund 2007; European Roma Rights Centre and Roma Education Fund 2009; Amnesty International and European Roma Rights Centre 2012; World Bank 2012; Amnesty International 2009, 2015) focus on ethnic discrimination against Roma pupils in the Czech educational system, finding that they are consistently overrepresented in special elementary schools, which follow a special educational curriculum. These reports show that the educational, legal, and state policies applied after 1989 have not decreased ethnic discrimination in the Czech educational system.

A study by Hůle (2007) shows that "community schools" (schools engaged in community life) are not the solution for the primary-level education of Roma pupils. In a generalised example of four schools within one district of a larger city, the author shows how the transfer of pupils between these schools leads to the segregation of Roma children. Three segregation mechanisms are described: (1) the exchange of pupils between a regular primary school and a community school, in which Roma pupils move into the community school ("the gravitation of the community school"; i.e. the preference for a less intellectually demanding community school compared to other, more demanding types), while non-Roma pupils move into the regular school (due to the reduced difficulty of the curriculum at the community school); (2) the departure of non-Roma "elites" from the community school to a selective school (which leads to "lowering the tempo of the class"); and (3) the "concentration of the elites" at selective schools, which concerns mainly pupils at regular primary schools. Apart from this, there is also movement between the community and the special school (transfers to the community school are more common in the lower grades, whereas transfers to the special school are more common in the upper grades, in relation to how difficult the curriculum is). Furthermore, there are transfers from the regular to the special school (in an effort by the regular school to reduce already low numbers of Roma pupils). In the end, Roma children are segregated at the community schools, where

the curriculum is less demanding precisely because it is adapted to the Roma pupils (emphasis is placed on subjects in which the Roma can excel, such as singing or dancing, while there is less emphasis on traditional teaching). Community schools "drag" or attract some special school pupils; however, according to the author they are not a better alternative, because the numbers of Roma pupils in special schools are apparently lower than what is usually reported (Hůle estimates that approximately 30–40% of Roma children aged 6–15 attend special schools; traditional estimates speak of 75%).

To conclude, within the first tradition (ethnic discrimination in the educational system), we see that a majority of studies were written between 1990 and 2010, although some NGO reports in later years also speak to this subject. Most studies describe the historical context of Roma pupils' placement in special schools prior to 1989 and during the 1990s. Special schools were originally conceived for pupils with special needs; however, Roma pupils were placed there systematically. After 1989, the Roma population was not an explicit topic of interest for Czech policy makers. As a result, the praxis of Roma placement in special schools continued even though Roma pupils were allowed to enter regular schools as well. Special school placement played a role in Roma pupils' future inferior economic status and severely limited their educational and work opportunities. Studies in this tradition describe the Czech educational system as discriminatory and as increasing social handicaps and ethnic barriers. A limitation of this tradition is that it focuses primarily on the Roma minority. Furthermore, the studies concentrate mainly on the education system or the labour market; other social arenas where ethnic discrimination also occurs, such as housing or health care, are not the part of this tradition. The authors within this tradition therefore: with few exceptions (e.g. Ivanov & Zhelyazková 2002) do not take into account the complexity of discrimination processes. They do not consider that discrimination in one area influences discrimination in others. Finally, the authors working within this tradition see the sources of segregation processes mostly on the part of the state system, failing to consider specific ethnic differences between the Roma and the majority. Explanations of cultural segregation are absent in this tradition.

Mapping of Ethnic Inequalities in Education

The report *Monitoring Education for Roma 2006: A Statistical Baseline for Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe* (Open Society Institute 2006) addresses the inadequacy of Roma education statistics kept by countries of Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe. It is emphasised that "the lack of

information renders policy and planning ineffective and makes it impossible to monitor changes. Inadequate information will continue to enable governments to evade responsibility for failing to create, fund, and implement effective programs for Roma integration. What is known, however, is that only a tiny minority of Roma children ever complete school and the education to which they do have access is typically vastly inferior" (Open Society Institute 2006: 2). The report compiles and presents relevant data relating to Roma education across 19 countries. Statistics primarily concern Roma enrolment in and completion of primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of education. It is shown that in all countries, the Roma lag behind the majority population. In the case of the Czech Republic, data on primary and tertiary enrolment are unavailable; secondary education enrolment is said to be about 2.5% of the eligible Roma population aged 14–18. It is suggested that "governments resort to compulsory racial, ethnic or religious profiling in school admissions or in any other situations" (Open Society Institute 2006: 3); but the information needs to be provided willingly.

The study by Katzorová et al. (2008) deals with the education of foreigners and minority ethnic groups in the Czech education system. Foreigners are largely of Slovak nationality and studying at the tertiary level. The other most represented migrant groups are Vietnamese and Ukrainians (at pre-primary, primary, and secondary levels). Statistics on the number of Roma pupils are not collected. Estimates are that only a small percentage of Roma attend secondary education, even fewer complete it successfully, and a very small number enrols at university.

Gabal's analysis (2009) focuses on the educational chances and trajectories of Roma pupils from socially excluded environments compared with the chances and trajectories of non-Roma pupils. The research was carried out at 106 schools (regular as well as special). The results of the statistical analysis can be considered representative for the set of primary schools attended by Roma children from socially excluded localities. The sample included children who started attending school 3, 5, or 8 years prior (in the case of special schools, these were pupils who had finished the third, fifth, or eighth grade by the time of the research). The authors take as the main indicator of educational chances the child's probability of departing the class he or she entered in first grade. Statistical analysis shows that children identified by teachers as Roma are educationally less successful than other children. The chances of Roma pupils graduating primary school with their original class are approximately half compared to other pupils (Gabal analysis 2009: 21). Departures are most common in the first grade, and then at the second educational level. Also, Roma children more often begin their educational trajectory at special schools.

Furthermore, Roma pupils have lower scores (in Czech language and mathematics) than non-Roma pupils, and this difference is maintained for the duration of primary school. Going to kindergarten increases the success rate of Roma pupils. Similarly, attending a pre-school (or preparatory) year at the elementary school increases the success rate. However, in this case the effect is weaker and more short-lived. Finally, there is evidence of a positive effect from the presence of a personal pedagogical assistant.

Janská et al. (2011) are concerned the integration of Vietnamese children into the majority society. They use data collected through a questionnaire survey and interviews at a primary school in Prague. The questionnaire was filled in by the pupils themselves. The main question areas were: ethnicity, language (knowledge of Czech and Vietnamese), school and free time, social relations and discrimination, family, and community. The interviews were carried out with teachers and the headmaster. Existing studies suggest rather high aspirations of Vietnamese parents with regard to the education of their children. The survey shows that, in terms of school results, there is not a big difference between the Czech and Vietnamese pupils. However, the Vietnamese pupils had fewer absences from class, they spent more time preparing for school, and they took part in extra-curricular activities and extra private tutoring more often, all of which indicate the integration of Vietnamese children into the majority society.

A report by the World Bank (2012) draws attention to the relation between unequal access to education and participation in pre-primary education. The report states that although more than 75% of children in CEE countries attend kindergarten, this proportion is much lower among Roma children. The report says that in the Czech Republic, 32% of Roma children take part in pre-primary education. A lack of support mechanisms in the family due to parents' low education in combination with a lower level of material resources creates multiple disadvantages for Roma children when they start to attend school.

Vavrečková and Dobiášová (2012) describe the integration of children from the third countries. These are Vietnamese, Ukrainian, and Russian children. The data come from the PISA 2009 survey and from interviews with headmasters and teachers at selected schools in Prague. The conclusions suggest that children of foreigners are well integrated within the Czech educational process, and they do not have significantly lower educational chances than Czech children. Slightly disadvantaged are children of migrants from the former Soviet Union who arrive with their parents in the Czech Republic at a later age. The authors show that children of foreigners achieve better (or comparable) results in comparison to Czech pupils, they use extra private tutoring

more often, they study more often at high schools (gymnasiums), and they also have higher educational aspirations. This concerns primarily the Vietnamese. Children from countries of the former Soviet Union come close to Czechs in terms of the proportion studying at gymnasiums, and on average they achieve worse results than the Czechs or the Vietnamese. According to the authors, good results and high aspirations apparently to a large extent reflect high socio-economic status of parents. However, the authors identify a new trend whereby Czech schools see more and more children of migrant parents from lower social classes and with lower levels of education (or with no education at all), who are dealing with existential problems due to the economic crisis, and who show less orientation towards the education and success of their children at school.

Linhartová and Horáčková (2015) study inequalities in the transition to primary school. They focus on children whose native language is not Czech. The pre-school level of education for this group has not been paid systematic attention by Czech society so far, in spite of the fact that the number of these children is increasing every year. These children most often come from Vietnam (28,3%), Ukraine (22,8%), and then Slovakia and Russia. A comparison based on data from PISA suggests that in terms of results at school, pupils whose native language is other than Czech do not differ from those whose native language is Czech. However, the authors draw attention to the fact that the PISA survey is answered only by pupils who, according to their teachers, are able to take the test in the language of the country.

To sum up, the studies within the second tradition, mapping ethnic inequalities in education, are written after 2005 and present the Roma, and subsequently, Vietnamese, Ukrainians, Russians and finally, Slovaks as the main ethnic minorities analysed. Other ethnic minorities are not included as their low numbers render them less relevant for researchers. Studies within this tradition primarily describe the proportionate representation of ethnic minorities in the different branches and levels of the Czech educational system. Answers to questions about why and how ethnicity plays a role in the educational process are not very widespread. Therefore, explanation is suppressed at the expense of the description. This can be seen as a significant limitation of this tradition. The findings of this tradition then suggest that ethnic origin has an effect in kindergarten and at the elementary, secondary, and tertiary levels of education. It is mainly the Roma population that shows lower educational opportunities and worse results than the majority population. While other ethnic minorities are not in such a disadvantaged position compared to the majority population, it is nevertheless important to take

ethnicity into account when explaining educational inequalities in the Czech educational system.

Educational Resources, Social Contexts, and Under-Achievement

A study, *Analysis of Socially Excluded Roma Localities and Communities and the Absorption Capacity of Subjects Operating in the Field* (Gabal 2006), presents the results of a project funded by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The main goal of this study was to map in detail localities which were socially excluded or in danger of social exclusion. The authors discuss Roma access to education (in the context of access to the labour market) and show that "most adult Roma people living in socially excluded localities have completed primary education at most" (Gabal 2006: 52). Failure in the educational system can be attributed to internal factors, such as the living conditions of Roma families and the environment of the socially excluded localities where Roma people live, as well as to external factors, such as institutional conditions. The authors summarise that "the failure of Roma pupils in the Czech educational system connected with the subsequent failure in the labour market contributes to the constant deepening of social exclusion. The Czech primary educational system inclines towards the reproduction of educational and social origin, which in the case of children from socially excluded Roma localities results in the fact that the educational system itself becomes the instrument of the process of social exclusion".

The study *Analysis of the Approach of Women Migrants and Men Migrants to Education and the Labour Market in the Czech Republic* focused on migrants from "third countries" (Ukraine, Russia, Vietnam, and China), and also on asylum seekers aged 20 to 55. As part of the survey the authors also studied the education of the foreigners' children. The sources of data were non-governmental organisations and interviews with headmasters or their deputies at 23 primary and 5 secondary schools across the Czech Republic (schools with a higher representation of foreigners were selected; most of these foreigners were Vietnamese). The authors state that "while the children of the foreigners adapt to our educational system very well, the educational system adapts very little to them, as well as to their family environment and their native cultural and social environment. This fact is becoming a stumbling block especially for schools where larger groups of foreign pupils are being formed". According to the authors, primary schools have an important integration potential, which they do not fully utilise, however.

The main findings show that the largest problem with educating the children of foreigners is their lack of Czech language proficiency and the fact that this problem is not dealt with systematically. Lack of language skills is a larger handicap for children who enter Czech primary schools at the second level of primary education. The schools largely ignore intercultural differences and fail to consider the social situation of the pupil within the context of the whole family and community. The schools lack policies for working with the children of foreigners.

Kocourek and Pechová (2007) analyse the experiences of Vietnamese children in Czech schools. Their results identify two gaps between the Vietnamese and native Czechs. The first gap concerns different cultural habits can lead to foreigners feeling excluded, especially in the first years of primary education. The second gap exists between Vietnamese children and their parents. This gap is apparent especially in later years of formal education in cases where the children have adopted some customs of the majority culture to be better socialised within the majority environment.

The sociological study *Analysis of Attitudes and Educational Needs of Roma Children and Youth* (Gabal 2007) analyses the main educational needs of Roma children, and maps their educational chances. Quantitative and qualitative research was carried out at nine schools in selected cities in the Czech Republic. The results show that Roma pupils are less successful in primary education then pupils from the majority population. What is problematic is the transition to the second level of primary education. The increasing demands in the curriculum at this stage cause many Roma pupils to do poorly academically (failing classes in the Czech language more often than in mathematics) and to transfer to special schools. The authors estimate that about a third of Roma children transfer to special schools. Roma are also more often absent from class, and generally earn lower grades (girls are absent more often, but the absences have negative effects on grades more for boys). Interviews show that according to teachers, most Roma pupils are not ready for school (due to insufficient knowledge of the Czech language and a demotivating family environment). Furthermore, teachers say schools have problems with the absenteeism of Roma pupils and in dealing with these absences. The schools also fail to motivate Roma children to learn. Last but not least, boys are transferred to special classes or special schools more often, because the teachers perceive them as more problematic.

Research has also focused on the attitudes and occupational and educational aspirations of Roma children themselves. These were investigated through a qualitative inquiry among selected pupils (both Roma and non-Roma) at eleven schools. Interviews with the pupils were supplemented with

information from the teachers (through a standardised questionnaire). It was found that almost all Roma pupils have a vision of their future occupation, however, their aspirations are low and "monotonous" (cook, mechanic, bricklayer, barber). "The occupational visions of the Roma children do not leave their closest environment, and they are directed more towards the family than towards the school or a wider everyday experience" (Gabal analysis 2009: 55). The pupils did not differ in their plans for what they would do after primary school. An exception was studying at high school (gymnasium), which was not mentioned by any Roma children.

Fučík et al. (2010) present the results of quantitative research undertaken as part of the EDUMIGROM project at selected elementary schools in two Czech cities (Brno and Ostrava). The research focused on Roma children who attended the last or second-to-last grades at these schools (children 14–15 years of age) and aimed at understanding their educational choices and strategies at the end of compulsory schooling. With regard to academic achievement (as measured by grades), the authors found that Roma children tend to do worse than children from the majority population, especially in sciences (chemistry, biology, physics) – but also in their overall performance. Ethnicity is correlated to the school performance of girls more strongly than that of boys. To explain this gender disparity, the authors suggest Roma girls experience: (1) more traditionally gendered patterns of socialisation, (2) a heavier burden of household duties in adolescence, (3) relatively early gaining of personal independence from parents compared to Roma boys or non-Roma girls. When comparing Roma pupils at regular and special elementary schools, the authors found that pupils at special schools achieve better overall grades (on average) than their counterparts in regular schools (possibly due to "lower standards" and more relaxed grading at special schools). The authors also observed that Roma children are often highly sensitive to the quality of personal relationships with teachers, which might affect both their performance and attitudes to school.

With regard to educational goals, Roma children more often aspire to vocational education (at the secondary level), but some also report the intention of leaving education altogether (often justified by the "need to earn money"). Group discussions showed that many Roma pupils are vague about educational paths leading to university. In regard to career aspirations, Roma pupils were found to be less ambitious (showing lack of aspiration for upward mobility) than children from the majority population. On the other hand, those Roma pupils who perceive their ethnicity as a disadvantage aspire to become white collar workers more often than their Roma counterparts who see their ethnic origin as an advantage. The authors suggest that the more ambitions

Roma pupils may be more aware of their disadvantaged position. Logistic regression showed that ethnicity and school achievement affect career aspirations more than parental social status.

Gabal and Čada (2010) analyse differences in educational chances and educational trajectories between Roma children from socially excluded localities and their peers at schools which are not proximate to these localities. The authors show that the educational chances of Roma pupils are lower than the chances of their non-Roma peers. They are less successful at school, i.e. their chance of "survival" in the class in which they started their studies is lower. The authors mention several factors influencing these chances: (a) poor adaptation to the school environment (e.g. insufficient preparedness to start school; insufficient support from the family; inability to cope with the change in teaching styles when advancing to the second primary school level; and problems with the more demanding curriculum at the second educational level); (b) the relationship to the school (illustrated by an increasing number of absences, which influences grades and problematic behaviour, causing problems in behaviour to increase continually from the beginning of the educational process; at higher grades, schools have difficulties dealing with the absences, communicating with the parents, and motivating Roma pupils to study); (c) professional aspirations (which are very low and limited, and do not motivate the children to continue to higher levels of education); (d) the climate at the school, or the prevalence of ethnic homogeneity (the authors found that Roma pupils fail most often at schools with a medium proportion of Roma pupils, i.e. between 20 and 50%; they are least likely to fail in schools with a majority of Roma pupils, apparently because these schools have specialised integration programmes, and they attract teachers who want to devote themselves to Roma children). Gabal and Čada also assess the effectiveness of selected integration tools. What they find effective is participation in pre-school education (kindergartens are more beneficial than a preparatory pre-school year at elementary school, which are exclusive in character), and they also find a positive effect on school success rates with the presence of a pedagogical assistant.

A study by Nekorjak et al. (2011) deals with the segregation of Roma pupils at the level of primary education. The authors work with the concept of the local educational market. According to the researchers, in the Czech context one can speak of so-called local educational markets, because parents can choose a school for their child within a particular locality (town). With the help of data collected, the authors show that local educational markets are influenced by (1) space, (2) school strategies, and (3) parents' strategies. "Roma" and "non-Roma" schools, then, develop as a result of the effect of

these three influences within the local educational market. While "non-Roma" schools offer more rigorous curricula or specialisations (e.g. extensive course offerings in languages or mathematics), which are not generally attractive for Roma parents, "Roma" schools adapt to their Roma pupils by introducing preparatory courses. The authors note that on the one hand such adaptations contribute to increasing the number of Roma pupils who successfully complete a primary education, but on the other hand, the schools paradoxically complicate Roma pupils' further educational trajectory. For instance, setting more relaxed rules does not prepare students well for secondary school. The result is that "Roma schools" function not as a potential status elevator, but rather send pupils back to their community and the established life trajectories of their parents. The parents' strategies when choosing a school also contribute to the establishment of "Roma schools".

Vojtíšková (2012) studied the education of children of foreigners at Czech primary schools, particularly the Vietnamese, Ukrainians, and Russians. The research was carried out at eleven schools in Prague with a higher than average representation of foreigners. The goal was to "map the practice of primary schools in Prague in treating foreign pupils, and the experiences with educating children of foreigners, especially those with a different native language" (Vojtíšková 2012: 10). The findings show that there are various approaches to educating foreigners. This means that different schools in Prague approach the children of foreigners in different ways. These children do not have uniform conditions for their education. What is often crucial is the individuality of the teacher, or the choices of administrators who decide whether the school will allocate extra financial resources from programmes or grants from state ministries or municipalities.

A study by Straková and Tomášek (2013) is probably the first enquiry focusing on educational results of Roma pupils in comparison with the results of the majority population in the PISA 2009 data. Although the authors reflect the fact that the conclusions of the study are strongly distorted by sampling error, they nevertheless show that school results of Roma pupils are on average worse than among the majority population, and this is especially true in the case of schools in excluded localities. If schools with various degrees of representation of Roma pupils are compared, it turns out that lower numbers of Roma pupils in classes decreases the difference between their results and the results of the majority population. Nevertheless, the educational aspirations of Roma pupils are low, they have disadvantaged family background, less educational resources at hand, and also fewer books than the majority population. In addition, they are often unable to plan their educational trajectory. Studies by Němec (2005, 2009) arrive at similar conclusions.

Fónadová ([2014](#)) focuses on the increasing intergenerational social mobility of Roma, and through qualitative research identifies the preconditions and reasons for the social success of Roma in Czech society. The study aimed to answer the question: how does it happen that some Roma people disentangle themselves from economic and social reproduction of disadvantage and achieve intergenerational upward social mobility compared to their parents? The study shows three upward mobility trajectories of the Roma. The first trajectory involves moving upward through social capital. It is a story of Roma individuals, or more precisely their families, who were able to build social ties during the socialist era, and thanks to social capital they managed to obtain rather prestigious jobs, and thus move into higher social classes. The social connections and ties developed during socialism, as well as higher economic capital, served as the foundations for private enterprise after 1989. This upward social trajectory is characterised by higher starting positions and higher social chances determined by the family origin, compared to the children of other Roma families. Logically, the family of origin not only commands high social capital, but also provides for its children economically.

The second mobility trajectory is through education, with a significant role played by institutional opportunities. In terms of family environment, this is a story of families with lower standards of living compared to those following the first trajectory. High educational expectations of the children, or the investment of money, energy and time by parents into the education of their children, are not part of the parents' life strategies. Family conditions do not make this possible to a large extent. The family does not limit the child in preparation for school, but it does not significantly help the child, either. More influence comes from institutional support, at first through the teachers or recruiters, and later usually in the form of new institutional opportunities. This is a story of Roma individuals who typically completed upper secondary education before 1989, and who found an opportunity to work in an area of Roma-related issues after 1989. In order to fulfil the job requirements, they entered a relevant university study programme, typically earned a bachelor's degree, and became "professional Roma".

The third mobility trajectory is through education with a significant role of cultural capital. It comprises a family environment characterised by a clear orientation towards school and education. It is primarily the trajectory of Roma children whose families are already relatively successful (a second generation). This third trajectory is similar to the first trajectory, namely in terms of better starting conditions. The representatives of this trajectory have different early school experiences, especially compared to the representatives of the second mobility trajectory. The material resources are typical for this upward

mobility trajectory that can be mobilised by the family, thanks to which children do not have to face imminent economic pressure when taking decisions about their further education. We can find a similar social mobility trajectory among parents with tertiary education, regardless their ethnicity (for more on this, cf. Katrňák 2004).

Čada (2015) focuses on inequalities due to Roma ethnicity in access to preschool education. He analyses representative data from the *Czech Longitudinal Study of Education* (CLoSE) from 2014. The data were collected from parents of children in selected kindergartens. Some of the children also took part in cognitive tests on mathematical skills and visual perception. Čada (2015) shows that kindergarten attendance is significantly lower among Roma children than it is among children from the majority. However, for Roma children it has a more positive effect vis-a-vis the results of primary education, due to the fact that pre-school education "makes up for a poorer home environment in terms of stimuli and material resources" (Čada 2015: 27). Moreover, the positive influence of attending a regular kindergarten is more persistent over time than the influence of attending a preparatory year at school. Roma children participate in pre-school education less often primarily due to the economic situation of the family.

Jarkovská et al. (2015) map schools' approaches to migrant and Roma children through an ethnographic study at primary schools and through qualitative interviews with primary school teachers and headmasters. Their ethnographic data show that the ethnicity of migrant pupils remains invisible for the teachers. Teachers typically perceive pupils' language differences, which disappear soon after the migrant pupil starts to take part in class, however. According to the authors, teachers approach these pupils in the same way they approach those who were born in the Czech Republic. However, the interviews also show that teachers perceive ethnicity as the main factor causing problems for Roma pupils. "Ethnicity of the Roma is perceived as insurmountable," state Jarkovská et al. (2015: 35). Fučík (2015) reaches identical conclusions following analysis of quantitative data from a survey among teachers at selected primary schools.

A qualitative study by Lišková et al. (2015) shows that Czech language proficiency is perceived by teachers as a key factor in integrating pupils of foreign origin; ethnicity does not play any role. At the same time, ethnicity is perceived as the obstacle to integrating Roma pupils.

In short, publications from the third tradition focus on explaining the reasons ethnic minorities fail to have equal positions, opportunities and results within the Czech educational system as compared to the majority population. This tradition is comprised of both quantitative and qualitative sociological

studies since 2005. The quantitative studies, based primarily on statistical data and survey research, focus on economic resources and social exclusion. They further analyse educational and cultural resources, minorities' social networks, the language skills of children, and cultural awareness. They also deal with attitudes, opinions, educational aspirations, and work ambitions. The qualitative sociological studies consist of two types. One focuses on the school system and the processes that take place there. The other focuses on family and domestic culture, values, definitions of the world, and language, i.e. the studies look at "soft" characteristics assessed either by participant observation in schools or via in-depth interviews with members of ethnic minorities. The authors of both quantitative and qualitative studies link their findings with the success or failure of ethnic minorities in the Czech educational system. Their conclusions show why educational opportunities and the results of ethnic minorities are not the same as those for the majority population. There is still no connection between ethnicity and class position in this tradition. It is well-known from many studies that ethnicity is related to social class (e.g. van Dijk 1987; Omin and Winant 1994; Steinberg 1989). The role of both variables should be analysed together. However, the level of ethnic data collection in the Czech Republic does not allow for such analyses yet. A further limitation of this tradition is representativeness; it is not clear how much the findings, especially in the case of the Roma, are generalisable to the entire ethnic population. Do they only refer to sample surveys or analysed units or can they be considered representative for all ethnic populations in the Czech Republic? Answers to such questions are not yet widespread in this tradition and remain a challenge for future research.

Conclusion and Discussion

The role of ethnicity in educational inequalities has become a topic for sociological reflection in the Czech Republic since 1989. The ways of writing about the topic of ethnicity in education during the period between 1990 and 2015 can be classified into three traditions. These traditions to some extent follow each other chronologically and topically. In the 1990s, ethnicity is reflected from the point of view of Roma *discrimination in the Czech educational system*. The authors within this first tradition show how the Czech educational system prior to 1989 segregated Roma pupils into special schools, thus limiting their social opportunities. This practice continued even after 1989 because the era of post-revolutionary economic and social transformation, carried out under the influence of right-wing ideology, did not recognise the Roma as an explicit subject of socio-political policy.

The second and third traditions of writing about ethnicity begin to develop in 2005. They emerge due to the growing number of ethnic minorities in Czech society after 1989 and the country's gradual orientation towards the European discourse on social exclusion and inclusion. Publications within the second tradition aim at *mapping ethnic inequalities in education*. They demonstrate that ethnicity plays a significant role in the level of education achieved and that ethnic minorities do not have the same educational opportunities and results in the Czech educational system as the majority population. The third tradition develops alongside the second, focusing on explaining the described phenomena. We name the third tradition *educational resources, social contexts*, and *under-achievement*. It consists of publications that attempt to explain how and why ethnicity plays a role in educational opportunities and outcomes. This tradition therefore describes the mechanisms of disadvantage for ethnic minorities in the educational system. Publications within this tradition focus on economic and cultural resources, attitudes, aspirations, and the values of pupils and their parents. They also examine school processes (the creation of disadvantages, teachers' approaches), which contribute to the failure of ethnic minority pupils in schools.

This chapter bears the subtitle, "from ethnic discrimination to social inclusion in educational system", which describes in short, the development of writing about ethnicity in the Czech educational system and characterizes the socio-political measures suggested by all three traditions. The aim of such policy measures is the levelling of differences in educational opportunities and making it possible for any pupil to move through the educational system regardless of ethnicity, race, religion, social origin, health status, or gender. Inclusive schools help to create a community of solidarity without discrimination or social or ethnic exclusion. Specifically, policies of inclusion adopted by Czech governments concern the following measures: (1) the dissolution of special schools and thus, de facto ending the system-level educational discrimination against Roma pupils; (2) the elimination of formal barriers impeding entry into the general type of high school from any type of elementary school; (3) educational and language support for ethnic minority pupils; (4) the creation of the position of teacher's assistant, whose goal is to help ethnically or socially/culturally disadvantaged pupils; (5) the creation of preparatory classes and courses aimed at supplementing or completing education; (6) the institution of mandatory one-year preschool education.

At present, all these measures have been implemented within the Czech educational system. Therefore, sociological research faces several challenges. The first is evaluating the impact of these socially inclusive measures on ethnicity or other ascriptive characteristics of the pupils. The question remains to

what extent these measures are effective and capable of eliminating ethnically based disadvantages in educational opportunities and outcomes. Another research area is the continuation of the second and third traditions of writing about ethnicity, in other words, to continue to map out ethnic differences in education and analyse why and to what extent ethnic minorities fail or succeed in the Czech educational system as compared to the majority. In order to do so, reliable statistical data on pupils' ethnicity are necessary and thus, ethnicity should be a key category in any sociological or statistical survey. In the absence of data on ethnicity, answers to questions about the role of ethnicity in educational processes will not be valid.

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11

England: Critical Perspectives on the Role of Schools in Developing Race/Ethnic Inequalities

Peter A. J. Stevens, Ada Mau, and Gill Crozier

Introduction

The aim of this literature review is to describe and critically assess how educational sociologists in England have studied racial and ethnic inequalities in primary and secondary education between 1990 and 2017. Although studies with a similar focus have been conducted in the past (Foster et al. 1996; Gillborn and Gipps 1996; Gillborn and Mirza 2000; Nehaul 1996; Taylor 1988; Tomlinson 1983, 1989), most of these literature reviews had different purposes in mind and also the national political and also global landscape of race, ethnicity and education together with developing sociological

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understanding, has changed quite markedly in the past decades indicating the need for an up dated overview.[1]

This article is divided into three main parts. First, in the section 'National Context', the key characteristics of the English education system; the main migration patterns; the predominant Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups and important research and policy antecedents are briefly described. Second, the process of conducting this literature review is described, with particular focus on the search strategies employed and the related criteria for inclusion. Third, five research traditions that focus on educational inequality and race and ethnicity in England are identified and analysed in terms of their major focus, methods, findings and debates: (1) The Political Arithmetic (PA) tradition, (2) Racism and Racial Discrimination in School (RRDS) tradition, (3) School Effectiveness and School Inclusion (SESI) tradition, (4) Culture and Educational Outcomes (CEO) tradition and (5) Educational Markets and Educational Outcomes (EMEO) tradition. Finally, this particular body of literature is critically assessed and suggestions are formulated on how to advance future research on race and ethnicity and educational inequality in England.

National Context

The Education System

In England, education is compulsory for all children between the ages of five and sixteen. After sixteen, some form of education or training (e.g. apprenticeship) is also compulsory up to the age of 18 years, in England but not the rest of the UK. As a result of the Education Reform Act 1988, four Key Stages in compulsory education were established: Key Stage 1 (5–7 years old), Key Stage 2 (7–11 years old), Key Stage 3 (11–14 years old) and Key Stage 4 (14–16 years old). Students can then follow two more years of secondary education (Sixth Form) to obtain additional qualifications (such as A-levels or vocational equivalents), which are usually required for entry to Higher Education institutions (Fig. 11.1):

More than 90% of students attend state – funded schools, which offer education free of charge between the ages of 4 and 18. All local authority schools follow the National Curriculum, which is made up of twelve subjects. Academies, state-funded schools in England outside of local authority

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[1] This book chapter builds on two earlier, systematic reviews (Stevens 2007; Stevens et al. 2014) by including research published between 2010 and 2017.

Age on the first of September

3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
N u r s e r y	Infant school			Junior school				Secondary school					Sixth form college	
	Primary school							Secondary school with Sixth form						
	First school					Middle school				Upper school with Sixth form				

Fig. 11.1   Educational system England

control, do not have to follow the national curriculum but are likely to use it as a guide. Compulsory subjects differ at different Key Stages. In Key Stage 4 for example all students must study Core subjects (English, mathematics, at least one science subject or a combination) and Foundation subjects (computing, physical education, and citizenship), along with religious education (RE) and sex education and also at least one subject from arts, design and technology, humanities, or modern foreign languages. Not all of these are necessarily examined. Students typically move up to a higher age group automatically and as a result rarely have to retake a school year or courses (UNESCO 2003).

At the end of Key Stage 4 phase of secondary education in England, students typically take GCSE exams, which are centrally administered tests, taken in a variety of subjects, which are usually decided by the student themselves as well as their school between the ages of 13 and 14 (in Year 9). Study of chosen subjects begins between the ages of 14 and 15 (year 10) and exams are then taken between 15 and 16 (year 11). Students are required to take the following subjects: English, mathematics, and science (either single, double or triple). The Conservative/Liberal Democrat Coalition Government undertook significant reform of GCSEs, which aimed to increase the rigor of the qualifications with an increased focus on examinations, and this has continued under the present (at the time of writing) Conservative Government 2015. The reforms are extensive and include changes to both the GCSE content and assessment of these qualifications, as well as the qualifications that may be studied (Long 2017). The reformed GCSEs are linear, with all exams normally taken at the end of the course, and have 'more challenging' course content according to the Department for Education. New GCSE grades were first introduced in 2017, with English and mathematics being graded from 9 to 1, with 9 being the top grade. Other subjects will be switched from the letter grade system (A* to G) to numerical grades by 2019. Previously, receiving five or more C grades was often considered the minimum requirement for taking A-levels at a sixth-form college or regular college after leaving secondary school. Students typically have to obtain at least a C or better in English and mathematics to be considered for entry at universities (UNESCO 2003).

Under the new grading scheme, Grade 4 will be considered a 'standard' pass, and Grade 5 a 'strong pass'; while Grade 9 will be awarded to fewer pupils than the current A*. The impact of these changes is not yet clear as they are still underway.

The Education Reform Act created an educational market in England in which schools were framed as providers which must compete against other schools for students (Gillborn and Youdell 2000; Tomlinson 1997, 1999) and attached to each student was a financial resource. The success of the competitiveness between schools was driven by parental choice of school and thus a set of criteria against which to measure school provision and compare the differences was introduced. The 1988 Education Reform Act was also designed according to its originators, to improve educational 'standards' a watch word employed by successive governments for at least 20 years but never effectively translated into the experience of BME young people (Gillborn and Youdell 2000). The original major changes introduced by the Act, included the creation of a statutory 'National Curriculum', which imposed a specific curriculum framework on all state schools. 'Standards of achievement' were first set at 5 high grade GCSEs, later at 5 high grade GCSEs including English and mathematics, and subsequently with the recent introduction of the new English Baccalaureate (Ebacc) at higher pass grades in English, mathematics, two sciences, a modern or ancient foreign language and either history or geography (Gillborn et al. 2016a, b). Standards that were treated as a benchmark for student and school success together with a national system of testing originally at 7, 11 and 14. These tests are known as SATs (Standard Assessment Tests, comprising national standardised tests and teacher assessment). 'Accountability' was stressed and schools were evaluated according to the student test results; these are still published nationally under the format of league tables. With the GCSE reforms, changes have also been made to school accountability, with a new 'Progress 8' performance measure applied to secondary schools from 2016. The new value-added metric is based on students' progress measured across a selected set of eight subjects, and this measure aims to ensure the attainment of all students is prioritised, not just those on the C/D GCSE grade borderline. The government stimulated diversity in the market and allowed schools to operate independently of the local educational authority, or 'opt out' of local control. This latter development has gone way beyond this original initiative to allow quasi public-private arrangements in the form of Academies and Free Schools making more than ever before the likelihood of the end of state run education system.

Migration Patterns and the Main Racial and Ethnic Minority Groups in England

Since the turn of the 20th century, the UK has primarily received immigrants from Ireland and the (former) colonies and territories of the British Empire, including India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, the Caribbean, East-Africa and Hong Kong. However, after the UN Refugee Convention in 1951 and more recently, following the enlargement of the EU, the UK has witnessed an increase in immigration from Central and Eastern European countries and refugee populations from across the globe, including more recently from Iraq and Syria. Based on data from the 2011 Census of Population, the UK counts 8.1 million BME people (or 13% of the population). The largest group of BME are South Asian people, of which 'Indian' and 'Pakistani' minorities form the two largest groups. Black African and Caribbean heritage people constitute another relatively large minority group, counting 1.9 million in the 2011 Census. Children of mixed heritage are the largest growing demographic group (Table 11.1).

As racial and ethnic classifications are social constructions which can refer to a multitude of means of categorization, whether self-defined or externally imposed and often change over time and context, confusion often reigns as to what is actually measured (Sealey and Carter 2001). However, following conventions used in the literature on race and ethnic inequalities in the UK, this chapter usually makes a distinction between 'BME students' and 'white students'. While the latter refers to students with a white skin color (sometimes subcategorized as 'White British', 'Irish', 'Traveller of Irish' and 'Any Other

Table 11.1 Ethnic composition of the UK based on 2011 Census of Population

Ethnic group	Population (2011)	Percentage of total population
White or White British	55,010,359	87.1
Gypsy/Traveller/Irish Traveller	63,193	0.1
Asian or Asian British: Indian	1,451,862	2.3
Asian or Asian British: Pakistani	1,174,983	1.9
Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi	451,529	0.7
Asian or Asian British: Chinese	433,150	0.7
Asian or Asian British: Other Asian	861,815	1.4
Asian or Asian British	4,373,339	6.9
Black or Black British	1,904,684	3.0
Mixed or Multiple: Total	1,250,229	2.0
Other Ethnic Group: Total	580,374	0.9
Total	**63,182,178**	**100**

White' background), the former brings together different ethnic minority groups, including 'Asian' students (sometimes subcategorized as students from 'Indian', 'Pakistani', 'Bangladeshi', 'Any Other Asian' or 'Chinese' background), 'Black' students (sometimes subcategorized as students from 'African', 'Caribbean', 'Any Other African' and 'Mixed-race' background) and a rest-category called 'Other Ethnic Groups'.

Using data collected from all students in England (from Strand 2015) to explore the relative size of BME groups in English schools, shows that BME students constitute a bigger group in schools compared to the country as a whole; a group that has increased in relative size significantly over the last 10 years (Table 11.2):

Although BME groups constitute 13% of the population in the UK as a whole, they make up almost 27% of the school population in England in 2013. Furthermore, in a time-span of 10 years, the dominant category 'White British' decreased in relative size by 10 percentage points. Although the 'Asian' category is also the largest BME category in English schools, 'Pakistani' students constitute the largest and fastest growing group of Asian students in English schools. Finally, while the category of 'African Caribbean' students has slightly decreased, the number of 'Black African' students has increased over time.

Research and Social Policy Antecedents

Up to the 1980s English research on educational inequality and ethnicity was strongly influenced by the deficit model of the child and family. Research conducted before 1950 relied heavily on psychological models and explained social inequalities in educational outcomes as the result of differences between social groups in terms of genetically determined cognitive abilities (IQ) (Foster et al. 1996).

However, from the 1950s onwards a more sociological approach, labeled the 'Old Sociology of Education' changed the focus of attention to specific, 'deficient' cultural and structural characteristics of working class and BME families (Foster et al. 1996; Nehaul 1996; Tomlinson 1983, 1989). Questioning the idea that ability is largely inherited and emphasizing the importance of environment, these researchers sought explanations for differences in educational outcomes by looking at the importance of social background characteristics. For Asian students, underachievement was explained mainly by pointing to deficiencies considered remedial, such as language adjustment and enculturation problems and a lower social class position. For African Caribbean students underachievement was explained by both

Table 11.2 Absolute and relative size of BME students in England between 2003 and 2013

Ethnic group		2003 N	%	2013 N	%	Change points
White		**5,590,100**	**85.9**	**5,207,830**	**78.3**	**−7.5**
	White British	5,418,900	83.2	4,877,300	73.4	−9.9
	Irish	26,500	0.4	21,800	0.3	−0.1
	Traveller of Irish heritage	3800	0.1	4555	0.1	0.0
	Gypsy/Roma	6000	0.1	16,735	0.3	0.2
	Any other white background	134,900	2.1	287,435	4.3	2.3
Mixed		**169,000**	**2.6**	**306,890**	**4.6**	**2.0**
	White and black Caribbean	60,700	0.9	92,505	1.4	0.5
	White and black African	15,000	0.2	36,730	0.6	0.3
	White and Asian	33,300	0.5	68,605	1.0	0.5
	Any other mixed background	60,000	0.9	109,060	1.6	0.7
Asian		**440,600**	**6.8**	**678,680**	**10.2**	**3.4**
	Indian	153,800	2.4	175,035	2.6	0.3
	Pakistani	175,200	2.7	262.535	3.9	1.3
	Bangladeshi	70,300	1.1	107,320	1.6	0.5
	Chinese	22,800	0.4	107,815	0.4	0.0
	Any other Asian background	41,300	0.6	25,975	1.6	1.0
Black		**233,000**	**3.6**	**353,915**	**5.3**	**1.7**
	Black Caribbean	97,300	1.5	90,455	1.4	−0.1
	Black African	108,400	1.7	220,785	3.3	1.7
	Any other black background	27,300	0.4	42,675	0.6	0.2
Other		54,300	0.8	100,860	1.5	0.7
Classified		**6,509,800**	**100**	**6,648,195**	**100**	**0.0**
Unclassified		**272,600**	**4.0**	**64,450**	**1.0**	**−3.1**
Minority ethnic pupils		**1,930,220**	**16.8**	**1,770,895**	**26.6**	**9.9**
All pupils		**6,782,400**		**6,712,645**		

remedial deficiencies such as cultural and familial differences, migration shock, lower social class background and to some extent language issues, and more intractable characteristics such as children's innate abilities and, to a lesser extent, prejudice or racism in society (*ibid*).

From the 1960s onwards, some scholars started to investigate the effects of ability grouping in schools (sometimes called 'streaming', 'banding' or 'setting') on the educational attainment of white working-class children. Instead of merely looking at specific characteristics of white working class families, the

'differentiation-polarization' theory holds that by restricting access to higher status curriculum and pedagogy to particular (mainly middle and higher social class) students, students in lower status streams become disaffected with school and develop anti-school cultures which further amplify the influence of social-class background on educational inequalities (Ball 1981; Hargreaves 1967; Keddie 1971; Lacey 1970). Inspired by developments in social anthropology, these scholars combined ethnographic observations with qualitative interviewing and survey and socio-metric analysis techniques to study social relations in particular schools (Foster et al. 1996).

Between the 1970s and early 1980s, educational research in England changed radically as researchers focused almost exclusively on school-processes and the relationship between educational inequality and race and ethnicity and gender. Two main developments in particular help to explain this change in educational research.

The development of the 'New Sociology of Education' (NSE) during the 1970s constituted a first important stimulus (Foster et al. 1996). The New Sociology of Education criticized past research, especially the 'Old Sociology of Education', for taking the school's definition of what counted as valuable knowledge, learning ability and motivation for granted. This approach focused on the reproduction of social class inequalities and perceived the school as problematic because it imposed higher status on knowledge and skills characteristic of the dominant social classes (Young 1973, 1976). Although working-class students were perceived as being culturally and socially discriminated against by schools, the latter also generated resistance on their part (Willis 1977). The New Sociology of Education comprised two different research traditions (Foster et al. 1996): a tradition influenced by symbolic interactionism and phenomenology that focused on how teachers and students played an active role in constructing the social reality of schooling (see for example: Delamont 1977; Hammersley and Woods 1984; Hargreaves and Woods 1984; Woods and Hammersley 1977) and a tradition inspired by Marxist social theory (Althusser 1971; Bowles and Gintis 1976) that emphasized the cultural domination and social reproduction (Arnot and Whitty 1982; Karabel and Halsey 1977) taking place in schools as generated by wider structural forces, in particular capitalism (Sharp 1981; Sharp and Green 1975).

A second important development in the 1970s and 1980s was the increasing impact of feminism in academic work and education in particular (e.g. Acker 1987; Arnot 1985; Deem 1980; Fuller 1984) and the greater recognition on a political level of minority cultures and their particular needs, especially in education (Foster et al. 1996). These changes were encouraged by research findings that suggested persistent problems in terms

of Black and ethnic minorities' educational achievement and the active campaigning of BME groups, who, in the face of experiencing continuous disadvantages in society, felt increasingly excluded from the political system (Crozier 2001;Gillborn 2005; Nehaul 1996; Tomlinson 1989, 2008). While in the 1970s the English government adhered to an integration policy and tried to subsume problems experienced by Black and ethnic minorities under those of the poor and disadvantaged, the committee chaired by Anthony Rampton in 1979 and Lord Swann in 1981 (DES 1981, 1985) emphasized the need for research to include the effect of racism in explaining BME under-achievement and dismissed the validity of the relationship between race and ethnicity and IQ (Nehaul 1996; Tomlinson 1989).

Over these past three decades immense changes in relation to Race and Education have taken place both intellectually and with respect to policy. Socio-political and cultural conditions influenced by global changes, the development of Information Technology and immigration from different demographic groups have contributed to this. More specifically, Stuart Hall's seminal paper (1992) reconceptualising 'ethnicities' stimulated researchers to move away from essentialist and dualist notions of 'race' and ethnicity and the black-white dichotomy. More recently (in Britain as well as in the USA) the influence of Critical Race Theory (e.g. Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995) and Critical Whiteness Studies (Leonardo 2002; Garner 2007) together with the concept of intersectionalities (Crenshaw 1995; hooks 1989) has further broadened the debates and posed further intellectual challenges.

In political and policy terms the racially motivated murder of a young black student, Stephen Lawrence in London (1993) led to a recognition of institutional racism and the instigation of the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000. Moreover, the Labour Government (1997–2010), aware of enduring academic underachievement of Black and certain Minority Ethnic groups introduced a range of policies to address underachievement and school exclusions with varying success (Tomlinson 2008). The social context of education was and continues to be influenced by the impact of globalization and the open borders of European Union countries which has resulted in the changing demographics of migrants; the rise of refugees and asylum seekers due to war and famine together with the rise in terrorist activity. The latter has led to a concomitant rise in islamophobia (Stone 2004). All of these policy developments have been detailed in Tomlinson's Race and Education, Policy and Politics in Britain (2008). Tensions around immigration and challenges to White identities together with perceptions of a rise in terrorism and the so-called 'war on terror' has also given rise to a reappraisal of the Multicultural Project in Britain (Kundnani 2002). Maybe mention

the Prevent Strategy here or later? The Prevent strategy (2011) and the sub-sequent Prevent duty (2015) required public institutions, such as schools and colleges, to have "due regard to the need to have to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism", and educationalists and researchers have raised concerns that Muslim students may feel singled out by the policy.

In addition to these socio-political developments over the past three decades, as already indicated, we have seen the development and entrenchment of neo-liberalism as applied to education. Schools and increasingly Further Education and Higher Education institutions, are constructed as businesses and compete for students and against each other. Following the 1988 Education Act, Local Education Authorities have virtually no power or influence over schools and the implementation of any policies on race equalities is the responsibility of the school itself, although the Ofsted inspection regime should ensure accountability. The Equality Act 2010 replaced previous legislation, such as the Race Relations Act 1976 and Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, consolidated laws to eight protected characteristics: age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, race, religion or belief, sex and sexuality. However, many feel the single act has weakened previous mechanisms to tackle racial inequalities (Khan 2015). Additionally, there have been concerns over worsening quality of official statistics across both annually compiled education statistics and the less frequent, longitudinal studies, in relation to race and education (Gillborn et al. 2016a, b). On the other hand, the Department for Education changed the information that is being collected by schools in the national pupil database (NPD) in 2016 to include not only pupils' ethnicity but also details about their nationality, country of birth, and proficiency in English; however, the expanded census has faced strong opposition as it is seen as targeting foreign-born children and also posed data protection concerns (NUT 2016). This is the backdrop to our review of sociological literature on race, ethnicity and education and these issues will be further addressed below. The following sections will first review the research methods that underpin this review and then focus on the five research traditions identified above. These will be critically examined in terms of their research questions, methods, key findings and debates.

Methods

In sampling literature for this review, specific but flexible protocols were employed to guide and focus the process of conducting this literature review. Some restrictions were imposed in order to allow the literature review to be

conducted within the allocated space and period of time. First, it was decided to include only literature that focuses on England (rather than the UK) as the research context. Secondly, the literature review is restricted to contributions from the discipline of sociology that focus on the relationship between educational inequality and race and ethnicity between 1990 and 2017. Thirdly, only research that focuses on primary and secondary education was included for analysis. As a result, studies that investigate other forms of education, such as pre-school, further, higher or adult education were not included. Finally, only peer-refereed journal articles and books (including edited collections) were considered for analysis. However, although these four criteria of inclusion strongly guided the review process, sometimes studies were considered that did not fulfil at least one of these criteria, as they were perceived as good or important examples of a specific research tradition. The imposed restrictions certainly do not suggest that other literature resources, disciplinary perspectives and/or forms of education are less important in studying race and ethnic inequality in education.

Web of Science was used to identify high profile publications published between 2010 and 2017 (as this review builds on an earlier review focusing on the period 1990–2010: Stevens and Crozier 2014). First, we used the terms 'education' AND 'ethnic', 'ethnicity', 'race' or 'racial' AND UK or England in the field 'topic' for the period 2010–2017, which gave us 542 hits. We reduced this by focusing only on contributions from the fields of 'educational research', 'sociology', 'ethnic studies' and 'social psychology', which left us with a sample of 204 hits. We downloaded and categorized all the articles that looked relevant, using the traditions that were identified in the previous review. In addition, key scholars in this field were contacted to request their relevant publications for this field in the period 2010–2017. Finally, the analysis of the sample of research contributions that resulted from these sampling strategies identified additional important reports, journals and books, which were in turn included in the review process.

Race, Ethnicity and Educational Inequality in England

Five major research traditions can be identified in England between 1990 and 2010. A first research tradition, called the '*Political Arithmetic tradition*', investigates the relationship between educational inequality and race and ethnicity by offering general, more representative descriptions of how

different BME students perform in education over time. This research tradition emphasizes description over explanation and prefers the use of quantitative analysis on large-scale datasets. A second research tradition, which we refer to as the '*Racism and Racial Discrimination in School tradition*' employs ethnographic, qualitative research methods to explore how school-selection processes, an ethnocentric curriculum and white teacher racist attitudes and discriminatory behavior inform the educational experiences and outcomes of BME students. A third research tradition, called the '*School Effectiveness and School Inclusion tradition*' uses quantitative analysis techniques on large datasets to investigate the characteristics of effective schools for students in general and for specific social (racial/ethnic) groups. A fourth research tradition which we named the '*Culture and Educational Outcomes tradition*' looks at the importance of the notion of racial/ethnic minorities' culture in influencing the educational outcomes of particular BME children. A final research tradition which we refer to as the '*Educational Markets and Educational Outcomes tradition*' investigates how changes in the English educational system, realized through 1988 Education Reform Act, inform the educational experiences of various social classes and BME groups in pursuing educational opportunities.

Similarities between and differences within research traditions will be pointed out as they are analyzed in this article and brought together in the conclusion. However, two important observations can be made at this stage. Firstly, while the *Political Arithmetic* and the *School Effectiveness and Inclusion tradition* employ a positivistic epistemology and large-scale quantitative research designs, the *Racism and Racial Discrimination in Schools tradition*, the *Culture and Educational Outcomes tradition* and the *Educational Markets and Educational Outcomes tradition* seem to be informed by an interpretative epistemology and a preference for small-scale, qualitative research strategies. Secondly, the research traditions discussed in this article have strong roots prior to 1990 and developed somewhat independently from or in opposition to each other. The only exception to this is the *Educational Markets and Educational Outcomes tradition*. This research tradition only developed from the 1990s onwards and has been heavily influenced by the *Racism and Racial Discrimination in Schools tradition*: although they both prefer the use of qualitative methods and explain differences in outcomes between ethnic/racial groups as the result of discriminatory processes, the *Educational Markets and Educational Outcomes tradition* explores the outcomes of particular educational reforms and broadens the analysis by focusing on race and ethnicity, as well as on social class.

The Political Arithmetic Tradition

Out of the Old Sociology of Education developed a particular sociological research tradition called 'The '*Political Arithmetic tradition*' (PA tradition), which influenced research on race and ethnicity and educational inequality post 1980. This tradition set out from a positivist epistemology and relies mainly on quantitative research strategies in analyzing the relationship between family-background and educational success (Douglas 1964; Douglas et al. 1968; Floud et al. 1956; Glass 1954; Halsey et al. 1980). Writers in this tradition have been "relatively modest in their theoretical ambition" (Heath 2000, p. 314) and preferred "description to explanation, and hard evidence to theoretical speculation" (*ibid*, p. 314).

Although researchers in the PA tradition have traditionally focused their attention on describing social class inequalities, the government's increased interest in statistical data on racial/ethnic minorities (DES 1981, 1985) stimulated the availability of such data and encouraged researchers to conduct quantitative, more representative studies on racial/ethnic minorities' school attainment (Demack et al. 2000; DfES 2003, 2005a, b; Drew 1995; Drew and Gray 1990; Drew et al. 1997; Gillborn and Gipps 1996; Gillborn et al. 2016a, b) and subsequently, school exclusions (see: section "The Culture and Educational Outcomes Tradition").

A recent analysis of longitudinal data from the YCS[2] and later LSYPE[3] datasets and (from 2004 onwards) the NDP dataset, allows us to investigate the size and changes in the 'achievement gaps' between BME groups and

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[2] Twelve cohorts of people (first born in 1967/68, last one born in 1986/87) who just reached minimum school leaving age (16 years old) have been surveyed between 1985 and 2004 through the YCS. Most of these cohorts have then been tracked over the following three years to follow their progress in the educational system and/or labor market. Each 'wave' consists of a random sample of the total population (all males and females in England and Wales who had reached the age of 16) collected through schools. Questionnaires were sent to respondents and followed up by reminders and finally an attempt to contact those who failed to respond. The initial sample size varies between 12,180 (1985 wave) and 30,000 (2004 wave) and response rates have fallen over the years (69% in 1985 to 47% in 2004). Because of the low response rates, weights have been applied to correct for any known biases (for example: high achieving students are more likely to respond to the questionnaire). The population estimates used in the weighting are: sex; year 11 school type; region; and year 11 attainment (Connolly 2006; NationalStatistics 2005).

[3] The Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE), also known as "Next Steps", is a major panel study of young people which brings together rich and detailed data from interviews with young people and their parents with test data from the National Student Database. Initially LSYPE ran alongside and complemented the YCS surveys, but it has now replaced the older survey (Gillborn et al. 2016a, b). The sample of the first wave consisted of about 21,000 young people aged 13 to 14 who were in Year 9 in February 2004. Following the initial survey at age 13–14, the cohort members were visited every year until 2010, when they were age 19–20. The next survey is taking place in 2015/16, when the cohort members are 25 years old. So far, eight waves of the study have been conducted, the ninth edition being released in 2017.

white British students between 1991 and 2013 (Gillborn et al. 2016a, b, a similar analysis can be conducted on exclusion data, which is discussed below in the EMEO tradition). In order to interpret these changes it is important to note that over this period of time, two important changes were introduced by the government regarding the 'benchmark of achievement'. Between 1988 and 2006, the official benchmark for achievement for students was set at obtaining at least 5 higher grades GCSE. However, in 2006 the Labour government introduced what they called the 'Gold Standard' of achievement which set the bar higher by expecting students to obtain at least five higher grades GCSE, including English and mathematics. Finally, in 2011, the conservative government raised the bar yet again by introducing the English Baccalaureate (EBacc), which required students to obtain higher pass grades in English, mathematics, two sciences, a modern or ancient foreign (Latin or Greek) language and either history or geography (Gillborn et al. 2016a, b). This 'moving of the goalposts' (Gillborn et al. 2016a, b, p. 8) has had implications according to Gillborn for the size of the achievement gap for some BME groups. Gillborn and colleagues (2016a, b) show that Black/Black Caribbean students in particular have suffered from these changes in the 'standards of achievement' (Fig. 11.2):

Although the Black/White gap in achievement would have been virtually closed over a period of 15 years if the original benchmark of achievement

25 Years of the Black/White Gap: Changing Benchmarks, 1988 – 2013

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
White/White British	30		35	37		43		45		47		50		52		55	52	55	44.2	45.8	48.4	50.9	55.3	15.3	15.9	22
Black/Black Caribbean	18		19	23		21		23		29		39		36		34	36	42	29.2	32.7	36.4	39.4	43.9	7.6	8.0	14.0
Odds Ratio	1.95		2.3	1.97		2.84		2.74		2.17		1.56		1.93		2.37	1.93	1.69	1.92	1.74	1.64	1.59	1.58	2.2	2.17	1.73

Benchmark = 5+ A* - C grades any subject   'Gold Standard'   E.Bacc

Fig. 11.2 Black/Black Caribbean and White British achievement in England (1988–2013)

would have been used continuously (from 12 percentage points difference in 1988 to 2.3 percentage points in 2013), the introduction of these higher standards immediately increased the Black/White gap (and as a result, erased years of progress experienced by this group). More specifically, the data shows that the odds of achieving the relevant benchmark for white students relative to black students jumped up from 1.69 to 1.92 after the introduction of the Gold Standard in 2006. Although the odds then decreased in the following years (hence, the gap narrowed again) to 1.58, they again jumped up (to 2.2) after the introduction of the EBacc in 2011.

However, the data also shows different patterns for different BME groups. For instance, Black African students also witnessed a set-back or increase in achievement gap after the introduction of these new standards of achievement, but still eventually managed to overtake the white group in 2013 (for graph, see Gillborn et al. 2016a, b, p. 12). A similar pattern emerges for Bangladeshi and Pakistani students, who saw their gap increased by the introduction of these new standards. However, Bangladeshi students managed to eventually overtake whites on both occasions (first in 2011 and then in 2013), with Pakistani students narrowing the gap significantly by 2013. Indian students continuously obtained higher educational outcomes compared to the white category, irrespective of the changes in standards that were introduced (Fig. 11.3):

In sum, these findings show that all BME groups have experienced an increase in achievement over time and now achieve almost as high or even higher compared to the white British category. However, the change of standards have resulted for most of them in a setback (or increase in achievement gap). Especially for Black/Caribbean students these changes have minimized their progress in achievement over time.

Although definitions of inequality vary and are often implicit in educational research (Foster et al. 1996), the focus on levels of attainment in education reflect a more general shift from 'equality of access' to more radical models of 'equality of outcome' in which the dominant 'White' group is considered the reference group (Reid 1996). However, while researchers focus increasingly on difference in outcomes, there does not seem to be a consensus on how researchers should measure 'achievement gaps'. Some researchers, like Gillborn and his colleagues discussed above, employ a 'percentage point difference' model (see also: Gillborn and Gipps 1996; Gillborn and Mirza 2000), which measures the differences in the proportion of minority groups achieving at least a particular defined level (usually the level of achievement of the dominant 'White' group) and whether these differences have increased or decreased over time. Other researchers prefer a 'proportional' model, which
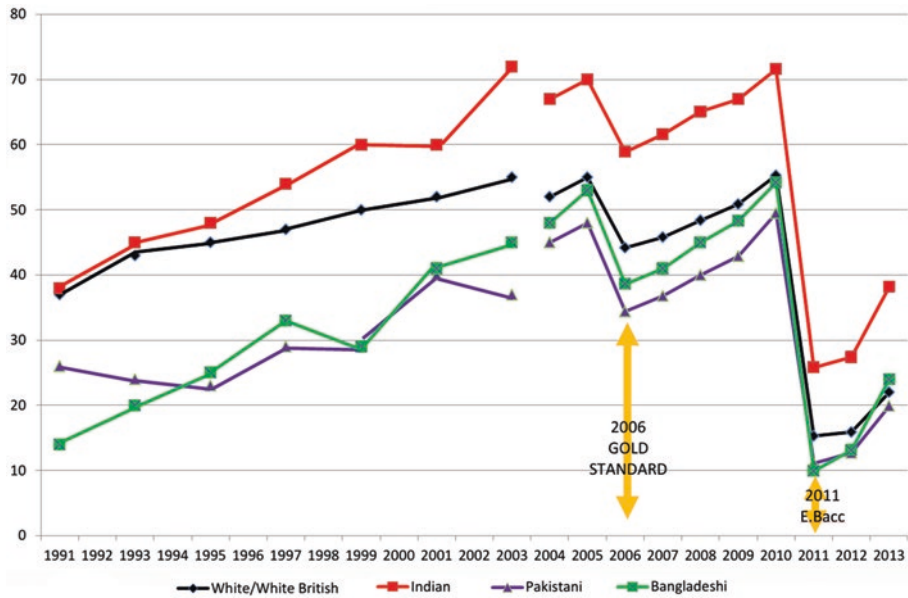
Fig. 11.3 Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and White British achievement in England (1991–2013). (Source: Gillborn et al. 2016a, b)

considers the rate of change in level of achievement on the part of each group, relative to its starting point. Here, the achievement gap can be defined as (for example) the difference between the achievement levels of the highest and the lowest achieving groups as a proportion of the achievement levels of both groups (Gorard 1999, 2000a, b). Although the application of these different approaches can result in very different interpretations about (changes) in inequality over time (see: Stevens et al. 2014 for a detailed example), these different methods are equally valid and offer complementary kinds of information, based on different assumptions: while the 'percentage point model' measures inequality by measuring the extent to which the present situation departs from a particular standard of equity (all minority groups should achieve at least equal outcomes to 'White' students), the proportional model looks at the starting point of the different racial/ethnic groups and defines equity in terms of the rate of improvement over time (Hammersley 2001b).

However, from a Critical Race Theory (CRT) perspective (see also: section "The Racism and Racial Discrimination Tradition"), the way data is presented about race inequalities is rarely innocent, and always serves the interests of particular groups, usually those in power. From such a perspective, opting for a presentation and interpretation of gaps that diminish the problem of BME underachievement (or render these as non-existent), serves the interests of

dominant groups in society who benefit from a status quo and/or a view that they have managed to solve this particular problem over time. Other strategies that are used by whites to diminish the importance of existing gaps in achievement and racism in society and education more generally are: (1) Pointing to BME groups who achieve higher than whites as proof that racism does not impact on educational outcomes, (2) Pointing to key interventions from the government to show that they are taking it seriously, (3) Focusing attention on 'bigger problems', like white, working class underachievement, (4) Using statistical analysis to hide certain racial disparities and (5) Changing the kinds of data that is being collected on BME groups, so that comparisons become more difficult (Gillborn 2008, 2010a, b; Gillborn et al. 2016a, b).

While social class and gender differences cannot explain persistent inequalities in educational outcomes between ethnic groups (Gillborn and Mirza 2000), analysis of YCS suggests that social class differences in attainment are larger than ethnic differences, which are in turn larger than gender differences (Demack et al. 2000). In a more recent study, Strand (2014a) analyses the educational achievement at age 11, 14 and 16 of over 15,000 students from the nationally representative longitudinal study of young people in England and concludes that at age 16, the achievement gap associated with social class was twice as large as the biggest ethnic gap and six times as large as the gender gap. In addition, Strand shows that social class accounts for 80% of the differences between 'White' and 'Pakistani' students and for 75% of the differences between 'Black African' and 'White' pupils, but not for the achievement gap between 'Black Caribbean' and 'White' students (Strand 2011). In a more recent analysis Strand (2015) confirms earlier research in that, after controlling for the effect of SES, all ethnic minority groups achieve at least as well and frequently substantially better than the White British students, with the single exception of middle and high SES Black Caribbean boys (Strand 2015). A study focusing on a longer period of analysis and data from the 'British Household Panel Survey' and the 'Labour Force Survey' suggests that although social class differences in the UK have decreased since the beginning of the 20th century, they still remain substantial and larger than gender or ethnic differences (Heath 2000).

More generally, data on educational achievement of ethnic minorities indicates complex interactions between race and ethnicity, gender and social class or social deprivation. In order to explore interactions/intersections between race/ethnicity, gender and SES, Strand (2015) analyzes achievement data (using the YCS and NDP datasets) covering the period between 2004 and 2013 for these different groups separately. When looking at those students who are not entitled to receive Free School Meals (FSM, and as a result they

can be regarded as having a lower socio-economic background), achievement patterns of the white and BME groups are very similar to these of the population as a whole (only on average somewhat higher). In addition, the proportion of girls achieving 5 GCSEs (including English and mathematics) is for this group around 10% points higher than for boys and broadly consistent across all ethnic groups in 2013. The only notable contrast by ethnicity and gender over time is in the particularly strong relative improvement of Black boys, they have made proportionally more improvement 2004–2013 than Black girls. However, a different picture emerges when the analysis focuses on students of lower SES background (those entitled to FSM). First, for this category of students all ethnic minority groups achieve greater success than White British pupils. Second, there is very little difference between the ethnic trends for boys and girls. Third, within the low SES 'Black' category, the gap in achievement between Black African students on the one hand and Black Caribbean and Mixed White and Black Caribbean students on the other seems to increase over time, among both boys and girls.

More recently, research in the PA tradition has focused attention on gaps in relationships to broader outcomes; outcomes that might indirectly explain achievement gaps between BME groups and 'White British' students (see also research on school exclusions discussed in the EMEO tradition below). Lindsay and Strand (2016) for instance, use School Census data to investigate the relationship between race/ethnicity and pupils' categorization as having speech, language, and communication needs (SLCN), which is the Department for Education's category for students with Language impairment (LI). LI is in turn one of the most common types of special educational needs (SENs), and is associated with other types of SENs and reduced levels of academic achievement. The results show that Bangladeshi, Black African, Black Other, and Chinese groups are consistently overrepresented as having SLCN compared with White British students. For instance, in 2011 the odds for Black Caribbean students being identified with SLCN were 1.80 times (or 80%) greater than the odds for White British students. The authors find similar levels of overrepresentation for Black African and Black Other groups. Other studies point to similar overrepresentations of specific BME groups for other Special Educational Needs, such as Black minority students' overrepresentation in Behavioral, Emotional and Social Disorders (BESDs) and Asian heritage pupils for Autistic Spectrum Disorders (ASDs) (Strand 2012b; Strand and Lindsay 2012).

The PA tradition has contributed to our understanding of racial/ethnic inequalities in the English educational system by describing the differences in educational outcomes between racial/ethnic groups over time, the rate of improvement experienced by these groups and the complex interactions

between race and ethnicity, gender and social class in developing outcomes. However, researchers have warned against simplistic interpretations of quantitative summary statistics which can stimulate the development of 'moral panics' (Connolly 2006) or a 'discourse of despair' (Gillborn and Mirza 2000) over the underachievement of particular groups and/or a tendency to label all students from specific BME groups as underachievers (Gillborn and Gipps 1998; Troyna 1984). Hence, Connolly (2006) employs and advocates the use of exploratory data analysis methods (such as box-plots and histograms) to explore and illustrate the considerable variations in achievement within racial/ethnic groups and overlap between them. Similarly, Gillborn and Mirza (2000) employing data collected from Local Educational Authorities (LEA) show that all major BME groups are the highest achieving group in at least one LEA. Finally, CRT researchers have warned against the use of statistical analysis and changes in the way statistical data on BME achievement is collected and interpreted, in order to hide or minimize the importance of achievement gaps in education (Gillborn et al. 2016a, b).

The Racism and Racial Discrimination Tradition

From the late 70s and early 80s onwards a substantial number of scholars conducted ethnographic case studies in different educational settings to gain understanding of how micro-educational processes relate to the underachievement of Asian and (especially) African Caribbean students (Archer and Francis 2005, 2007; Bhatti 1999; Connolly 1998; Crozier 2005a; Driver 1977; Fuller 1984; Gillborn 1990, 1995; Mac an Ghaill 1988; Troyna 1991a, b; Troyna and Siraj-Blatchford 1993; Wright 1988, 1992). These studies apply an interactionist approach, and focus mainly on the processes and effects of selection, the distribution of classroom resources and the nature of the knowledge and values taught and sanctioned in schools. The results suggest that students from BME backgrounds, especially African-Caribbean students, are discriminated against in terms of set or stream allocation and the distribution of educational resources. Furthermore, it was argued that the curriculum is biased against ethnic minority cultures, by attaching higher status to a white, middle class culture and marginalizing expressions of ethnic minority cultures. Finally, teachers are perceived to hold negative stereotypes and low expectations of BME children, often leading to them being placed in lower sets and diverted into less academic subjects.

Implicit in research on race equalities has been the debate around where the 'blame' lies. As we indicated earlier, the focus was often on the child and

family itself. Even where teachers' low expectations were cited the argument followed that this led to processes of self-fulfilling prophecy which in turn affected the child's self-esteem, expectations, behavior and eventual educational outcomes. Although in 2011 the discourse of low aspirations, as a reason for BME as well as White working class underachievement, anti-racist sociologists of education have argued forcefully against such views (Atkins 2010; Gewirtz 1991; Spohrer 2011). Rather they have focused on White racist attitudes and practice and institutional racism. Various scholars (Gillborn 1990, 2002, 2016; Gillborn and Youdell 2000) dismiss the existence of differences between social groups in terms of ability or intelligence, the alleged cultural deprivation of working class families and the assumed superiority of the forms of knowledge promoted by schools. Influenced by Bourdieu and Bernstein, particularly in relation to social class issues, they argued that what counts as valuable capital in education in terms of knowledge, skills and ability, is a matter of social definition, imposed by powerful groups in society.

Although a rich body of literature suggests that classroom interactions are inherently racist or discriminate against BME students, the findings of these studies (e.g.: Mac an Ghaill 1988; Wright 1988; Gillborn 1990) were forcibly criticized by Foster in the early Nineteen Nineties. One point of criticism concerned Foster's (1990b) ethnographic case study of an inner city, multi-ethnic secondary comprehensive school with an explicit anti-racist and multicultural agenda. Although the author acknowledged that ethnic minority students were more likely to deviate from teachers' definition of the ideal student, he argued that there was little evidence in his and other studies to support the claim that teachers discriminate or stereotype ethnic minority students. The conflicting findings from this study and the studies cited throughout this paragraph and above, generated considerable criticism of studies that highlighted the existence and importance of experiences and structures of racism in education, particularly in relationship to the validity and generalizability of their findings, and related to this, the nature of the evidence provided (Connolly 1992; Foster 1990a, 1991, 1992a, b, c, 1993a, b; Foster et al. 1996; Gillborn 1995; Gomm 1993, 1995; Hammersley 1992; 1993b, 2001a; Troyna 1993, 1995; Wright 1990).

In part these criticisms were motivated by the, so called 'methodological purists' (Troyna 1993), concern with the purpose of research. According to Foster et al., for example, educational inequality should be "to produce knowledge relevant to public debates, not to eradicate inequality" (Foster et al. 1996, p. 40). By contrast, some researchers adopted a 'partisan' (Troyna 1995) or 'critical' approach (Gillborn 1998b; Siraj-Blatchford and Troyna 1993; Troyna 1994), in which research is perceived as a tool to reveal and

challenge fundamental injustices. According to the former, partisan researchers' explicit anti-racist position makes them too readily accept evidence pointing to indirect discrimination and differential treatment. In order to avoid pitfalls associated with an instrumentalist, relativist, standpoint theory, or foundationalist epistemology they argued that the research community should be guided by certain rules. These rules stipulate that the overriding concern for researchers should be the truth of claims, and not their political or practical implications. Arguments should be judged on their plausibility and credibility[4] in an open research community, in which researchers are willing to change their attitudes in the light of such evidence (Foster 1993a; Foster et al. 1996; Hammersley 1993a, 1995). While research should be value-relevant, which means that specific value judgments are used in choosing research topics and developing descriptions and explanations, research should also be value neutral by restricting itself to making factual conclusions (Foster and Hammersley 2000).

From these debates and perspectives within today's context we can see how ideas and understanding has shifted and moved on. Influenced by feminists and post structural discourses, educational researchers working in the RDDS tradition currently consider the notion of 'absolute truth' highly questionable and it is argued that within the current socio-political and economic context the demand for 'impact' and 'useful' research, stands in marked contrast to ideals of free-floating and value-free 'knowledge'. That is not to say such debates are no longer occurring but rather that the emphasis of what is paramount has shifted. Differences in how researchers define racism may in part explain why some researchers claimed to find evidence of racism while others did not. For example, while Foster (1990b) defines racism mainly in terms of specific teacher practices which are legitimized by notions of cultural or biological inferiority, Bhatti (1999), Bhopal (2011), Connolly (1998), Crozier et al. (2009), Gillborn (1990) Mac An Ghaill (1999) and others define racism in terms of white teachers' intended or unintended attitudes and behaviours. Furthermore, researchers emphasized the importance of 'institutional racism', or specific laws, regulations and structural workings of institutions and society as well as being interconnected with individual attitudes and behavior (Gillborn 1990, 2002; Gillborn and Youdell 2000; Richardson 2005; Tomlinson 2008; Gillborn 2010b; Pearce 2012).

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[4] Plausibility refers to "how strongly does what we currently take to be research-based knowledge imply the validity of this knowledge claim" (Hammersley 2003, p. 23), while credibility refers to "the likelihood that the process which produced the claim is free of serious error" (Foster et al. 1996, p. 38).

Whilst most of the RRDS tradition has focused on schools and teachers' practice, Troyna and Hatcher (1992) researched racism in children's lives through a study of mainly white children's views and attitudes. Although with the emergence of Critical Whiteness Studies (see below) the research agenda is changing, this is one of few studies in the field of education in England that focuses on white attitudes and children's in particular. It thus makes an important contribution challenging the myth that mere association between white and black children, related to naive interpretations of Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis (see also: Connolly 2000), will lead to harmonious inter-ethnic group relations and suggesting the need for schools to take a pro-active anti-racist stance and especially in predominantly white schools. Moreover, they argue that a school policy to deal with racist incidents in school has to be accompanied by school policies dealing with issues of race within the curriculum. The other exception to researching white settings and white attitudes is Gaine's work (1987, 1995, 2005) which looks at all/predominantly white schools and also teacher education. As well as analyzing a range of issues, his work is also innovative in that he develops anti-racist change-strategies for educators.

More recent studies have explored whiteness within multicultural settings. Pearce (2012) explores the dilemmas and constraints faced by a group of new teachers, which includes both minority ethnic and white teachers, on their teaching practice working in multiethnic primary schools. Focusing on the curriculum, Pearce examines the teachers' different responses to the hegemonic, taken for granted dominance of whiteness in the curriculum. The finding suggests that reflective teachers from a range of ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds entering the profession provide potential for debate and discussion about issues of race and such debate could ultimately lead to changes in policy and in practice. Another recent study by Pettigrew (2012) explores the complex and often contradictory ways in which white students negotiate notions of identity and difference within an inner-city, multiethnic comprehensive secondary school. Pettigrew observes that the meaning of whiteness is ambivalent and whiteness is largely positioned in oppositional terms to the celebrated 'diversity' within the school. A multicultural identity is available to white students through their membership of the school community, while the white identity is often seen as non-existent or being associated with negative connotations. There is limited opportunity for white students to explore a deeper understanding of racism and historical structural inequalities constructively and openly, something Pettigrew argues should be on the citizenship education agenda (more on citizenship education below).

Some researchers within the RRDS tradition looked more at successes in relation to multiculturalism and or anti-racist teaching practice. Much of this work has focused on language and diversity in the primary school (e.g.: Conteh 2003; Gregory and Williams 2000); evaluations of broader curriculum areas (Grugeon and Woods 1990; Harris and Clarke 2011) and in terms of teachers' anti-racist practice (Epstein 1993; Klein 1993). There have also been various publications presenting ideas and, strategies for teaching in secondary as well as primary schools and teacher education (Cole et al. 1997; Dadzie 2000; King and Reiss 1993; Multiverse 2006–2010: wwww.multiverse.ac.uk; Pearce 2014; Maylor 2016). Others have researched some of the consequences of racism other than (although related to) underachievement. This includes for example work on school exclusions (Wright et al. 2000, 2005; Parsons 2008, 2009), lower quality provisions (Chadderton 2013), and the disproportionate representation of minority students, especially African-Caribbean and Pakistani students in special education (Tomlinson 2016). Some sociologists of education have also taken the focus of successful outcomes for BME students in part to challenge the socio-cultural pathologization of black young people (Rhamie 2007; Rhamie and Hallam 2002).

The emergence of discourses of identities (and post structural feminism as part of that) within the sociology of education, has stimulated researchers in the RDDS tradition to investigate the (re)construction of young BME students' collective ethnic and gender identities and its relationship to racism and educational achievement. For example, Archer (2003) and Shain (2000a, b) have focused on South Asian masculinity and schooling. Their work written at a time of a rise in islamophobia referred to earlier and moral panics around 'Islamism' and Asian Gangs (Alexander 2000) has made an important contribution to counter pervasive stereotypes arising from this context. More recently, both Bradbury (2014) and Jackson and Nyström's (2014) work highlights the impossibility for minority ethnic children to be seen as 'ideal learners'. Bradbury's (2014) research in early childhood education shows that teachers are required to conduct comprehensive assessment on young children, and children from minority ethnic and/or more deprived backgrounds are less likely to be seen as 'good' learners. This inequality has significant implications, as these assessments provide the 'baseline' for measures of children's future progress and exclude some children from trajectories of educational success. Jackson and Nyström (2014) examine how the celebrated, 'authentic' subject position of 'effortless achiever' is not available to all students equally, as culturally dominant discourses about intelligence and effort mean that white, middle-class males are more likely to position themselves, and be positioned, as effortless achievers. Students from less privileged

backgrounds, for example working-class, Black Caribbean students, would run the risk of being positioned as lazy and lacking aspirations if they take on the 'effortlessness' identity (Crozier et al. 2016; Burke et al. 2017).

It has also occurred however alongside a certain preoccupation with boys' (irrespective of ethnicity) education and their apparent underachievement. Work on Black Caribbean boys such as Sewell's research is such an example. Whilst this work has been important in foregrounding the issue of Black students' underachievement the focus on boys in particular masks the same or similar issues facing Black girls frequently rendering them invisible (Mirza 2009). Further it has been argued that Sewell's (1997) work reinforces the pathologization of the Black male as recalcitrant; disaffected and a product of the feckless family. For Sewell the problem lies with the 'culture' of African Caribbean families. Critics of post structuralist and in some respects by implication identity studies have argued that structural analysis is eschewed and in this case structural racism and racist attitudes and practice. The focus has thus returned to, or perhaps never deviated from, the individual. Nevertheless, foregrounding identities has made a range of important contributions including the challenge to essentialist ideas of identity as homogeneous; simplistic dualist criticisms as well as already indicated, the challenge to damaging stereotypes.

Within the race and ethnicity identities' discourse there has also been some limited research on Asian girls (Basit 1997; Shain 2000a, b) which challenges the stereotype of the passive, conforming Asian girl. Basit's work in particular presents a more holistic picture of a range of Muslim girls' educational desires and expectations and contextualizes a range of factors that impact on the outcomes. Studies of African Caribbean girls (Mirza 1992, 2009; Rollock 2007) attempt to celebrate their identities positively whilst also pointing to discriminating experiences and constraints on their life chances. Wong's (2015) study highlights the issue of science careers typically seen as exclusively for privileged white men. Wong argues that this discourages minority ethnic students and particularly girls, to identify with careers in science, as those aspirations are not seen as for 'people like us'. However, careers *from* science, such as medicine and healthcare, appear more identifiable for minority ethnic students, particularly girls.

The development of Critical Race Theory (CRT), Critical Race Feminism (CRF) and Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) aims to foreground the focus on race and racism. This work originated in the USA but over the past decade has been developed in the UK, largely by the work of Gillborn (2006, 2008) and Preston (2007). David Gillborn (Gillborn 1996, 2005) and some of the non-British research contributions published in the British based journal

Race, Ethnicity and Education (Hatchell 2004; Leonardo 2002; Levine-Rasky 2000; Raby 2004) and, more recently, *Whiteness and Education* have also helped develop 'Critical Whiteness Studies' (CWS) within the British Educational research context. 'Whiteness' is perceived as a racial discourse that attempts to "homogenize diverse white ethnics into a single category (much like it attempts with people of color) for purposes of racial domination" (Leonardo 2002, p. 32). The primary aim of CWS is to "unveil the rhetorical, political, cultural, and social mechanisms through which 'whiteness' is both invented and used to mask its power and privilege" (Giroux 1997, p. 102). In his 2008 book Gillborn employs CWS as a conceptual tool to develop an analysis of Critical Race Theory. Gillborn (2008) analyzes different kinds of empirical data (including official statistics, research and policy reports and messages conveyed through radio, TV and newspapers) to unveil and criticize the numerous, usually subtle strategies employed by (usually White) individuals to reproduce and legitimize existing Black–White racial inequalities.

Critics of CRT such as Cole (2009) question the tenuous links with structural and institutional factors and also criticize CRT for an obfuscation of social class dimensions. In response to this, theorists of intersectionalities through a consideration of the interlinking of social and cultural identities such as class, gender as well as race and ethnicity, (Crenshaw 1995) have attempted to address these criticisms; in the UK within Education this can be mainly attributed to the earlier work of Safia Mirza (2009) and Bhopal and Preston (2011). Employing an intersectional approach to develop our understanding of in/equalities within an Education context has gained more prominence in more recent years. Gillborn (2010a, b) uses the concept of interest-convergence in CRT and intersectionality to explore how the white working class were portrayed in popular and political discourse during late 2008, and the victim/degenerate discourses around this group inextricably serve to support white middle-class normality and White supremacy overall. Farris and de Jong (2014) examine the inequalities experienced by girls from second-generation, North African and South Asian migrant backgrounds in a number of European countries, including the UK. Their findings show that the intersection of class, gender, ethnicity, and religion, which is at play at the structural, institutional and discursive levels, works in different ways for girls in education and the subsequent transition to the labour market. The work of Gillborn et al. (2012) on Black middle-class families demonstrates the continued significance of race inequality and illuminates the intersectional relationship between race and social class inequalities in education. Their findings reveal that despite their economic and cultural capital, many middle-class

Black Caribbean parents find their high expectations and support for education obstructed by racist stereotyping and exclusion in the English school system. The case is particularly striking when Gillborn (2015) specifically examines the educational strategies of Black middle-class families dealing with special educational needs, which requires understanding of the intersecting dimensions of race, class, gender, and dis/ability within a system where they are excluded from the potential benefits (of legitimate adjustments and dedicated resources) but remain subject to the disadvantages of low expectations, segregation, and exclusion.

Within the movement of anti-racism and the RRDS research tradition there have been a range of criticisms. In the Eighties and early Nineties differences between multicultural education and anti-racist education raged. More specifically, the anti-racists argued that multiculturalism obfuscated the main issues of tackling racism itself and provided a softer option for practitioners (Crozier 1989; Troyna 1993). Whilst these differences remain, as already indicated, the research terrain has shifted. The 'multicultural project' as it has been called, has come under attack from the government and media particularly in the light of the Bradford, Oldham, Rochdale riots (2001) and terrorist attacks by British born Muslims in 2005. The Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition government, formed in 2010, further attacked multiculturalism as allowing 'different cultures' to live outside the mainstream and white people as having been victims of a double standard that judges them more harshly than minoritised groups (Gillborn 2013). However, this particular criticism is more likely to unite the multiculturalists and anti-racists as it is seen to come from the assimilationist lobby (Race 2011).

Criticisms of anti-racism have tended to come more from sociologists outside of Education. Modood (2005) for example has argued that addressing 'culture' is particularly and more relevant for South Asian students. His argument however has been criticized for allegedly polarizing oppression, suggesting that Black Caribbean young people are accepted by the white majority because of the popularity of hip hop and such cultural manifestations (see also below) and have become more integrated into British society. From a broader perspective Gilroy (1992) has taken exception to anti-racism or certain manifestations of this, arguing that tackling racism is marginalized and frequently compartmentalized. As he has argued: 'race' and racism are a central part, intertwined with class and gender, of structural oppression: "[race and racism are not] fringe questions but [are a] volatile presence at the very centre of British politics actively shaping and determining the history not simply of blacks but of this country as a whole…." (Gilroy 1992, pp. 233–244). This marginalization frequently leads to the 'bad apple' syndrome and points to the failure to tackle racism effectively (Crozier 2011).

Other criticisms of earlier research (within our time frame) in the RRDS tradition have been concerned that focusing on BME people constructs this group as homogeneous and powerless victims of society (Gillborn 1997). Rather some researchers describe how specific ethnic or racial minority groups draw on their own cultural heritage, and notions of social class, gender and sexuality to actively create a culture of resistance to school while remaining committed to the value of education itself and the importance of obtaining educational qualifications (Connolly 1998; Epstein 1998; Fuller 1984; Furlong 1977; Mac an Ghaill 1988, 1994; Mirza 1992; Sewell 1997, 1998; Youdell 2003; Fernández-Reino 2016).

For example, in his case-study in 'Connolly College', a multi-ethnic co-educational sixth-form college providing 16+ education, Mac an Ghaill (1988) described a group of African-Caribbean girls (who he calls 'The Black Sisters') who valued obtaining academic qualifications and could be perceived as pro-education, but at the same time rejected a racist curriculum and were generally anti-school. The girls responded to perceived racism and discrimination through 'resistance within accommodation' or by adopting a highly instrumental view on teachers and teaching processes, in which (culturally biased) "knowledge is not valued for its own sake, but as a means to an end, that of getting qualifications" (Mac an Ghaill 1988, p. 35). Shain's (2000a, b) study of Asian school girls (see also below) identifies similar themes within a more contemporary context whilst at the same time challenging the stereotype of the passive South Asian girl.

Towards the end of the period of our review in particular, researchers are seen to consider the consequences of increasing cultural and economic globalization, technological developments, communication and international political relations on the construction of identities and multiple, decentred forms of racism in society. Such a view perceives racism as more heterogeneous, changing and often conflicting in nature, reflecting the complex interplay of gender, sexuality, social class and ethnicity. It supports the construction of a wider research agenda to include (in the British context) racism and discrimination towards Irish and other 'White' ethnic groups (such as Gypsy, Roma and Traveller people in England: Myers and Bhopal 2009), Eastern Europeans (Tereshchenko and Archer 2015) as well as Islamophobia and the stereotyping and treatment of new migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (Brah et al. 1999; Mac an Ghaill 1999, 2002; McIntosh et al. 2004). On the other hand, a 'post-racial', 'end of racism' discourse has also gained prominence in the lay construction of racism, as seen by Andreouli et al.'s (2016) study with English school students 'othering' racism as something located in other times, places and people. Gillborn et al. (2016a, b) discuss how issues of race equality in fact are being marginalized in education and wider policies within the 'post-

racial fallacy'. Gillborn (2016) further highlights the resurgence of genetic determinism, a new form of 'racial geneism', to explain the supposed biological basis for the achievement gap among different ethnic groups and to legitimize subtle but dangerous racism within education policy processes and the wider public discourse.

Finally, in relation to the impact of such demographic changes and concerns about national identity, there are studies that have taken up the theme of the government's Community Cohesion and Citizenship issues. Osler and Starkey (2005) are two proponents of such work on the development of a new vision of citizenship and the importance for educators to understand the links between the dynamics of globalization and the everyday realities of the classroom. Similarly, Maylor (2016) and Smith (2016) both discuss the responsibilities and challenges of teachers, as well as teacher-educators, in critically engaging with constructions of Britishness and fundamental British values (FBV) in their teaching and practice, as part of the citizenship curriculum and their duty to support counter-terrorism (also see Lander 2017).

The RRDS tradition is by far the most developed research tradition in the UK that focuses on the relationship between race and ethnicity and educational inequality in education. There has been a wealth of case-studies that explored how minority students experience schooling and how particular institutional processes influence the educational outcomes of these students, although since the 2000s these studies are less prevalent. While these studies provide evidence that ethnic minorities experience (institutional) racism and discrimination in schools, they are less clear on how strongly teachers' particular expectations, attitudes and practices and the school curriculum and structural organization impact on minority students' educational outcomes and wider benefits, related to their self-esteem, social integration and happiness. These studies are exceptionally rich in illuminating the subtle and complex processes through which racism operates in school settings. However, there are also strong appeals to broaden the focus of research.

The School Effectiveness and School Inclusion Research Tradition

School Effectiveness and School Inclusion research (SESI) constitutes another body of educational research that aims to analyze, usually by means of large quantitative samples and longitudinal, multi-level analysis techniques, the relationship between internal school-processes and the production of educational outcomes in general ('overall effectiveness'), and to a lesser extent, in

between ethnic, social class, gender and ability groups ('differential effectiveness') (Gillborn and Gipps 1996). This body of literature arose in large part as a reaction against findings of large scale U.S. studies, most notably the work of James Coleman (Coleman 1966), which suggested that schools played little role in producing differential achievement among social groups. In addition, the availability of better (longitudinal and multi-level) data, better computing power and new statistical techniques, in particular, multi-level modelling, allowed for more sophisticated, quantitative data-analysis.

However, SESI researchers tend to put much more emphasis on the importance of family processes and characteristics compared to RRDS researchers in explaining differences in achievement, but also stresses that 'schools make a difference' (Foster et al. 1996; Mortimore 1997; Sammons 1989). Hence, while researchers in the SESI tradition are interested in the effect of school processes and characteristics relative to social background and family characteristics (which are often included in statistical models as 'controls'), RRDS researchers restrict their focus mainly on school processes.

A first way through which SESI researchers investigate the relationship between race and ethnicity and educational inequality is by conducting longitudinal analysis on the absolute outcomes and progress over age made by ethnic/racial minority students in education, controlling for relevant background characteristics. The difference between SESI researchers and researchers working in the PA tradition is that SESI researchers usually follow the same group of students over time and consider both differences in absolute outcomes and relative progress as measures of inequality (instead of preferring one over the other).

In a recent analysis of data from students' attainment at the end of primary school (KS2: age 11) and the end of secondary school (KS4: age 16), gathered through the nationally representative LSYPE data-set, Strand (Strand 2007, 2008) finds that students of mixed heritage seem to have similar attainment at KS2 and make similar progress over time compared to White British students. Similarly, Indian students do not seem to differ significantly from White British at KS2, but they make more progress and have pulled substantially ahead by KS4. Although Black African, Bangladeshi and Pakistani students are well behind their White British peers at KS2, they make more progress during secondary school and while the former two groups catch up with White students by KS4, Pakistani students almost close the gap by the end of KS4. However, Black Caribbean students remain a group of concern as they start well behind White British students at KS2 and make the same progress during secondary school, and, as a result remain substantially behind White British students at KS4.

The same analysis shows that after controlling for socio-economic variables, the groups with the poorest progress are: (1) White British boys in general but particularly from low SEC homes, (2) White British girls from low SEC homes and (3) Black Caribbean, Black African and Bangladeshi boys from high SEC homes. Multivariate analysis shows that four factors in particular are strongly related to attainment and progress: (1) student's educational aspirations, (2) parents' educational aspirations for their child, (3) student's academic self concept and (4) frequency of completing homework. However, the low attainment and poor progress of Black Caribbean students cannot be accounted for by social class or other family, school, neighborhood and motivational variables (Strand 2010, 2011; Strand and Winston 2008). In a further analysis of the LSYPE data Strand (2012a, b) confirms and builds on earlier findings from ethnographic case study research in England (Gillborn and Youdell 2000, see below) by showing that Black Caribbean students are consistently underrepresented relative to White students in entry to higher (status) mathematics and science tiers which cannot be explained by these students' prior attainment, socio-economic status and a broad range of motivational, family and neighborhood characteristics. The author suggests that teachers' lower expectations of Black Caribbean students, particularly related to their behavior (see also Mortimore et al. 1988 and Hurrell 1995 below), might explain why these students are less likely to be placed in higher status tiers, which in interaction with anti-school peer group cultures, can explain the lower achievement and progress made by these students in secondary education.

These findings confirm earlier longitudinal studies in England based on different data-sets, such as Sammons (1995) study based on the Junior School Project (JSP)[5] and a study based on the Student Level Annual School Census (PLASC) dataset (Wilson et al. 2005).[6] While most BME groups underachieve compared to White British students at the start and end of primary,

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[5] The author employs data collected in a major study of primary school effectiveness (the Junior School Project [JSP]), which involved a stratified random sample of 50 ethnically diverse inner London primary schools. The study followed an age cohort of roughly 2000 students over the junior phase of schooling (ages 7–10 plus years) from entry in 1980 to secondary transfer in 1984. In 1990 additional support was obtained for a more detailed multilevel analysis of the original JSP primary school data set and for a follow up of the age cohort at the end of compulsory schooling when public examinations (GCSEs) are taken at age 16 years (1989). Hence, this particular dataset allows Sammons to follow a random sample of students over a period of nine years: from entry to junior (Year 3 and 5), over secondary transfer (Year 6) to the end of compulsory schooling (GCSE, Year 11).

[6] The PLASC dataset covers all students in primary and secondary schools in England and is developed by the Department of Education and Skills (DfES) since 2002. The data can be linked to each student's test score history and contains a number of individual and school characteristics, which are used in this study as controls in assessing the relationship between race and ethnicity and development of educational outcomes. The authors use the following controls: students' gender, within-year age, mother tongue,

most of them progress on average faster than their White British peers and eventually, at the end of secondary education, obtain educational qualifications that are higher, at the same level or not much lower compared to White British students (see also: Haque and Bell 2001; Mortimore et al. 1988; Strand 1999). The only exception to this are students of Black Caribbean background, who as a group seem to obtain lower educational outcomes compared to White British students.

These findings are important as they seem to suggest that racial/ethnic groups (except for students of Gypsy, Roma or Traveller background) make considerable progress in secondary education and, more generally, that racial/ethnic inequalities in education do not appear to widen in secondary education. Furthermore, and in line with the PA tradition, these studies also emphasize the importance of social class over race and ethnicity: while racial/ethnic differences (except for the achievement gap between Black Caribbean and White students) seem to reduce, disappear or become reversed as students progress through secondary education, social class differences in educational achievement become more apparent in secondary education. Reflecting on their own analysis, Wilson et al. argue that "the group with the most problematic path through secondary schooling is disadvantaged white boys" (Wilson et al. 2005, p. 3). However, at the same time the authors, like Strand (Strand 2007; Strand 2008), stress that in terms of levels achievement, the lower than average achievement outcomes of certain BME groups, particularly Black Caribbean should remain a major issue for policy concern.

A second way, through which SESI researchers have assessed the relationship between race and ethnicity and educational inequality, is by testing whether schools are more or less effective for particular minority groups. A growing body of SESI research tends to suggest that the effects of schools do not vary across ethnic groups. In other words, primary or secondary schools that appear most effective for one (racial/ethnic) group of students are, generally speaking, equally effective for other groups (Jesson and Gray 1991; Mortimore 1997; Mortimore et al. 1988; Sammons 1999; Smith and Tomlinson 1989; Strand 1999; Thomas et al. 1988). While these findings do not deny that processes operating within schools keep some BME groups from achieving higher educational outcomes, they imply that such processes would need to be operating consistently across all schools (Strand 1999). In a recent study, based on analysis of an entire national cohort of students in England (PLASC dataset) between age 7 in 2000 and age 11 in 2004, Strand

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eligibility of free school meals (as an indicator of family poverty), special education needs status (as an indicator of learning or behavioral problems), student's postcode and school attended.

(2010) finds no evidence that the gap between 'Black Caribbean' and 'White' students results from 'Black Caribbean' students attending less effective schools. There is also no evidence of differential effectiveness in relation to ethnic group, in that schools that were strong in facilitating the progress of White British students were equally strong in facilitating the progress of Black Caribbean students. In a more recent study, Strand (2016) uses multilevel modelling to analyze national test results at age 7 and 11 of over 6000 pupils attending 57 mainstream primary schools over three successive years in a socially and ethnically diverse inner London borough. The findings show again that pupil groups with the poorest progress were poor White British pupils and Black Caribbean pupils, but that differences between schools in 'quality' play little role in explaining equity gaps. The author concludes that: "Equity gaps are large and substantial before children start school and do not appear to be significantly greater in some schools than in others, suggesting the gaps are a systemic issue rather than the result of a small number of 'failing' schools" (139).

Finally, earlier work in the SESI tradition explores the relationship between race and ethnicity and educational inequality by investigating how particular processes in school impact on the educational outcomes of BME students. However, while such research complements and strongly overlaps with the RRDS tradition, SESI researchers do not seem to consider the analysis of internal school processes related to discrimination and racism as their main area of research.

Using the JSP dataset Mortimore et al. (1988) found no relationship between teachers' ratings of students' ability and children's ethnic background, once account had been taken for other background characteristics and attainment. They conclude that teachers' expectations of students (irrespective of students' ethnic background) appear to be tied to specific knowledge of previous attainment and performance in the classroom. Furthermore, teachers were found to have more individual contact with African Caribbean students than with other students and there was no difference between groups in the amount of teacher contact related to work discussion, supervision or feedback. At the same time the data shows that teachers perceived African-Caribbean students as more disruptive and offered such students more neutral and negative feedback on their behavior compared to other students. However, as African-Caribbean students experienced greater problems in reading and teachers offered these students more reading time, the authors conclude that "the data supply no evidence to support the view that teachers were withholding attention from any ethnic group. In fact they appeared to go out of their way to attend to black and ethnic minority students" (Mortimore et al. 1988,

p. 169). At the same time, these authors recognize the limitations of their data as "expectations can be transmitted in subtle ways and it is possible that it was precisely through such differences in teacher attention that teachers were signalling differential expectations" (Mortimore et al. 1988, p. 169).

Smith and Tomlinson (1989) collected data from 3100 children (from the age of 11 to 16) and their parents over 20 purposively selected multi-ethnic schools. Their data suggests that minority students seem to have more enthusiasm or positive feelings about school, appear to perceive fewer difficulties than 'White' children and (in the case of 'West Indian' or 'African-Caribbean' students) attend school better than 'White' students. Furthermore, experienced 'racial hostility at school' does not seem to influence the educational outcomes of minority students and "Just one per cent of the parents mentioned racial attacks, or that black and white children don't get on" (Smith and Tomlinson 1989, p. 305). Only eight out of 2075 parents interviewed mentioned racial prejudice among teachers and the level of satisfaction with the school expressed by parents does not appear to differ between ethnic groups. Somewhat in line with Mortimore et al. (1988, p. 169) this study finds that while teachers are more likely to blame 'West Indian' students for their behavior than they blame 'White' or other ethnic groups; 'West Indian' students are also more likely to receive praise from their teachers compared to other minority groups and 'White' students.

A unique study in the SESI tradition that has been specifically designed to test some of the underlying processes which emerged from the RRDS tradition more directly in an English educational context concerns Hurrell's quantitative study (Hurrell 1995). In this study, Hurrell uses survey data gathered from 974 students and their teachers in four comprehensive schools in England and data from systematic observation, the latter being employed to measure 'observed negative reactions from teacher to student' (Hurrell 1995). In contrast to Mortimore et al. (Mortimore et al. 1988), her findings suggest that teachers did not treat black students differently, even if they were perceived as more disruptive. The author explains this by pointing to Hargreaves' suggestion that teachers might employ a strategy of 'avoidance of provocation': "Hence while they stereotype black children as disruptive, they might decide not to respond to their behavior" (Hurrell 1995, p. 67). More recently, using the LSYPE dataset, Strand (2012a, b) shows that Black Caribbean students are systematically under-represented in entry to the higher tiers of national science and mathematics tests at age 14 relative to their White British peers; differential outcomes that cannot be explained by prior attainment, socio-economic status, maternal education, family composition, gender, poverty, a wide range of measures of aspirations, motivation, and effort and school

and neighbourhood deprivation. These findings build on earlier (small scale) RRDS research (Gillborn and Youdell 2000) that shows how processes of ability grouping inform educational outcomes of BME groups in education. More generally, it also suggests that 'within-school rather than between-school factors are most likely to account for the White British–Black Caribbean achievement gap' (Strand 2012a, b, p. 90).

In sum, compared to the RDDS tradition, SESI research paints a somewhat more positive picture of the relationship between race and ethnicity and educational inequality, and especially the role of secondary education institutions in reproducing racial/ethnic inequalities. Such research tends to suggest that school processes are not discriminating against BME students and that most of these students, despite their experienced disadvantages, manage to progress more quickly than 'White' students and obtain educational outcomes that are, for most minority groups, equal or even better than those obtained by 'White' students.

However, these findings (and SESI in general) have been criticized on the basis of methodological problems. For example, Gillborn and Gipps (1996) argue that Sammon's (1995) findings should be treated with caution as the final sample size was less than half the original size due to non-response and attrition. Furthermore, they argue that her analysis artificially boosts the outcomes in favor of racial/ethnic minorities, as the employed sample does not include students who were not entered for GCSE exams; a group in which ethnic minority students are over-represented.[7] Another research evaluation (Gillborn and Drew 1992) criticizes Smith and Tomlinson's (1989) study for using purposive sampling (which highlights more the range of extremes, rather than describing the relative effects of most of the schools), for lumping together different racial/ethnic categories to satisfy statistical analysis requirements (for example by combining 'Afro-Caribbean' and 'mixed-other' students) and for considering parents' perceptions of racism in school as valid measures of students' experienced racism (Gillborn and Drew 1992).[8]

More generally, SESI research has been criticized for neglecting or providing poor measures of racism and discrimination in schools and for failing to address the effect of student-recruitment processes on the educational

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[7] In response to such criticism, Sammons (2006) argues that the sample size was not depleted due to non response but that there were difficulties in matching data for named students from central records across 9 years.

[8] Burgess (2006) argues that the study he conducted with his colleagues (Wilson et al. 2005) is not subject to most of this criticism since (a) they follow people over time and do not exclude low performing students excluded from GCSEs (b) focus on a very large sample (almost all students) and do not suffer that much from attrition.

outcomes of minority students (Figueroa 1992a, b; Gillborn and Gipps 1996; Hatcher 1998). Finally, critics downplay the importance of the SESI tradition by referring to the relatively small contribution of school-effects[9] compared to family background in explaining differences in achievement (Foster et al. 1996; Gillborn and Drew 1992; Hatcher 1998).

However, in response to such criticism, advocates of SESI argue that "its significance is considerable in a system where even minor differences may influence significantly the life chances of students" (Mortimore 1997, p. 479). Furthermore, researchers in this area point to the equally modest contribution (3–10%) of measures of family SES or individual student's level of social deprivation in explaining variance in students' attainment (Sammons 2006). Finally, while it is accepted that the SESI tradition can benefit from considering the findings of more critical, qualitative studies, the RDDS tradition often fails to address differential school effectiveness and inequality directly (Thomas 2000) and can equally benefit from considering and developing SESI research on specific school processes (see for example: Hurrell 1995).

The Culture and Educational Outcomes Tradition

Since the development of the New Sociology of Education movement, educational sociologists have focused their attention increasingly more on school processes and less on cultural characteristics of the family and BME communities in explaining the relationship between race and ethnicity and educational inequality. However, one area that attracted considerable interest from sociologists over the last 25 years focuses on the importance of religion and culture in the schooling of 'South Asian' children and to a lesser extent Muslims including from Somalia. This '*Culture and Educational Outcomes tradition*' is different to the Old Sociology of Education in that cultural differences are not necessarily perceived as 'deficient' and linked to larger social processes of immigration, settlement and reception experiences and social class.

Some authors suggest that specific religious obligations, especially those related to Islam, act as an obstacle for girls in achieving highly in education. It is argued that Muslim parents attach higher priority to considerations of religious observance than the education of their daughters (Afshah 1989; Bhopal 1997, 1998). Abbas explores in a series of publications how ethnicity

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[9] Reviews of the literature on school effectiveness suggest that models tested in multi-level research explain 30–40% of the variance in examination results, of which around 10% can be traced directly to schools (Mortimore 1997).

(religiosity), social class and gender relate to 'South Asian' students' educational opportunities and experiences (Abbas 2002a, b, 2003) (see also: Anwar 1998). Although 'South Asian' parents appear to value educational achievement, 'South Asian' Muslim ('Pakistani' and 'Bangladeshi') girls perceive specific religious and traditional values as a barrier to educational and occupational success. These specific values are believed to restrict interaction with men and non Muslims and emphasize patriarchal values or the domestic role for women. In contrast, 'South Asian' Sikhs and Hindus, irrespective of their social class position, appear to put less importance on religion and traditional values and are less likely to adopt specific strategies that restrict acculturation in British society (Abbas 2002a, 2003) (also see Khambhaita 2014). However, more recent studies challenge the view of 'problematic Asian families/gendered expectations', but instead point to teachers' stereotypical views and expectations of Asian students and the failure of schools to adequately involve and connect with Asian families (Crozier and Davies 2007, 2008; Crozier 2009).

Similarly, a growing body of literature criticizes the view of Muslim women as passive victims of a situation that positions them between two conflicting cultures in which they have to adopt either the role of a 'traditional woman' or an 'educated woman' (Ahmad 2001; Basit 1997; Knott and Kokher 1993; Shain 2000a, b; Siddiqui 1991).

These studies argued that such a view ignores the variability in attitudes and practices within Muslim populations. Secondly, research suggests that Muslim parents have generally very high educational aspirations of both their daughters and sons (Crozier and Davies 2006; Crozier 2004).[10] Thirdly, Muslim parents' attitudes to education rarely appear to be clear cut, but is more likely to be ambivalent. On the one hand Muslim parents often fear that continued investment in education can postpone marriage to a point where it is difficult to find an appropriate partner of the same social status for their daughter. Furthermore, Muslim parents' often have negative views on 'British' or 'Western' culture, which is considered too individualistic, liberal and characterized by a lack of respect towards family and elder people. These stereotypes make those parents fearful that their daughters' involvement in such a culture will loosen their morality or 'Anglicize' them, which can harm their daughter's and their family's status in the community. However, Muslim

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[10] A study involving 800 students selected from inner-city schools in England shows that Black African, Asian Other and Pakistani groups all have significantly higher educational aspirations than the White British group, who had the lowest aspirations (Strand and Winston 2008). The same study shows that the high aspirations of BME students are mediated through strong academic self-concept, positive peer support, a commitment to schooling and high educational aspirations in the home.

parents perceive education also as a valuable economic investment that offers protection and social status to their children and their family and offers their sons and daughters an opportunity to marry people from the same (high) social status. Finally, these studies emphasize the importance of agency in that Muslim girls employ various strategies to negotiate different expectations and construct and reconstruct complex, strong identities that combine an adherence to traditional and modern values and educational goals (Ahmad 2001; Basit 1997; Crozier 2004, 2006; Knott and Kokher 1993; Shain 2000a, b; Siddiqui 1991). For example, Bhopal's (2014) study on South Asian women university students, who tend to stay at home and attend their local university, shows that instead of relying on government grants or loans, they are able to use their social and ethnic capital to enable them to receive financial and other kinds of support from their family and community for their success in higher education.

Furthermore, it is important to consider other social background characteristics in assessing the relationship between religion and academic success. Haque (2000) argues that the latter relationship can be influenced by the level of education of the immigrants, their area of emigration (rural versus urban), their family size and their timing of immigration. Untangling the effects of these interacting variables appears even more important in a British context that witnesses an increase of anti-Muslim sentiments and stereotypes (Brah et al. 1999; Modood 1989; Werbner 2000). Related to the latter, Abbas (2003) suggests the importance of different reception experiences between 'South Asian' Muslims and non-Muslims in adopting specific acculturation strategies. Franceschelli and O'Brien (2014) explore the concept of 'Islamic capital', in combination with South Asian cultures, to analyse intergenerational reproduction of values to support children's education within South Asian Muslim communities in the UK, and they find that different factors, including gender, culture, social class, and educational background, affected the use of 'Islamic capital' among different families.

The focus of the CEO tradition on the development of ethnic minority cultural practices and their impact on children's educational outcomes balances somewhat the current, dominant focus in British sociology of education on school processes. However, this research tradition is relatively small compared to the other traditions, and previously limited its focus to the experiences of girls and particular ethnic groups ('Sikh', 'Hindu' and especially 'Muslim' students). More recent research in this area focuses on the experiences of both girls and boys, as well as parents, from different BME groups, without essentializing culture, family and/or 'ethnicity' as a deterministic force (Steinberg 1981). For example, Archer (2011, 2012) explores the

identities and educational practices of middle-class individuals (parents, pupils, and young professionals) from a range of minority ethnic backgrounds. She finds that the participants experienced minority ethnic middle-class identity as a profoundly precarious space, negotiated through complex classed and racialized positionings, as 'authentic' middle-classness is associated with whiteness and unattainable to them. A number of studies draw on large-scale survey datasets that include participants from a range of ethnic backgrounds and other characteristics to examine complex social phenomena, such as parental involvement in childcare (Norman and Elliot 2015) and education (Skaliotis 2010), educational aspirations (Berrington et al. 2016), and demand for higher education in different geographical areas (Harrison 2013); researchers could conclude ethnicity/cultural background contributes to explaining some of the differences but the interrelationships of different factors are often complex.

An example of research that explores the broader boundaries of the CEO tradition concerns the work of Levinson (2000, 2007) and Levinson and Sparkes (2003, 2005) on the interface between Gypsy/Romani ('Traveller') culture and the educational system in South West England (see also: Liegeois 1986, 1987, 1997; Okely 1983; Smith 1997). Relying on ethnographic observations in schools and Gypsy sites and qualitative interviews from Gypsy students and their families and teachers over a period of more than 3 years, the authors show how Gypsy students' disengagement with (especially) secondary school relates to the (re)construction of a Gypsy lifestyle and related identity that often is at odds with and in opposition to the cultural capital valued in school or, more generally '*Gadjo*' (or non-Gypsy) society. For example, while the school values literacy, Gypsy culture regards *basic* literacy as functional but not essential in pursuing economic goals and potentially harmful in maintaining a Gypsy lifestyle and identity. Hence, illiteracy is more than an expression of cultural autonomy or protection against assimilation, it "becomes an ethnic identifier, a badge of honor, and far from a deficiency it is almost an accomplishment" (Levinson 2007, p. 33).

Furthermore, the differences between social space as prescribed by a nomadic Gypsy lifestyle (which is characterized by relative fluidity and freedom) and the failure of a (more restrictive) school system to consider this can result in conflicts and disengagement of young Gypsy students from school (Levinson and Sparkes 2005). Similarly, and of particular importance to Gypsy boys is the construction of a Gypsy male identity that values the ability for acute bargaining skills (which in turn relates to business knowledge and charm, memory and psychological astuteness), fighting (or being tough and protecting or retaliating against threats to family or personal status) and

sexual prowess (Levinson and Sparkes 2003). While such skills were valued within the Gypsy community and perceived as 'the Gypsy (male) way of doing things'; they were devalued and considered deviant by the school (*ibid*). Building on this research, and much more in line with the RRDS tradition, other scholars stress much more the prejudiced attitudes of teachers and discriminatory school processes in explaining the lower educational outcomes of students of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller background (Bhopal 2011; Bhopal and Myers 2009; Derrington and Kendall 2004). In so doing, these researchers warn against the dangers of essentializing 'Gypsy culture' as a deterministic force, as it leads to analytic (cultural) reductionism and fosters the prevalence of stereotypes towards Gypsies.

Another innovative contribution that explores the broader boundaries of the CEO research tradition concerns the work of Archer and Francis (2005). Based on interviews from 48 Chinese girls, 32 Chinese boys, their parents, teachers and peers from other racial/ethnic groups (aged 14–16) they find that Chinese students construct themselves as valuing education highly and often derive self-esteem from this in relationship to their learning and classroom conduct. Chinese students were more likely to select mathematics and science as their favorite subjects and less likely to select gender-stereotypical subjects (such as PE for boys and drama for girls). This discourse of 'Chinese value of education' seems to be employed as a tool by Chinese students and their parents to construct a British-Chinese identity and production of 'Chineseness'. Furthermore, the emphasis on such values might arguably help to explain why this group achieves such high outcomes in education compared to other BME students and 'White' students (see section 3.2). Furthermore, these researchers find that English educators associate Chinese students' success in education to 'pathological' values that put too much emphasis on conformity, passivity and pressure to achieve. Hence, although the particular 'cultural currency' of Chinese students helps them to achieve (as a group) in the English educational system and develop a strong (ethnic) identity, such currency appears to be devalued by English educators. Such research is innovative in that it focuses on particular cultural values and practices of an understudied minority group and how this impacts on the educational experiences and outcomes of boys and girls. In so doing, this research also links and brings together different research traditions (CEO, RRDS and PA tradition).

More recently, Archer et al. (2015) and Wong (2015, 2016) examine the under-representation and uneven participation of minority ethnic students in science education. The dominance of whiteness in science and science careers can be unwelcoming or even hostile to non-white students, but they find that

uptake of science among different minority ethnic groups varies. Drawing from both quantitative and qualitative data, Archer et al. (2015) explore how Black students are the least likely to consider science or related careers. They find that while there is no evidence of Black students lacking interest or having low attainment in science, the Black families in their qualitative sample tended to lack the economic, cultural, and social capital of some of their comparatively more privileged White and Asian middle-class counterparts. As a result, their support to their children's education and particularly science aspirations was often restricted to providing moral support and encouragement, rather than subject expertise, social contacts, career advice, or extra-curricular activities. Archer et al. argue that these students' aspirations are important because the findings reveal the intersection of inequalities of ethnicity, gender, and social class, which makes science less 'thinkable' for Black students and presents additional challenges for science-aspirant students to overcome to maintain their aspirations over time. Wong (2016) finds interest in science and science career aspirations differs among different minority ethnic groups of students, and many simply feel science and/or careers in science are not for 'people like us' (Wong 2015). These papers all argue that participation in science, as well as why students from across different ethnic groups do (not) identify with science, are important equity issues in science and wider society. Their research also links brings together different research traditions (CEO, RRDS and PA).

Educational Markets and Educational Outcomes Tradition

A final, more recent research tradition investigates the relationship between race, ethnicity and educational inequality by critically assessing the consequences of the neo-liberal policies instigated originally by the 1988 Education Reform Act in England (see: 2.1) above), on the educational experiences of ethnic minority groups. Within this system, parental choice and a thorough inspection system (Ofsted) are seen to guarantee that the provision of education reached the expected high standards, regardless of social class, gender and ethnicity or race; this system put under surveillance schools, teachers and in fact the parents themselves (Crozier 1998; David 1993). Indeed parental choice remains a key element in ensuring the success of school competitiveness. However, as much research has shown the nature and notion of 'choice' is not straightforward nor based on equality of opportunity (David et al. 1994; Gewirtz et al. 1995; Reay and Ball 1998). Parental choice has done little if anything to improve poorly performing schools and the attainment of BME students, in spite of the effort and commitment of Black parents

(Crozier 1996, 2005a, b; Reay 2008). In fact as these and other studies have shown (Cork 2005; Crozier and Davies 2007; Bhatti 1999; Vincent 1996), schools frequently excluded parents as well as marginalising their children. By contrast, a recent study of white middle class parents (Reay et al. 2011) who are committed to state education sets into relief the experiences of many BME parents, The white parents because of their privileged social and educational and economic positions, relatively effortlessly ensure that their children succeed, in spite of attending underperforming schools. Whilst even with the considerable efforts made by black parents their children tend to fail (Cork 2005; Wright et al. 2000).

Rather than improve standards, the competitiveness between schools has apparently exacerbated inequalities for BME students as shown by Gillborn and Youdell's study of two English secondary schools (Gillborn and Youdell 2000; Youdell 2004). They illustrate how this 5 'A*-C-economy' informs the nature of the specific school organization and processes. Schools are stimulated to organize their system in order to maximize the number of students obtaining 5 GCSE level A*-C. As a result, some schools allocate valuable and scarce educational resources disproportionately to students who are most likely to benefit from such support in obtaining A*-C grades. However, students that are considered unlikely to reach this specific benchmark are left with inferior resources and in effect are discriminated against, a process referred to as 'educational triage'. Central to these selection mechanisms is the idea that students' success is largely determined by measured, innate ability, which is in turn, employed as a criterion for allocating students to different educational careers (through subject 'choice', set -'choice' and examination-tier entry). Gillborn and Youdell argue that selecting by ability disadvantages BME students, and reinforces old and scientifically incorrect notions of intelligence, race and social class. Other negative consequences of putting pressure on schools and teachers 'to achieve' are that: (1) teachers might restrict their attention to 'teaching to the test' (or limit their focus on particular areas in the curriculum that are more likely to be tested, at the expense of others), (2) teachers might cheat to boost the test results of their pupils and (3) schools might decide to enter pupils for 'easier subjects', rather than those that interest them (Acquah 2013). A potential, to our knowledge unstudied positive outcome for certain BME groups is that those students who speak other languages at home, can be stimulated by schools to take GCSEs in these languages, which can help these pupils not only to obtain valuable educational outcomes more easily and further develop knowledge of a minority language, but it also recognizes their minority-ethnic language as a valuable asset (which can positively influence their self-perception).

A particular outcome that is sometimes discussed alongside the negative outcomes of the accountability movement concerns students' exclusions from school. Disproportionate school exclusions of BME students, especially boys, is shown to be an enduring problem (see for example Wright et al. 2000; Parsons 2008, 2009). The increase of BME school exclusions following the introduction of the 1988 Education Reform Act attracted considerable interest from educational sociologists studying racial and ethnic inequalities. In this body of literature, exclusions are usually defined as "the means by which the headteacher of a school can prevent a child or young person from attending the school, either for a fixed period (not exceeding fifteen days in a single school term) or permanently." (Blyth and Milner 1996, p. 3).

While the exclusion data (see: Table 11.3) can be analysed in a similar way to the achievement data as discussed above in the PA tradition, explanations of why schools exclude (BME) students is framed much more from an EMEO perspective. The increased competition between schools for students and higher GCSE outcomes and their related position and public image as represented in the league tables, were often cited as being responsible for this increase in school exclusions. In response to market pressures, headteachers may feel or have felt more inclined to exclude disruptive students, especially if they underachieve and keep their peers from learning. However, other potential factors were also identified relating to the educational reforms instigated in 1988. These included the pressure on teachers to implement a narrow National Curriculum, Ofsted inspections, league tables and GCSE outcomes; many of which were said to reduce the availability of resources (time, number of teachers) to support students' individual needs (Blyth and Milner 1996; Cooper 2002; Gillborn 1998a; Searle 1996; Searle 2001).

In a recent analysis of exclusion data over time, Gillborn et al. (2016a, b) show that in general, exclusion rates have gone down for all BME groups and the dominant 'White British' group in the period 1997–2013:

However, the data also shows that 'Black Caribbean' students continuously experienced a higher chance (at least three times more likely at any point of measurement) of being excluded permanently compared to their 'White British' peers. At the same time, the data suggest that the government can make an impact, as exclusions declined (and the gap between 'Black Caribbean' and 'White British' students) in the period 1998–2001, when the government made the reduction of school exclusions a key policy issue and subsequently pressured schools to work on this. The higher chance of experiencing exclusions for 'Black Caribbean' and 'Mixed White' students (and the lower rate for 'Chinese' and 'Indian' students) was also confirmed in another recent study, which used the NPD for students who took their GCSEs in 2011, and

Table 11.3 Permanent exclusions by ethnic origin, England, maintained schools (1997–2013)

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	*2002	*2003	*2004	*2005	*2006	*2007	*2008	*2009	*2010	2011	2012	2013
White British[**]	0.18	0.18	0.15	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.14	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.07
Black Caribbean	0.78	0.77	0.6	0.46	0.38	0.41	0.37	0.41	0.39	0.41	0.38	0.36	0.3	0.34	0.23	0.24	0.22
Black African	0.31	0.3	0.21	0.17	0.17	0.15	0.12	0.16	0.14	0.16	0.13	0.16	0.11	0.11	0.09	0.07	0.07
Indian	0.06	0.07	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02
Pakistani	0.18	0.13	0.1	0.07	0.06	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Bangladeshi	0.1	0.1	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.11	0.06	0.09	0.06	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.03	0.04	0.02
Mixed: White/B. Carib.	na	na	na	na	na	na	0.29	0.37	0.41	0.36	0.36	0.32	0.25	0.24	0.22	0.22	0.19
Mixed: White/B. Afr.	na	na	na	na	na	na	0.26	0.23	0.24	0.18	0.20	0.17	0.1	0.14	0.11	0.11	0.09
Mixed: White/Asian	na	na	na	na	na	na	0.11	0.12	0.09	0.06	0.11	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.05
TOTAL (all pupils) including groups not shown above	0.19	0.19	0.16	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.13	0.14	0.14	0.4	0.3	0.12	0.1	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.07

* Estimated data: For some years the department reported 'estimated' data because not all local authorities made returns
** The data here are reported for 'White British' wherever that category is available. However, only a general 'White' category was used until 2003
na = data not available
Comments
Permanent exclusions are shown as a percentage of the school age population in each ethnic group. For example, a rate of 0.13 is equal to 13 pupils in every 10,000
The years 1998–2001 are shaded to indicate a period where the government placed a great deal of emphasis on reducing the overall number of permanent exclusions (following the first report from the Social Exclusion Unit in 1998)
Source: Gillborn et al. (2016a, b)

controlled for a series of additional determinants, such as prior attainment and poor attendance, neighbourhood deprivation and prenatal SES and gender (Strand and Fletcher 2014).

In conducting additional, longitudinal analysis, Gillborn et al. (2016a, b) further conclude that exclusions are more likely to occur in Year 9, before students typically start with their two-year GCSE course and that 1/3 of the 'Black Caribbean' pupils experience at least one exclusion during their last 3 years of schooling. The latter suggests that exclusions should be studied from a longitudinal approach that considers the cumulated nature of experiencing exclusions over time. The former might suggest that schools are more likely to exclude students just before they make decisions about which students should follow particular GCSE courses.

More generally, neo-liberal policies of competitiveness and individualism can be said to have exacerbated the entrenchment of institutional racism and the obfuscation of dealing with specific manifestations and implications of racism. However, although the neo-liberal policies have had an immense impact on school processes, governance and no doubt ethos, there is no direct evidence to suggest a direct link between these and BME exclusions and academic underachievement.

Conclusion and Discussion

Research in England on the relationship between race and ethnicity and educational inequality in primary and secondary education developed into a major area of research from the 1980s onwards. Inequality has been increasingly defined in terms of differences in outcomes and the focus of research has been predominantly on the role of school processes in developing such inequalities. Although the British government stimulates the collection and analysis of quantitative data on race and ethnicity and educational inequality, most of the studies in this field employ qualitative or ethnographic methods and an interpretative approach.

The most dominant research traditions explain the existing differences in educational outcomes by pointing to processes of racism and discrimination in schools, which are either explained by the racist practices or attitudes of teachers and/or the way in which the educational system is organized. It is argued that the educational system (in terms of its curriculum, selection mechanisms and punish and reward systems) is organized as such that it favors, usually implicitly, the interests of white, middle class citizens at the exclusion of BME people and the lower social classes.

These findings suggest a strong influence of the New Sociology of Education movement in England, and related to this: a strong influence of symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and micro-sociological classroom research. In addition, research on race and ethnicity and educational inequality in England appears to be informed by developments in social policy. During the 1980s in England, the Rampton and subsequent Swann report put racial/ethnic minorities' disadvantages, and especially racism and discrimination, firmly on the agenda of English educational research. As a result, English educational research focused its attention increasingly more on processes of racism and discrimination in schools. How might this particular, rich body of research further develop especially given the ever changing education policy developments in England? In 2012 under a Coalition Government and in a context of financial austerity measures, there appears to be little political interest in addressing racial inequalities in education. Further decentralisation of schools with the expansion of the Academies and the introduction of Free Schools – state funded, accountable primarily to their governing bodies as well as central government (rather than the Local Authority) may make multicultural or anti-racist strategies more difficult to implement. This new structure of schooling may also mean that academic achievements across different ethnic groups become more difficult to monitor. In particular the accountability and governance of the schools will need

to be researched in order to see the impact on diverse and disadvantaged groups and whether the children and parents have greater or lesser representation of their needs.

Research on ethnic/racial inequalities in England could benefit from adopting explicit definitions of what they take as indicative of inequality consistently through their research. While research has adopted increasingly more an 'inequality of outcomes' approach (Reid 1996), this is not always made explicit in research and sometimes different notions of equality/equity (e.g. equality in terms of outcomes or progress) are employed simultaneously (Foster et al. 1996). At the same time, as inequality is often reduced to particular economic outcomes such as 'achievement' and 'exclusion' which can be expected to have an impact on children's future employment opportunities and related socio-economic position, researchers could also pay attention to the effect of educational processes on a wider set of benefits, such as students' sense of (school) community, their views on diversity globalisation, their self-esteem and wellbeing.

More generally, considering the predominance of qualitative, ethnographic methods and an interpretative approach in educational sociology in England, it is somewhat surprising that little attention has been given to how notions of inequality are defined and constructed in particular (educational) settings. For instance, based on ethnographic case-study research in Flemish (Belgian) and English classrooms, Stevens (Stevens 2008, 2009, 2010) investigates how young people define racist teachers, and finds that students' perceptions of teachers as racist depend on the perceived intentionality of teachers' behaviour, students' appreciation of certain forms of racist behaviour (like the expression of 'racist humour'), the extent to which racist behaviour is expressed universally to all minority BME members or only to certain ('deviant') students, conflicts between teachers and students over the appropriateness of their roles, teachers' strategies to prevent students' accusations of teacher-racism and the status of a teacher as a 'good' teacher.

Furthermore, researchers in England could expand their research agenda by investigating and comparing the educational experiences of a broader set of BME groups. While researchers in England have traditionally focussed on the largest BME groups ('Black Caribbean', 'Black African', 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'Bangladeshi' students), theories explaining educational inequalities could be enriched by including smaller, but theoretically important BME groups, and, particularly, by *comparing* these groups in terms of which processes and factors contribute to the observed differences in educational experiences. For instance, researchers could compare the educational experiences of under-studied BME groups that obtain particularly low (such as students of Gypsy,

Roma and Traveller backgrounds, Enneli et al. 2005; Kucukcan 1999; Levinson 2000, and Turkish minority students, who also appear to obtain particularly low educational outcomes) with BME groups that obtain particularly high educational outcomes (such as Chinese students, see: Archer and Francis 2005, 2007; Francis and Archer 2005a, b; and more recent migrant groups from Central and Eastern Europe as well as refugee children). Similarly, instead of focussing mainly on educational factors and processes that contribute to underachievement, researchers could learn from studying and comparing educational settings that are characterized by relative failure and success.[11]

Research in England could develop a better understanding of how educational processes influence inequality by conducting comparative research on national and regional contexts that are characterized by different educational systems. For instance, in comparing English and Flemish (Belgian) teachers' adaptations to ethnic minority students in one English and one Flemish secondary school, Stevens and colleagues (Stevens 2011; Stevens and Görgös 2010; Stevens and Van Houtte 2011) found that Flemish teachers assign more responsibility (and blame/praise) to ethnic minority students for their educational achievement, think of them in more negative, stereotypical ways and lower their standards of assessment compared to their English colleagues, something that seems to be explained by: (1) The higher degree of autonomy experienced by Flemish teachers from their national (regional) educational system, (2) The lack of emphasis on anti-racism and multiculturalism in Flemish educational policies and (3) School characteristics related to the schools' ethnic student and staff composition and school policies on anti-racism and multiculturalism (*ibid*). More generally, these studies suggest the usefulness of an 'embedded context' (McLaughlin and Talbert 2001) or

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[11] A rare, study that aims to identify the characteristics of schools that are successful in raising the achievement of African-Caribbean students concerns Demie's (2005) study of 13 secondary schools in London. The author conducted analysis of school and LEA data and interviews with school staff, students and governors. The data suggests that the following factors contribute to the educational success of African-Caribbean students: (1) strong leadership with emphasis on raising expectations for students and teachers (2) the use of performance data in monitoring progress (3) development of a creative and inclusive curriculum that takes a stand against racism and meets the needs of minority students (4) involvement of parents and clear links with the community and (5) well developed support teams that make use of learning mentors. Although this study links very well with SESI research that suggests that internal school processes make a difference for African-Caribbean students (Wilson et al. 2005), the methodology is problematic in that the author does not compare 'successful' with 'unsuccessful' schools. Because of the absence of a 'control group', it is not possible to determine whether the identified school characteristics are responsible for raising the achievement of African-Caribbean students. Finally, it is also possible that changes in success relate to changes in intake (in terms of, for example, social class), something which is not considered in this study. Nevertheless, this study is unique in its purpose and design and should encourage further research in this area.

'ecological' approach (Feinstein et al. 2004) in understanding the development of racism. Such an approach has its origins in developmental psychology (Bronfenbrenner 1979) and classifies environmental context measures according to the level at which they are situated, in which *individuals' mental frames of reference* (such as their racist beliefs, collective national and ethnic group identities), interact with various (interacting) context measures, such as: *social interactions* between teachers and students and parents, *characteristics of social groups* and organizations such as schools, peer-groups and families and *characteristics of larger social contexts*, including the neighborhood and national/regional educational systems (and related policies). While comparative research between England and other countries could further expand our knowledge of how educational settings, in interaction with broader social contexts influence BME students' educational and wider outcomes, research in England could add to the development of theory in this area by considering much more how researchers in different national contexts have studied issues related to race and ethnicity and educational inequality.

Finally, all the different research traditions that developed in England between 1980 and 2017 could benefit from a stronger integration and mutual recognition of qualitative and quantitative research. This would strengthen the validity and reliability of the employed research designs and instruments and foster the development of knowledge on the relationship between race and ethnicity and educational inequality.

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12

Finland: A Learning Society with Limited Understanding of Ethnicity in the Everyday Life at School

Päivi Armila and M'hammed Sabour

Introduction

The aim of this article is to analytically describe and categorize the research conducted in Finland on educational inequalities faced by students of ethnic minority backgrounds. The focus is mainly on secondary education examinations between 1990 and 2010. Because in Finland scientific attention to ethnic inequalities has been paid on only recently, the data for this analysis remained rare, and most of our critics are directed towards the absence of sociological perception in understanding this phenomenon.

After presenting shortly the educational system of Finland we describe the general atmosphere towards ethnic diversity in the country, which impacts also on educational paths and possibilities of minority youth. Our analyses has been divided in three parts according to the discursive approaches of the studies under review, where we examine the existing research on ethnic minority students' positions and possibilities in the Finnish secondary education: (1) ethnic diversity as a "problem" for educational policies and patterns, (2) minority background as a risk for educational exclusion, and (3) ethnic discrimination.

The increasing discussion around multiculturalism in Finland has also stimulated academic debate and polemical political discourse about racism. In

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the Finnish context the term racism has been broadened beyond 'race' to describe also cases where the basis of discrimination is ethnic or cultural background of people. In this article we follow this pattern and call for more profound analyses in order to understand different forms and levels of the manifold and statistically proved ethnic inequality in a learning society. Sociology of cultural racism is committed to social theories that emphasize social hierarchies and positions as discursive and given conditions: e.g. educational exclusion is not an individual process and choice but based on marginalizing patterns of societies and their communities. The article tries to outline this aspect through the rare data at hand.

National Context

The Educational System of Finland

Finland is a Nordic welfare society, which covers social and educational services. The state's welfare policies lean on universalistic ideals: educational services are, in principle, available for all native citizens, naturalized citizens and denizens living in the country. At the very heart of the whole Finnish educational system there is a formal principle and law concerning equality of participation opportunities (Act of Basic Education 1998). Furthermore, the newest *Developmental Plan for Education* launched by the Ministry of Education and Culture (2017–2021) emphasizes practices that aim at decreasing inequalities in learning outcomes that are a reflection and consequence of students' social, ethnic, or sexual backgrounds.

The figure below presents the educational system of formal schooling in Finland. Compulsory education extends to youth under seventeen, and the voluntary secondary education is offered nation-wide in high and vocational schools, and it is tuition free. In Finland students can be forced to retake a year if their success is not good enough but this is quite rare as all other ways of supporting (e.g. special education means) are used at first if their progression is not going well. Both high schools and vocational schools offer paths to tertiary education that is organized in universities and polytechnics. High school students complete their studies in a national matriculation examination, but this is not a case in the fields of vocational education.

Most schools for young people in Finland are owned, regulated and administrated by municipalities, under a finance and guidance of the state. Teacher education is ordered in universities, and the teachers are relatively highly educated with competencies regulated by an Act. There are also possibilities to

establish private schools with public financial support, and it seems that especially private primary schools carry a reputation as elite schools and choices for "enlightened" families. In practice, private schools are still quite rare, leaning on some alternative pedagogy (e.g. Steiner pedagogy, Montessori pedagogy), religion (e.g. Jewish, Christianity), or language (e.g. Swedish, French, Russian, German). It is noteworthy that also private schools should get their mandate and legitimation from the Finnish Educational Board (Fig. 12.1).

ISCED-classification

Doctoral degrees
Licentiate-degrees
Universities

Master's degrees

Polytechnic master's degrees
Polytechnics

Work experience 3 years

Bachelor's degrees
Universities

Polytechnic bachelor's degrees
Polytechnics

Special vocational qualifications*

Matriculation examination
General upper secondary schools

Vocational qualifications*

Further vocational qualifications*

Vocational institutions
Also available as apprenticeship training

Basic education, 7–16-year-olds
Comprehensive schools

Pre-primary education, 6-years-olds

Duration in years

ISCED-classification 1997
0 Pre-primary education
1– 2 Primary education or lower secondary education
3 Upper secondary education
4 Post-secondary non-tertiary education
5 First stage of tertiary education
6 Second stage of tertiary education

Fig. 12.1   The educational system of Finland. Ministry of Education and Culture

In spite of the equality principle of schools and schooling, in Finland there can be recognised a tendency to compare schools according to some measurements – according to the grades of the students, for example. Also students' socio-economic or ethnic backgrounds are used as indicators of the hierarchies of valuation. Local educational markets are somewhat segregated as well: some high schools, for example, are more popular than others and can thus make tight entrance selections where they get the "best" students. There is a difference in the general cultural valuation of high school education and vocational education as well, as an advantage for the former one. In principle, both branches of secondary education should qualify their pupils for university studies but in practice is more challenging for students of vocational schools in passing university entrance exams or conducting university studies, as only high school curricula consist of an explicit academic qualification orientation.

In general, however, students' knowledge is relatively good. This quality has been evaluated as excellent in international comparisons (e.g. in the PISA measurements). This outcome have been explained, among other factors, by the cultural and linguistic homogeneity of classrooms, and thus also by the absence of immigrant pupils and students from classrooms. For teachers, culturally homogenous classrooms seem to be pedagogically and didactically less challenging than those with multicultural compositions (Räsänen et al. 2002). Curriculum planning and teaching practices in educational institutions have often been based on the idea that all pupils have same kinds of resources and needs, in spite of their very different life conditions and cultural backgrounds. Lately, however, in national educational strategies immigrant pupils have been recognized as learners, who need special attention and treatment in schools – but this has mainly been justified by pedagogical and cognitive explanations, not with immigrant students' disadvantageous positions in their social context within the landscapes of a learning society.

Main Migration Patterns and Composition

As mentioned above Finland is a society where the issue of multiculturalism has been publicly noted and discussed only very recently. This rise of interest has a clear link with the relatively rapidly increasing number of immigrant people in the country that during its short independence history (from 1917) has been generally quite closed and inward-oriented. This is why the discussion – both the public and the scientific one – around ethnic minorities or multiculturalism in Finland is very tightly connected with the concept of immigration.

The building of Finland as a nation-state has been loaded with strong emphasis on nationalism and patriotism. As the country has no colonial history, the ethnic composition of its population has been quite homogeneous. Now the situation is changing: Whereas the number of the foreign born population in Finland was 64,922 in 1990 (1.3 percent of the population), it was 248,135 in 2016 (6.6 percent of the population) (Statistics Finland 2016; Ahponen et al. 2011.) Children, youth, or young adults under thirty form almost half of the immigrant population in Finland (Statistic Finland 2016). At their age, school is one of the most important spheres of life, both in terms of formal learning and informal peer relationships. Even though the amount of immigrants is increasing continuously, also resistance towards the change in the ethnic composition of citizens can be recognized widely.

Finland has, of course, had small migrants and ethnic minorities (e.g. Tatars, Roma and the indigenous Sami) even before this new wave of migration, but their absence from formal education has been almost ignored in patterns and strategies of the national social and educational policies until late 1970's. This invisibility has also been connected to the independent nation-state building, where the principle of "one nation, one language, and one culture" has been a focal device. This has led to a situation where Finnish educational institutions have been tainted by a sort of culturally ethnocentric and nationalistic sentiment that enhances national assimilation policies – aiming at the cohesion of a relatively young nation state. This has been noticed, for example, in different analyses of curricula and text books.

The 1990s was the turning point decade towards a slightly more international orientation: commitments to the European Union, as well as to other transnational coalitions, forced Finland to introduce some changes to its national policies. The waves of migration turned upside down as immigration began to be wider in numbers than emigration. The biggest groups of immigrants came from Russia, Estonia, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia (Statistics Finland 2011). Dual (or multiple) citizenship became legal in 2003, and "active immigration policy" appeared as a new concept in governmental declarations. Racism and ethnic discrimination were defined as crimes in the national legislation. (Pitkänen et al. 2005.) This, however, did not lead to any new and sustainable, multiculturally open atmosphere: in the 1990s many neo-nationalistic movements and attitudes were recognized in Finland, as was the case also in other European countries (Sabour 1999). Today, no mitigation in this sense can be seen. There are several Neo-Nazi movements in Finland causing local conflicts between natives and immigrants, and

neo-nationalistic politics got a wide parliamentary support when the Finns Party[1] rose among the biggest parties of the National Parliament.

In the middle of the hardening attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism we should, however, note that not all immigrants in Finland face intolerance and discrimination. There seems to be a clear "hierarchy of differences" (Suurpää 2002): the native population classifies those, who are defined as culturally different, into divergent positions in "a continuum of acceptance and non-acceptance" (Harinen et al. 2009). It seems that for a high percentage of Finns it is much easier to cope, associate and coexist with people of Western (American or European) origin than with other ones. This preference is manifested as a form of ethnic penalty (Khattab 2009; Reyneri and Fullin 2011) in the reluctance of Finnish employers of hiring immigrants and subsequently from the employment statistics that show the large proposition of Africans in immigrants' unemployment or educational dropout figures (THL 2018; see Table 12.1 above). These hierarchies of differences seem also cause tension among various groups of immigrants, also in the everyday life at school (Souto 2011). However, Table 12.1 above shows also a progress towards more equal conditions, as the second generation immigrants seem to find relatively their places in the educational system more easily than before.

As we are dealing with education in this article, it is important to note that most of immigrants in the country live in large, crowded cities of Western and Southern Finland (Ministry of the Interior 2013). In these educational localities competitions for the most popular student positions and learning subjects are harder than average, which put subsequently immigrant applicants often in a difficult and disadvantageous situation. In addition, today there are some vocational schools that refuse to enroll students from immigrant background; a fact that clearly breaks the national policy concerning equality of educational participation opportunities (Helsingin Sanomat 2012). A new trend seems to be on the rise: A large number of Finnish parents refuse to send their children to schools, where immigrants form a sizeable proportion of students (YLE 2012).

Developments in Terms of Relevant Educational and Social Policies

In Finland the formal policies have paid a considerable attention to the growing immigrant population in the country. At the strategic level the Finnish

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[1] "The Finns" are politicians and their supporters, who actively resist immigration (especially immigration based on humanitarian issues) and multiculturalism. One of their slogans is: "Return Finland to Finns!"

Table 12.1 Ethnic inequality in Finnish education shown by statistics

Ethnic origin	N	% in population	In general schools	In vocational schools	Out of education
Russian/Estonian 2nd gen.	525	0.4	55.5	35.7	8.9
Russian/Estonian 1st gen.	1254	0.8	44.4	45.7	10.0
Ex-Yugoslavia	271	0.2	23.6	61.6	**14.8**
West Asian/North African 2nd gen.	117	0.1	49.3	32.9	**17.9**
West Asian/North African 1st gen.	290	0.2	45.5	36.2	**18.3**
East Asian 2nd gen.	148	0.1	57.7	32.1	**10.2**
East Asian 1st gen.	96	0.1	45.8	34.4	**19.8**
Sub-Saharan African 2nd gen.	108	0.1	63	18.5	**18.5**
Sub-Saharan African 1st gen.	249	0.2	29.7	41.0	**29.3**
Other 2nd gen.	112	0.1	55.5	28.7	**15.9**
Other 1st gen.	138	0.1	32.7	48.3	**19.0**
Mixed origin (one Finnish parent)	588	1.5	65.1	29.0	5.9
Other-language Finn	172	0.1	57.0	28.5	**14.5**
Swedish language Finn	4779	5.1	57.6	37.8	4.7
Finnish-language Finn	14,311	91.9	54.5	39.9	5.6
Total	*23,158*	*100*	*54.6*	*39.7*	*5.8*

Source: Kilpi-Jakonen (2011, 84)

society invests significantly in immigrants' educational possibilities, especially in the fields of secondary vocational education. Courses of Finnish language are arranged systematically, and a system named training education is developed for facilitating access of immigrants to secondary education. Training education aims at developing immigrants' learning capabilities within the Finnish educational system (language skills, general understanding of society and social policy etc.). Still, it seems that something important remains unnoticed as the strategies and recommendations do not reach minority youth's educational paths in a successful way, as we can deduce when analyzing figures of national statistics and comparisons presented in Table 12.1.

However, recent educational policies have paid attention to the risk of immigrant students' educational drop out, which is three times larger than that of the native students (The Finnish National Board of Education 2010). The National Board of Education has financed several developmental projects in order to prevent immigrant students from dropping out, especially during

secondary education. In addition, special study counseling practices for minority pupils have been formed, and in tertiary education an intensive aim to make both the curricula and student population much more international.

The current increase of especially youth with immigrant background in Finland has inspired researchers to turn their attention and interest towards issues of multicultural education, intercultural learning and cultural diversity in everyday encounters in schools (e.g. Räsänen et al. 2002; Teräs et al. 2010; Souto 2011). However, research in this area has been interested mainly in institutions and practices of primary education. Racism has, to a certain extent, been a topic in sociological research of primary education (in terms of pupil interaction, Souto 2011), and in didactic analyses of cultural conflicts in classrooms, as well as pupils of immigrant background with "learning difficulties" as problems for teachers' work (e.g. Räsänen et al. 2002). Overall, in Finland any scientific empirical research and evaluations concerning the field of secondary education has been carried out just recently. Even though studies concerning young people's attitudes in Finland endorse and confirm the result that native pupils of secondary vocational education have the most negative attitudes towards immigrants (e.g. The National Youth Barometer 2005), youth researchers/ethnographers have not decided to step into vocational schools until recently. The concepts of racism or anti-racism are explicitly mentioned as research topics only casually.

In spite of many renewals, we also have to emphasize that at the turn of the third millennium the rational of economic policy began to have predominance and hegemony over other social policies (Jauhiainen et al. 2001). "Requirements of labor markets" as a dominating, discursive reference conditioned also educational strategies and visions. Now this discourse has found its way to the latest *Developmental Plan for Education* (2017–2021) and turned into recommendations to speed up individual students learning paths and graduations. Education *an sich* is not valuable anymore, while its economic, instrumental function begins to dominate. This means that, for example, vocational studies that formerly took three years to achieve are expected to last now only two. For a student, who can have incomplete Finnish language skills, this hastening trend may cause consequential and prejudicial difficulties.

Methodology

We started to seek literature for our review from the national information database of libraries by using key words inequality, racism, anti-racism, discrimination, ethnicity, minorities, immigration, and secondary education.

The very first notion in this search was that in Finland there seems to be a systematic tendency to avoid the use of term "racism" when education or educational policy is under scrutiny – probably because of the negative connotation of the concept (Souto 2011). Hence we had subsequently to loosen our searching criteria and include in our data studies and reports that somehow deal with ethnic minority students who have completed primary education and then check if some notes concerning discrimination have been presented. We also had to give up the idea of seeking just sociological research because attention to secondary education has been mainly paid in the fields of pedagogical sciences. In this way, we ended up to one dissertation (concerning Finland though made in Oxford), four research articles, four descriptive and summary reports or memos of different ministries or municipalities, and one sociological statement against ethnic discrimination. Below there is a list of these texts, one of which has been published in English and the rest in Finnish.

A dissertation of sociology:

- *The Education of Children of Immigrants in Finland* (2010)

Research articles:

- *Vähemmistö, kieli ja rasismi* [Minority, language and racism] (1988)
- *Kahden opetuskulttuurin kohtaaminen: Venäjänkieliset opiskelijat toisen asteen opinnoissa* [Encounters in-between two teaching cultures: Russian speaking students in secondary education] (2001)
- *Elämää Suomessa: Venäjänkielisten nuorten naisten kokemuksia ja tulevaisuudennäkymiä* [Life in Finland: Russian speaking young women's experiences and future plans] (2007)
- *Maahanmuuttajien lasten siirtymät koulutukseen ja työelämään* [Immigrant children's transitions to education and working life] (2010)

National or municipal reports or memos:

- *Maahanmuuttajanuoret toisen asteen koulutuksessa* [Immigrant students in secondary education] (1999)
- *Romaniasioiden hallintotyöryhmän muistio* [A memo of an administrative working group for Roma issues] (2001)
- *Romanien pitkä matka työn markkinoille* [Roma people's long journey to labor market] (2008)
- *Maahanmuuttajaoppilaat ja koulutus* [Immigrant students and education] (2008)

A critical statement, discussion:

- *Toisen sukupolven koulumenestyksen ymmärtäminen ja tutkiminen Suomessa* [Understanding and studying educational achievements of the second generation immigrants in Finland] (2010)

It is noteworthy to outline that in most of the studies we found immigrant youth and young people representing ethnic minorities (e.g. Roma people, Sami people) are mainly seen as "student at risk *an sich*" (because of their non-Finnish backgrounds), and their educational exclusion has been made visible in a statistical sense (numbers of drop outs, educational failure). Thus the way how racism and discrimination are treated, if they are treated at all, had to be found implicitly almost between the lines. For this analysis, the main approaching lines of the research or discussion we found are categorized in the following way:

- Studies based on an idea of cultural conflicts (that "automatically" cause learning and teaching problems) – it has been supposed that living between two cultures and two languages cause problems for immigrant youth who are victims of unhappy circumstances *per se.*
- Studies figuring life-courses of "excluded or self-excluded immigrants".
- Statements concentrating on everyday interaction and everyday racism in schools – this is just a new trend with only slight addressing which has risen along with the general notions of emerging racism towards immigrants.

In the following chapter we make a critical assessment into this rare research concerning ethnic plurality and discrimination in the fields of secondary education. It is noteworthy that this research has been conducted almost exclusively among vocational education students. Behind this trend there might be an assumption that minority students automatically "must go" to vocational education, which is the culturally less valued choice in Finland (Käyhkö 2006). This can be seen as a serious shortcoming as many studies have shown that immigrant youth usually have a very positive attitude towards schooling in general and high schooling especially (e.g. Ministry of Education and Culture 2016).

Ethnicity and Educational Inequality in Finland

Non-Finnish Backgrounds of Students as a Pedagogical and Didactic Problem?

The main research questions behind the analyses read for this section can be condensed as following: What kinds of problems do students' of minority backgrounds cause to the Finnish educational system and its institutions – and how should the system react to solve these problems? In multicultural conditions uniform services and practices become insufficient, and cultural diversity is easily manifested as a challenge, obstacle or problem (Ålund 1991; Heywood 2007; Ahponen et al. 2011). This discursive tendency can clearly be seen in, for example, the ways of research funding in Finland: as immigration is something to be governed by different social policies, research money is allocated to those who are promising practical 'problem-solving'. The approach stressing "multi-ethnicity as challenge" thus creates the mainstream research of immigration and cultural minorities in Finland, as well as the research concerning multi-ethnicity in education.

The perspective of problem solving, and ethnic minority students as challenges for teaching, is a frame for five studies analyzed for this article: (1) *Encounters in-between two teaching cultures: Russian speaking students in secondary education* (Iskanius 2001), (2) *Immigrant students in secondary education* (Romakkaniemi 1999), (3) *A memo of an administrative working group for Roma issues* (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2001), (4) *Immigrant students and education* (Ministry of Education 2008), and (5) *The Education of Children of Immigrants in Finland* (Kilpi 2010). The first one is based on a questionnaire filled in by teachers (n = 30), the others have used large national quantitative datasets as bases for analyses. Besides, quantitative reasoning is supplemented by qualitative interview data in these studies, except the one of Iskanius (2001). Answers have been sought by inviting some teachers from secondary education to reflect their teaching experiences, by collecting nationwide information concerning immigrant or Roma students' educational achievements (diploma numbers), their educational choices and progress, their drop-out proportions, as well as their school experiences as students in Finland (Kilpi-Jakonen 2011).

A lack of sufficient language skills seems to be one main theme in these studies that aim at proving the challenging nature of minority youth in sec-

ondary education. One conclusion presented is that reliable language skill tests for young non-Finns could work as a guarantee for teachers to get students, who would be capable enough to study in Finnish – and would thus not cause any extra burden on the everyday arrangements of teaching. In addition, the concept of learning culture raises questions for pedagogues concerning students' adaptation. From their point of view minority youth are located in-between two different learning cultures and thus have difficulties in adapting to the Finnish way to be at school. These difficulties are explained with cultural differences in growing up to self-discipline, punctuality, and personal autonomy; it is seen that even though education is valued in immigrant families, their youth lack the needed degree of autonomy, in order to take independent care of their studies. It is assumed then that this leads to immigrants' low educational outcomes, as described in national statistics.

The question of language is crucial also in studies focusing on Roma and Sami students at school (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2001). Here, however, the arguments are the opposite: the fundamental rights of Roma and Sami students to study in their own native languages and the lack of competent teachers, as well as proper learning material, are emphasized. From this perspective, the linguistic inequalities are treated as a human right problem and defined as a strategy of structural discrimination, where ethnicity as Finns is denied or passed, in particular in relationship to the Roma. In addition, these analyses also call for recognition of ethnic equality at the school. This surely is an important notion as the educational exclusion of Roma youth in Finland has a long history (e.g. Markkanen 2003).

The city of Helsinki is managing educational services to the biggest group of immigrant students in Finland. Helsinki is also one of the rare municipalities, who have invested in covering, local follow-up research concerning immigrant youth's educational progress and problems (Romakkaniemi 1999). From this research we can see, for example, that even 30 percent of immigrant youth fall off from educational services and do not finish the compulsory period between 7 and 16 years (the same number among native Finnish youth is less than 10 percent). The biggest ethnic group among these drop-outs is formed by Somali immigrants, whose position in Finland, anyway, is precarious and who are socially rejected – the statistics show how difficult for them is to become employed and how the attitudes towards them among Finns are much more negative than towards other groups of immigrants (Sabour 1999). However, when teachers and administrative staff of education were interviewed, they did not talk about rejection – or group-based inequality – but more about "wrong educational choices" of immigrant youth, about a lack of

proper student counseling, and about a need for more intensive individual support that should be offered to immigrant students.

The Ministry of Education (now the Ministry of Education and Culture), being an operator of the state level, has presented a system level investigation concerning immigrant students' educational achievements, their educational choices, and their possibilities in labor market after secondary education (2008). The analysis has its basis in the welfare state principle of educational equality. The scrutiny is leaning on the idea that the educational system should be improved so that it could answer to very different needs of very different students. It also pays attention to many prevailing grievances noted in the system that lead students to unequal outcomes and positions. This inequality is demonstrated clearly also by Kilpi's (2010) results that show a plain difference in native and immigrant students' diploma numbers – which, then, have a fateful significance when student places of tertiary education are contested and applied for. The national statistics show that in every school subject native students reach significantly higher grades than they immigrant fellows. Even though these numbers show a clear structural tendency of inequality, the researchers of the Ministry end up to recommendations where individual immigrants and their counselors are put in charge and no glance are turned to the fateful, discriminative practices of educational everyday life – as was the case also in the Helsinki-report mentioned above.

To sum up: This branch of researches has a strong didactic tone with a focus on multicultural encounters between teachers and pupils. The ideas of difference and misunderstanding are guiding the definitions of problems and efforts to solve them. Answers are sought from individual guidance and support given to individual students. However, this kind of reasoning becomes relatively slight when it concentrates much attention on individual students and disregards structural, everyday discrimination which could marginalize certain and same minorities in a systematic way.

Educational Pathways of Marginalized Life-Courses

The main research questions behind the analyses read for this section can be condensed as following: What kinds of challenges minority students encounter during their educational careers and how could they be supported in facing these challenges? The theme of risky life-circumstances of immigrants can be recognized as a research focus behind at least three of the studies we found for this article: (1) *Immigrant students and education* (Ministry of Education 2008, mentioned also in the previous sub-chapter), (2) *Roma people's long*

journey to labor market (Ministry of Labor 2008), and (3) *Immigrant children's transitions to education and working life* (Teräs et al. 2010). The gravid concern behind these analyses is that because it is expected that the cultural difference of minority students will create educational, pedagogic, and didactic problems that remain unsolved, this causes the minority youth's marginalized positions in the different "markets" of society. Thus, this branch of research is based on the idea that careful tracing of the experiences of those considered as vulnerable would help in preventing educational marginalization that is quite fateful in a society that appreciates educational diplomas above all. These analyses have been conducted by using national follow-up statistics and some complementary, qualitative interviews.

When examining life-courses, the theoretical concept of transition is important. Transitions are phases where many far-reaching choices are made – and where the young ones are the most vulnerable. Transition phases between different educational stages are defined as the most important phases of choice in youth's lives (Herranen and Harinen 2007). The studies analyzed for this article examine transitions from primary school to secondary school, and transitions from vocational education to labor market. The scrutiny leans on statistical information concerning individual life-courses, and also shows the marginalizing educational "choices" of ethnic minorities. Here, again, Roma and Somali youth seem to be posed in the most vulnerable social positions as their educational paths become closed much more systematically than those of the others. Thus these studies, again, lead to think about systematic excluding patterns of school-going – but the solutions presented in reports we analyzed are pedagogic and didactic. They, however, do not just put the blame on immigrants or other minorities (or on their culture) and do not oblige only them but also challenge the system to react and take care that there are enough supporting institutional structures and services to support the "vulnerable ones" in their important life-course transitions (as was the case within almost all of the reports we read).

In spite of the recommended supporting arrangements, especially the transition where the compulsory (primary) education ends seems to be prone to educational drop-outs. Negative and bitter experience from school life can cumulate towards a decision not to continue school-going after the compulsory phase. This cumulative effect of bitterness can be recognized also in studies analyzed for this article. But it is, however, noteworthy that in spite of qualitative interviews where, for example, immigrant students report experiences of becoming targets of bullying at school, some of the researchers eagerly tend to seek explanations to minorities' educational (and later to their labor market) exclusion from their ethnic backgrounds, or from the supposed

conflict between their cultural attitudes and the Finnish educational system (Teräs et al. 2010). These explanations seem to have weight: immigrant students' positive attitudes towards school-going reported in research data are not enough to open up the "sociological eyes". It seems that it would be analytically more adequate to avoid overemphasizing cultural reasoning and seek explanations also from feelings of alienation and exclusive relationships from everyday life at school (cf. Souto 2011).

It is the most noteworthy that, again, the themes of bullying and rejecting in these life-course studies are almost only discussed (or actually slightly referred to) when the analysis focuses on Roma students. This rarity seems to reveal one Finnish national unfortunate policy in dealing with minorities: There is a historical echo from the era when the main and explicit aim of education was to hide all ethnic differences and make all children "decent Finns". This happened especially with Roma and Sami people (Rahikainen 1994, 41–49). The studies where Roma students are concerned contain references to bullying, discrimination and even racism exercised by teachers that other reports do not mention.

To sum up: By using statistical information this branch of researches draws images of educational pathways of minority youth. Attention is paid to transitions (e.g. from primary education to secondary education) where especially immigrant and Roma youth more systematically than the others tend to drop out schooling. This is an important notion as in the Finnish learning society failure in secondary education seems to be the strongest predictor of future problems in individual life courses.

Ethnic Discrimination in Secondary Education

The main research questions behind the analyses read for this section can be condensed as following: How does discrimination impact on minority students' school going? In spite of some slight referring to discriminative treatment towards Roma students, the lack of empirical research concerning direct exclusion in secondary education in Finland is very obvious. Furthermore, nation-wide analyses that show ethnic minority youth's vulnerable positions in national educational and labor market lead to conclude and call for a necessity of new kinds of methodological approaches in research of educational equality. The term ethnic discrimination was mentioned or reflected only in four texts analyzed for this article: (1) *Minority, language and racism* (Skutnabb-Kangas et al. 1988), (2) *Life in Finland: Russian speaking young women's experiences and future plans* (Juutilainen 2007), (3) *Roma people's long journey to*

labor market (Ministry of Labor 2008, mentioned also, and presented, in the previous sub-chapter), and (4) *Understanding and studying educational achievements of the second generation immigrants in Finland* (Markkanen 2010).

The first examination mentioned above does not concentrate on secondary education and not just on the Finnish society but it can be noted as one of the earliest texts discussing minority children's education in Finland. This scrutiny does not contain any systematic empirical analysis (Skutnabb-Kangas et al. 1988) but was done before the "immigration decade" of Finland (the 1990s), and that is why it is very interesting to note that racism is mentioned explicitly even in the title of the writing that concentrates on the question how to grow up as a bilingual person. Here, however, discrimination is examined loosely in the wider context; within the ethnocentrically-oriented Nordic tradition that seems to grant low credit and consideration to all what is culturally, linguistically and racially 'strange'.

The second study mentioned above (Juutilainen 2007) is not actually focusing on education but the informants of the analysis (young Russian immigrant women), when describing their future plans a and dreams, also reported many negative school memories. In the research interviews where young immigrants' future visions were collected, the interviewees told how experiences at school where they had been victims and targets of bullying, teasing, naming, framing and violence, had affected their school-going and lowered their educational motivation which during the first school years had been intensive and high. Also these notions from Juutilainen's research data imply a need for data collection that would open up everyday relations of the educational reality.

An important question to be formulated is: Why researchers in Finland do not underline openly the possible existence racism even though their data would carry many clues towards these kinds of interpretations? This can be explained maybe by a policy level choice – to be passive is to fade out the problem? (Harinen et al. 2009.) However, the last text presented in this chapter seems to be an incitation for opening up of a discussion, where reality even when is "bold" and "ugly" it can be pronounced aloud (Markkanen 2010). *Understanding and studying educational achievements of the second generation immigrants in Finland* is a critical statement, where the idea that minority youth's educational outcomes are always seen as reflections of their ethnic backgrounds is strongly questioned. Markkanen makes no empirical analysis but suggests to researchers of education and educational equality to revise their culturalistic assumptions where ethnic background is posed as the most explaining variable when analyzing differences of educational experiences, choices, and outcomes. This incitation has both conceptual (approach related)

and methodological implications when stating that in statistical analyses strongly preconceived variables begin to dominate the process and produce results that are in line with the hypothetic categories set beforehand – even though we may ask whether these kinds of results tell much more about the possible discriminative and selective attitudes which may exist amongst some spheres in the host society than minorities' cultures or ethnicities *an sich*.

To sum up: This branch of researches pays special attention to educational inequality as a socially produced and maintained process both in the macro and micro levels of communities. The everyday school life analyses show that minority youth are easily stigmatized with a stamp of difference and deviance. Statistical information, on its part, denotes that minority youth are facing much more educational risks (e.g. drop outs) than others. However, a slight change seems to happen in case of the so called second generation immigrants, who manage at school better than their predecessors.

Conclusion

The goal of this paper has been to describe and categorize the contemporary research concerning ethnic relations and inequality in the fields of Finnish secondary education. Minority youth has been absent from Finnish schools until the recent decades, and we are only now witnessing a wake-up of sociologists to pay scientific attention to ethnic and cultural diversity of schools and their actors. This indicates why it was hard to find data for our analysis and this notion is also the content of our main critics: the Finnish learning society obviously needs a more intensive assessment of its schools and to their ethnic diversification, from the perspective of critical sociology of education.

As the amount of data remained so thin, no special paradigms of research could be classified for this article. We have categorized the research according to three branches. The first one looks at the phenomenon pedagogically and didactically, from the point of view of encounters and confrontations of "different ones" (Finnish teachers and minority students). It is assumed that multi-ethnicity in schools provides challenges in both parties, and the educational system needs to seek for solutions towards equal possibilities of learning. The second branch is showing us statistics of minority youth's educational risks that seem to be more numerous than those of native students. The third branch of research, finally, has a more sociological perspective while paying attention to cultural processes of everyday relations in school life. Still, it is notable that secondary education itself has been the frame of scrutiny only in a couple of analyses.

Finnish educational system emphasizes the values and ideals of educational equalities in a learning society. However, when comparing the national research results with the educational policy strategies campaigning for educational equality, it is noticeable that the noble principles do not always meet educational practices and outcomes. This notion indicates a lack of understanding that would enhance the required changes in both policies and practices of education and school-going. Especially we can recognize a lack of research concerning everyday life relationships in secondary education. In reaching this understanding, teachers' teaching experiences do not seem to be sufficient: multicultural classes are not just didactic spaces, as for young people school means much more than just a place for formal learning. School is a place where peer group memberships and friendships are created and tested, and where the feelings of social belonging or isolation are born (Ziehe 1991; Antikainen et al. 2011, 132–133). These issues have already been studied in Finnish primary education institutions, also from the perspective of multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity (e.g. Tolonen 2001; Souto 2011), but not yet in high and vocational schools.

Furthermore, when we are discussing educational marginalization in a learning society, attention needs to be paid not only to confrontations in everyday life at school but also to the indirect and structural discrimination that is enhanced by comparative research which tends to explain ethnic minorities' low educational outcomes with their ethnic backgrounds. As Bourdieu (1986) and Bernstein (1996) have prompted, educational institutions in Western societies are ideological institutions that favor middle class "mainstream" population. Thus, critical sociological approach is needed where attention would be paid to ethnic minorities' manifold social inequality, which becomes culminated in their descendants' educational outcomes.

Still, in the Finnish sociology of education, an important share of academic discussion that has been taking place is mainly concerned with the question of whether educational choices are individual choices at all – or is it actually the societal system that chooses people to proper places in society, and using the educational system when doing this structural, selective work (see Antikainen et al. 2011). In this regard the classical theories of Bourdieu (1977) and Bernstein (1975) can provide an appropriate approach for illuminating this structural selection, where students' socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds become factors for hierarchical selections, which have their roots in the class structure of society. Although the critical sociology of education has a long tradition also in Finland, researches tackling ethnic inequalities are still reluctant to appropriate this kind of scrutiny where ethnic discrimination is seen as a means to maintain the unequal hierarchies of class society (Himanen and Könönen 2010).

It goes without saying that the Finnish educational policy has not given up its aims of equality in front of quite frustrating results. Aspirations to develop the system and its institutions, as well as its practices to offer individual support for individual students in various difficulties have been continuous and purposeful. Now, however, it seems that the contemporary neo-liberal educational policy is changing the systemic vocation and course: especially the shortened graduation times in secondary education mean extra difficulties for students with foreign mother languages. They can easily become stigmatized as special cases (with "learning difficulties"), who need special treatment, and who will face enormous obstacles in competing for studying places in tertiary education through selective entrance exam. Because. The Finnish language is crucial in this regard. Applicants from immigration background can find themselves in a disadvantaged situation in achieving success and entry to university. The evaluation of "learning difficulties" tends to predict increasing drop-out numbers – unhappy fates in a society that classifies its members according their educational successes. Thus, an extra question could be asked: How much today's educational policies themselves are producing and maintaining, consciously or unconsciously, indirect ethnic discrimination and generate something that can be called "ethnic punishments" (Teräs et al. 2010, 88)?

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2008) share this concern while criticizing the contemporary sociological mainstream for its commitments to nation-state frames and for the hidden nationalistic aspirations of its methodological solutions. They take a questioning stand towards this approach called methodological nationalism. This is the basic adjustment recognized also in Sanna Markkanen's statement we found for this analysis. Markkanen argues for the opening of a new path for new kinds of questions in research of educational equality (no more plain ethnic comparisons) and challenges researchers to participate in an inevitable ethnographic work in the middle of the everyday encounters of secondary education (cf. Souto 2011). The same possibilities to participate do not mean same possibilities to success. Statistics have already shown that something has gone wrong.

The researches we have analyzed for this chapter contains many references to the fact that especially immigrants' attitudes towards schooling are very positive and they express high expectations from their education – so this is not the problem. Further, the structural nature of discrimination can be seen in statistics that report, for example, Roma and Somali people's regular educational marginalization in Finland. In the light of this it is expected that future policy will tackle how everyday patterns, on their part, produce, maintain, and support this systematic exclusion.

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France: The Increasing Recognition of Migration and Ethnicity as a Source of Educational Inequalities

Mathieu Ichou and Agnès van Zanten

Introduction

Racial and ethnic inequalities remain an underdeveloped area of research in France. This situation can mainly be attributed to the fact that researchers have been strongly influenced, on the one hand, by a political model of integration (presented in more detail in section "Integration Models and Policies") that has led France 'to ignore itself as a country of immigration' (Noiriel 1988) and encouraged a color-blind approach to social reality (Lorcerie 1994a) and, on the other hand, by Marxist political and scientific perspectives giving central importance to class in the study of society.

However, since the 1980s, due to important changes in the immigrant population and in policy towards immigrants, as well as to the arrival of a new generation of researchers and the growing internationalization of French research, the number of studies in this domain has increased and diversified. There are nevertheless very few reviews of the existing scientific literature (Lorcerie 1995, 2003, 2011; Payet 2003; Payet and van Zanten 1996; van Zanten 1997b; Dhume 2011; Dhume et al. 2011; Safi 2013) and only one in

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English (van Zanten 1997a). Therefore, the following critical survey, based on a systematic sampling of the literature and covering more than 35 years of research, including very recent studies, should prove useful to various, and especially anglophone, audiences. Our review effort builds on the 2014 edition of this chapter and updates it by including more recent research up until 2017. Rather than fundamentally changing the structure of the field of study on ethnic inequality in education, recent scholarship has enriched and deepened existing research traditions, already identified in the 2014 edition.

National Context

This section presents a brief overview of the French educational system, the history and current state of immigration in France, and developments in policy models that directly or indirectly affect ethnic inequalities in education.

The French Educational System

Since 1959, education in France has been compulsory for children aged six to 16, although virtually all children begin preschool at age three (Ministère de l'Education nationale 2011, p. 81). Primary school is common to all pupils and lasts five years, unless pupils are required to repeat one or more years as can happen in both primary and secondary schools. At age 11, on average, pupils enter a comprehensive four-year lower secondary school called *collège*. By default, pupils are assigned to the local *collège* but under certain conditions parents can choose another school (see section "Ethnic School Segregation and Educational Inequalities (ESSEI)"). At the end of lower secondary school, pupils aged about 15 are assigned to different types of upper secondary school tracks based on their level of academic achievement, as well as on their own preferences and that of their families. Higher achievers usually enter the academic or technological track of upper secondary school (*lycée*), while lower achievers usually enter a vocational *lycée* or an apprenticeship (Fig. 13.1).

After three years of upper secondary school, pupils can take an exam called the *baccalauréat*, which serves both as a certificate of completion and as an entry permit to higher education. Depending on their chosen track, pupils will take the academic baccalaureate (*baccalauréat général*), the technological baccalaureate (*baccalauréat technologique*) or the vocational baccalaureate (*baccalauréat professionnel*), the latter created in 1985. Each year, around 65% of the cohort obtains a *baccalauréat* (Ministère de l'Education nationale 2011,

| NURSERY SCHOOL | PRIMARY SCHOOL | LOWER SEC. SCHOOL | UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL | | HIGHER EDUCATION |
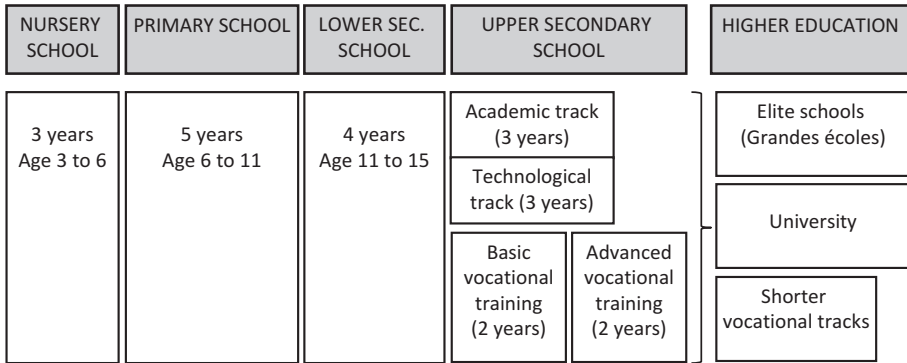
Fig. 13.1   The French educational system

p. 241). Although all three types of *baccalauréat* officially grant access to higher education, they are actually strongly stratified both academically and socially (Ichou and Vallet 2011): academic *baccalauréat* holders disproportionately come from upper- or middle-class backgrounds and usually enter university or take preparatory classes leading to the *Grandes Ecoles*; technological *baccalauréat* holders, often from lower-middle-class origins, most frequently pursue short vocational tracks in higher education, while pupils who hold a vocational *baccalauréat* generally enter the labor market directly after completion. At both primary and secondary school levels, the private sector caters for a significant share of the student body. In 2010, 13.4% of primary school pupils and 21.3% of secondary school pupils were schooled in the private sector (Ministère de l'Education nationale 2011, pp. 75, 95). The public comparison of schools, through league tables, is much less developed than in other countries such as the UK, but a few magazines publish yearly upper secondary schools (*lycée*) rankings. These unofficial rankings, mostly based on data from the French Ministry of Education, are used by some middle- and upper-class parents to inform their *lycée* choices.

Immigration in France

France has long been a country of immigration. The earliest waves of immigration started long before World War II and came from Eastern and Southern Europe. After the war, the dramatic need for manual workers drove a rise in labor migration. Until the mid-1970s, most immigrants to France were men from Southern Europe (Italy, Portugal, Spain) and North Africa (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia). After the mid-1970s, family reunification and, to a lesser

extent, political and labor migration have been the main reasons for immigration from Southern Europe and North Africa, as well as Turkey, sub-Saharan Africa (Senegal, Mali, Ivory Coast, etc.), Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam), and China. Immigrants from Northern Africa, most sub-Saharan African countries and Southeast Asia come from former French colonies. A recent survey shows that, among all adult residents in France, 10% are immigrants and 12% are children of one or two immigrant parents (Lhommeau and Simon 2010, p. 13). The proportion of children of immigrants is higher among the population aged between 3 and 18, as shown in Table 13.1.

Integration Models and Policies

Since the 19th century, European countries have embraced ideological models of integration based on the belief of the nation-state as an organic entity, which alone can hold together the diversity of people, including different ethnic groups, sharing the same territory. Each country has nevertheless adapted these models to specific political, social, and cultural configurations. France has introduced and maintained relatively unchanged what is known as the 'Republican model of integration' (Lapeyronnie 1993; Favell 2001, 2003; Browne 2009). This model is characterized by the importance given to individual rather than collective participation, by the central role attributed to rational allegiance and political membership, as opposed to blood and group membership, and by an emphasis on universalism rather than cultural differences (Schnapper 1991). As discussed below, this model, which gives a central role to the integrative function of institutions, and particularly schools, has

Table 13.1 Proportion of children of immigrants in the school age population (from 3 to 18 years old) in 2009, according to their parents' country of birth

	% of the population aged 3 to 18	% of children of immigrants aged 3 to 18
Native parents	**74.9**	
Immigrant parents	**25.1**	**100.0**
Mixed (one native parent)	14.3	56.8
Rest of Europe	1.8	7.3
North Africa	4.0	15.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	2.3	9.3
Turkey	1.1	4.5
Southeast Asia	0.3	1.4
Other regions	1.2	4.8

Source: Trajectoires et Origines survey (TeO), 2008–2009, INED-INSEE; authors' calculations

profoundly influenced educational policies until today (Raveaud 2008; Lorcerie 2010).

Authors such as van Zanten (1997a) have pointed out that this model has persisted despite its inability to take into account important changes in French society and in immigration patterns after the 1970s. The Republican model was conceived to integrate regional groups and immigrants who came mainly from Europe or from the French colonies, that is, from countries where the national culture was either relatively close to French culture or still partly dominated by it. Today the immigrant population is composed of a large number of immigrants from non-EU countries. In addition, the form of assimilation promoted by the Republican model was made possible by the fact that even though immigrants occupied lower-status jobs in the industrial and construction sectors, they were integrated into an expanding economy of full employment and, a significant proportion of them, into workers' trade unions and associations as well (Dubet 1989; Tripier 1990; Body-Gendrot 1995). The situation is entirely different in a period of economic recession and growing unemployment. Still another change concerns ethnic segregation. Since the late 1970s, the departure of the white middle classes and, later, the white working classes from social housing areas in urban peripheries has contributed to the increase of urban segregation.

This situation has generated more complex patterns of immigrant integration. Two studies, one based on the examination of existing statistical data and studies by Dubet (1989) and a second, based on an original research by Tribalat (1995), found a large degree of cultural assimilation among most immigrant groups with respect to cultural practices and a relatively high level of political participation among second-generation immigrants, especially among Algerian youngsters, but limited social mobility and access to the job market for most groups. Working from a perspective inspired by the work of Alejandro Portes and his colleagues (Portes and Zhou 1993) in the United States, Safi (2006) has shown the existence of three distinctive patterns of integration in French society: (1) upward assimilation characterizes the situation of Spaniards who show great levels of cultural assimilation, socio-economic mobility and social mix; (2) downward assimilation characterizes that of Africans and, to a lesser extent, of individuals from Maghreb, who show high levels of cultural assimilation but low levels of socio-economic mobility; and (3) cultural pluralism characterizes the situation of Asian and, to a lesser extent, of Turkish immigrants. This third pattern is the most conflicting with the premises of the Republican model of integration both because socio-economic integration and upward mobility are accompanied by the preservation of group-specific cultural traits and because community networks

and resources seem to play a more important role than state institutions, including schools.

Methodology

We have systematically sampled all the sociologically relevant peer-reviewed articles, books, edited books, and official reports on the subject of ethnic or racial inequalities in French secondary education from 1980 to 2017. We also adopted a flexible approach when appropriate. This flexibility proved especially important in two instances. First, while focusing on the secondary school level, we also included relevant research on primary school when we considered it particularly noteworthy or necessary to the understanding of pupils' situations in secondary school. Secondly, we sometimes included articles from non-peer-reviewed journals when they met high scientific standards and significantly contributed to the understanding of the subject matter.

In line with Stevens (2007) and Stevens et al. (2011), our sampling procedure consisted of three main stages. First, using systematic queries, we searched bibliographical databases, including two that are international (ERIC and Sociological Abstracts) and two that are French (CAIRN and Persée).[1] The second step consisted in identifying a relevant sample of French scientific journals from 1980 to 2017 and systematically examining their tables of contents for relevant articles. We considered three types of journals: high profile general sociological journals, journals focused on the sociology of education, and journals focused on the sociology of migration and ethnicity.[2] Third, we inspected the bibliographic references contained in the articles found in the two previous steps to identify even more relevant works for review.

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[1] The queries were made using the Boolean logic allowed by the searchable databases. French and English keywords were successively used as follows: in French, (race OR racial* OR ethni* OR *migr*) AND (inégalité*) AND (éducation OR école OR collège OR lycée) AND (France OR français*); in English, (race OR racial* OR ethni* OR *migr*) AND (inequal*) AND (education OR school OR college) AND (France OR French). The asterisk (*) means 'any character.' The CAIRN and Persée databases do not allow as much flexibility and complexity in the query structure. Multiple queries using combinations of the above keywords were therefore carried out in the latter databases.

[2] In total, we included 12 journals. The general sociology journals are the *Revue française de sociologie, Actes de la recherche en Sciences sociales, Sociétés contemporaines, L'Année sociologique, Sociologie, Ethnologie française, Population*, and *Revue européenne des sciences sociales*. The sociology of education journals are *Revue française de pédagogie* and *Education et sociétés*. The *Revue européenne des migrations internationales* focuses on the sociology of migration and ethnicity, while *Ville-Ecole-Intégration Diversité* (whose name has changed several times, with the first and longest lasting one being *Migrants-Formation*) is at the crossroads of migration and education studies. The latter journal is the only non-peer-reviewed journal in our literature review, included because it contains numerous relevant articles.

This sampling approach resulted in identifying a large body of research, which can be categorized into five research traditions: (1) structures, curriculum, and policies for minority students (SCPM); (2) family background and ethnic inequalities in education (FBEI); (3) limited educational resources of ethnic minority families (LEREM); (4) ethnic school segregation and educational inequalities (ESSEI); and (5) ethnic relations in classrooms and schools (ERCS).

Ethnicity and Educational Inequality in France

Structures, Curriculum, and Policies for Minority Students

In this section we present research studies that have analyzed how the language, culture, religion, and educational problems of ethnic minority pupils have been integrated in the policies, curricula, and social order of schools. We analyze to what extent these policies reflect the Republican model of 'indifference to (ethnic) differences' and examine their intended and unintended consequences.

Language and Culture

A prime example of the limited recognition of cultural differences by the French system is the way in which the linguistic and cultural problems of immigrant children have been addressed. The existence of linguistic 'initiation' and 'adaptation' classes was officialized in 1970. However, because the creation of these classes was seen as a breach of the Republican model and because policymakers feared that they might have negative effects on the school trajectories of immigrant children, they were treated as temporary structures both within the system and for children themselves. Until 1995, when new programs and methods on French as a second language were developed, these classes used and adapted syllabi designed for teaching French as a foreign language even though the linguistic problems of immigrant children were frequently very different in nature (Cortier 2007). Unsurprisingly, the intercultural materials and activities that they produced and used were also quite poor and regarded with suspicion (Berque 1985; Lorcerie 1995). As a result, these structures have occupied a marginalized place in the system and contributed in turn to marginalize ethnic minority children (Berque 1985; Lazaridis 2001).

In 1973, ELCO (*Enseignement des langues et des cultures d'origine*) classes were also created offering linguistic and cultural courses in the children's native tongue taught by teachers from their native countries and funded by foreign governments. However, the initial aim of these classes was not to promote cultural differences but to prepare for immigrants' return to their home country. After they were requalified as structures aiming to promote immigrant students' integration in French society, they were accused of being used by Muslim countries to transmit the religious principles of Islam and to foster anti-French sentiment among Muslim pupils. Researchers have nevertheless shown that although there are strong variations in the types of courses provided, due to differences between countries in the political role and interpretation of Islam and little administrative control over teachers and their pedagogical practices, the existence of indoctrination mechanisms has been greatly exaggerated (Barou 1995; Lorcerie 1994b, 2010).

As concerns the presence of elements of the culture of origin of ethnic minority children in national mainstream curricula, researchers have pointed out the limited space provided for the presentation of Arab-Islamic civilizations and Islam and for the history of immigration in history programs and textbooks (Lorcerie 1988, 2010). The history of colonialism continues to be presented from the perspective of France with a focus on its positive effects but more room has been made for the voices of the colonized and their demands for greater recognition (De Cock 2012). The curricula of geography and of economic and social sciences (the latter only taught in one upper secondary school track) present a slightly more accurate representation of migration processes (Falaize 2007).

Researchers have also shown that immigrants are generally presented in a positive but instrumental perspective, as an economic asset for France, in history, geography, and civic education textbooks, and that racism is analyzed as a phenomena belonging to colonial history or to other countries such as South Africa. They also point out that in textbook images immigrants are presented in ways that tend to degrade them, are associated with poverty, suffering, persecution and war, or are just 'invisible' (i.e. presented in the dark or represented by a symbol) (Roussier-Fusco 2007; Lavin 2007). However, although little is known about the effects of curricula and textbooks on students' knowledge and representations of immigrants, Baccaïni and Gani (1999) found that 54% of secondary school students, including a significant (39%) proportion of ethnic minority students, of lower-class students in technological tracks and of students in private schools, think that immigrants contribute to unemployment among the native population.

Religion and the Wearing of Hijabs in Schools

The recognition of non-Christian religions in French schools has attracted a great deal of attention. What is known as the 'hijabs' or 'headscarves' affair started in 1989 and has undergone three phases (de Galembert 2009). The first controversy started in 1989 following the exclusion of three veiled Muslim girls from a *lycée.* It ended after the *Conseil d'Etat* rendered a judgment reminding the French public that civil servants must remain neutral in all their official responsibilities but not the clients – in this case, the students – followed by a decree from the minister of education reaffirming the secular nature of the school system but advising discussion and consultation with students and their families to find a negotiated solution (Wayland 1997; Limage 2000).

Local conflicts continued to occur but the second controversy only started in 1994 when a new minister of education issued a decree stating that 'ostentatious symbols' of religion should be banned from schools. This decree was followed by a limited number of exclusions, some of which were declared void by administrative judges. The third and currently last controversy started in 2003 when a law was passed allowing head teachers to exclude students wearing a headscarf if that symbol was perceived as disrupting the normal functioning of the school. Although this law has not given way to a significant number of exclusions, it has encouraged some immigrant parents to plead discrimination before the HALDE (Haute Autorité contre les discriminations et pour l'égalité)*,* an independent administrative authority created in 2005 and replaced by the Défenseur des droits (DDD) in 2011.

Analyses of the positions of the different actors involved in these controversies show that the majority of intellectuals, policy-makers, and institutional actors are opposed to headscarves on the basis of three types of arguments: respecting the religious neutrality of schools, limiting the impact of a patriarchal social order on Muslim women, and fighting increasing religious fanaticism (Gaspard and Khosrokhavar 1995; de Galembert 2009; Limage 2000). An additional argument is that publicly showing their Islamic beliefs may reduce girls' chances of social and professional integration (Chérifi 2001).

However, as pointed out by Lorcerie (1996) and, in an ethnographic study, by Chazal and Normand (2007), whether wearing the hijab becomes an issue or not at the local level depends on the underlying causes and connections that school agents identify in the girls' attitudes, i.e. whether they are seen as constrained or voluntary and, if voluntary, on the factors that motivate them. The latter are frequently religious but can also be psychological and social (a reaction to stigmatization or a sign of rebellion) as well as strategic: complying

with the pressures of their parents and brothers by wearing a hijab can also allow girls to gain more autonomy from their families.

Kakpo (2005) also underscores the need to understand young men's attraction to Islam, which she associates with attempts to improve their self-esteem and status position when confronted with academic underachievement, unemployment, and rejection by successful Muslim women. The emergence of a religious revival among young Muslim descendants of immigrants from Maghreb and Central Africa might however also signal an erosion of their cultural assimilation. Lagrange (2014) suggests that this revival should be analyzed as an affirmation both of a transnational identity linked to the development of Islam as a political force and of an oppositional culture with regard to French society.

Positive Discrimination

A limited departure from the Republican model in educational policy was also prompted by teachers' work in segregated schools and by research findings showing the failure of the model to ensure ethnic and class equality in education (see the FBEI tradition). These processes led to the creation in 1981 of Educational Priority Zones (ZEP), a compensatory program modeled after the British Educational Priority Areas, which represented the first explicit acknowledgment of the existence of socio-geographic educational inequalities (Henriot-van Zanten 1990). In accordance with the principles of the French model of integration, the beneficiaries of this policy were not selected on the basis of personal but of territorial criteria, i.e. the degree of social and educational disadvantage in a given area. However, both because of the geographical concentration of immigrants in poor areas and because the percentage of children of immigrants at school was used as one of the main criteria of social disadvantage, the latter became a main target of this policy (Morel 2002; Calvès 2004; Doytcheva 2007; Robert 2009). In addition to that, the analysis of teachers' discourses reveals a pervasive tendency to assimilate academic underachievement and the presence of children from immigrants groups in the schools (Varro 1997, 1999; Kherroubi and Rochex 2002).

The ZEP, which came to be seen as the major French policy to reduce educational inequalities, proved extremely resistant to political changes throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Since the mid-1990s, they have nevertheless become the target of growing criticism because of their lack of effectiveness in improving the educational achievement of students from low socio-economic and

immigrant backgrounds, even though these students' school trajectories appear slightly better than those of similar students in non-ZEP schools (Meuret 1994; Rochex 2008; Benabou et al. 2009).

In this context, prestigious higher education institutions such as Sciences Po and ESSEC, a renowned management school, launched new programs in 2001 and 2002, replicated later by many other *grandes écoles,* targeting disadvantaged students (van Zanten 2017). These programs were a response to research studies showing a decrease in the percentage of lower-class students in elite institutions and to pressures from businessmen and politicians of immigrant backgrounds, who had started to denounce the ethnic and racial barriers to accessing these institutions. However, although they maintained the territorial dimension through the development of partnerships with disadvantaged *lycées*, these programs represent an important shift from place-based to people/place-based policies because they select a limited number of good and motivated students within each school for preferential treatment (Sabbagh 2006; Buisson-Fenet and Landrier 2008; van Zanten 2009c). They target not only socially disadvantaged students but also a large proportion of ethnic minority students as well without officially acknowledging it (van Zanten 2010; Oberti et al. 2009; Oberti 2013).

In sum, this research tradition has revealed three important phenomena. The first is the tendency of the French educational system to create structures for ethnic minority students that are not given strong official recognition and financial support, and are therefore marginalized in the educational system and marginalize the students that they are supposed to help. The second concerns the gap between official policies and their implementation at the school level, which depends on interpretations of local situations. Finally, the last phenomenon has to do with the use of territorial and social criteria as a proxy for targeting, without officially acknowledging it, ethnic minority pupils.

Family Background and Ethnic Inequalities in Education

Public Data, French Republican Ideology, and Difficulties in Measuring Ethnic Inequalities

As in other quantitative subfields of French sociology, researchers who belong to the family background and ethnic inequalities in education (FBEI) research tradition have largely depended on data collected by public institutions, especially the Ministry of Education, the National Institute for Demographic

Studies (INED) and the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE).[3] Funded and administered by the state, these public institutes have also logically followed what has been called the 'color-blind Republican ideology', which lies at the heart of traditional French integration policies and official discourse, i.e. it is still legally prohibited in France to record people's self-described race or ethnicity. This ideology of color-blindness has long made it impossible to quantitatively study ethnic inequalities in education.

The FBEI research tradition has nevertheless made substantial progress since the early 1980s, both thanks to the development of data of increasing quality, especially in terms of the still indirect measure of ethnicity, and the use of more refined statistical methods. Methodological advances were fostered by the growing realization that ethnicity should not be studied in isolation, given that it is so closely intertwined with class background and family structure. In order to consider these multiple variables, older studies frequently used two- or three-way cross-tabulations, while more recent works make use of multivariate linear and logistic regression techniques.

In the past, researchers have often been forced to use remote proxies to measure ethnicity. From the 1960s, with the seminal work of Paul Clerc (1964), until the early 1990s, ethnicity was overwhelmingly studied by taking into account pupils' nationality, very frequently reduced to a dichotomy between French citizens, supposedly representing the majority group, and foreign citizens, supposedly representing ethnic minority pupils. It soon became evident that citizenship alone was a very weak measure for ethnicity, as most ethnic minority pupils were children of immigrants and French citizens.[4] With the passage of time and the increased salience of immigration as

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[3] Four main surveys have been used to study the academic trajectories of children of immigrants. The first two are the 1989 and 1995 panel surveys, carried out by the French Ministry of Education, in collaboration with INSEE. These two longitudinal studies followed for at least 10 years a nationally representative sample of pupils who entered secondary school in 1989 ($n = 21,479$) and 1995 ($n = 17,830$), respectively. Both surveys contain detailed information on pupils' academic trajectories, including standardized test scores, and family background. As proxies for ethnicity, the 1989 panel survey contains information on the nationality of pupils and their parents, whether pupils were born or schooled abroad, whether parents have always lived in France and the language(s) spoken at home. In addition to this information, the 1995 panel survey includes precise data on the country of birth of pupils and their parents. The last two surveys are the 1992 Geographical Mobility and Social Insertion survey (MGIS, $n = 12,325$) and the 2008–2009 Trajectories and Origins survey (TeO, $n = 21,761$). Both are cross-sectional surveys run by INED in collaboration with INSEE. They both focus on and oversample immigrants and children of immigrants in France. The two surveys contain information on the educational and socioeconomic characteristics of immigrants and their children, as well as data on their residential, academic, religious, marital, and linguistic practices. As proxies for ethnicity, MGIS and TeO contain detailed information on the country of birth, nationality, and migration trajectories of immigrants and children of immigrants.

[4] A recent publication demonstrated that as many as 95% of children of two immigrant parents were French citizens (Borrel and Lhommeau 2010).

a political, social, and sociological issue, data on pupils' parents' country of birth were collected (see footnote 3), in order to assess second-generation immigrants' educational '*intégration*'. The country of birth of pupils' parents, sometimes combined with the language spoken at home, is now *the* main proxy used by French sociologists to measure ethnicity in the context of this quantitative research tradition.

The remainder of this section critically describes the main findings within the FBEI research tradition, by successively reviewing: (1) works that compare the educational achievement of ethnic minority pupils with that of the majority group; (2) works that study the differences between academic progress made by ethnic minority pupils and their peers in primary and secondary schools; (3) recent works that adopt more nuanced approaches to study educational differences between ethnic minorities and their positions within a highly differentiated secondary education system.

Differences in Academic Achievement Between Children of Immigrants and Children of Natives

Based on the first large-scale survey focusing on education, the INED 1962–1972 panel, Clerc (1964) analyzed the academic achievement of foreign pupils and their transition rate from primary to lower secondary school. His conclusion set a precedent for future investigations of ethnic inequalities in education:

> Foreign pupils are, on average, slightly disadvantaged compared to their French peers. *However, this handicap is mainly due to the occupational structure of this population, in which 70% are the children of manual workers.* A working-class child of foreign nationality is no more [academically] disadvantaged than a French pupil from the same class background.[5] (Clerc 1964, p. 871, emphasis in the original)

In the 1980s, other studies focused on the academic achievement of foreign pupils and made clear that the main factors of their raw underachievement were to be found in their lower-class origin and, to a lesser extent, their family structure (Marangé and Lebon 1982; Bastide 1982; Gibert 1989; Boulot and Boyzon-Fradet 1984, 1988b; Boyzon-Fradet and Boulot 1991).

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[5] Our translation from French. Unless otherwise stated, all quotations included in this text have been translated by us.

However, it was not until the mid-1990s that the influence of family background on ethnic inequalities in secondary education was analyzed comprehensively by Louis-André Vallet and Jean-Paul Caille (see also Vallet and Caille 1995, 1996a, b; Vallet 1996). Based on the 1989 panel study of the French Ministry of Education (see note 3), Vallet and Caille's study improves on previous literature through the use of advanced multivariate regression models and the consideration of a wide range of educational outcomes that occur along pupils' educational trajectories.[6] They show that the number of siblings (on the effect of sibship size, see Meurs et al. 2017), class background, and especially parental level of education explain most, if not all, of ethnic minority children's underachievement for all educational outcomes analyzed. The authors further demonstrate that, all things being equal, ethnic minority pupils are actually *more likely* than the majority group to be channeled into the academic track in the middle and end of lower secondary school. Using a later wave of the 1989 panel study, Vallet and Caille (2000) showed that being a child of immigrants also has a significant and positive net effect at the end of upper secondary school on the likelihood of passing the *baccalauréat*. More recent studies keep confirming the essential role of social background, especially parental education, in explaining the educational attainment of children of immigrants in France (e.g., Dos Santos and Wolff 2011; Brinbaum et al. 2015).

Ethnic Differences in Academic Progress

Other studies have specifically investigated the differences in academic progress made by ethnic minority children compared with pupils from the majority group and provided a convergent result: ethnic minority pupils begin primary school with a net academic disadvantage compared with children from the majority group, but progress faster in the following years (Le Guen 1991; Mingat 1984; Matéo 1992; Bressoux and Desclaux 1991; Mingat 1987; Bressoux 1994; Caille 2008). In any case, a strong claim can be made that primary school does not contribute to widening ethnic inequalities in education; if anything, it would tend to reduce these inequalities, though not enough for second-generation immigrants to fully catch up with children

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[6] These outcomes are: the number of years repeated in primary school, whether pupils are channeled into mainstream or special education tracks at the beginning of lower secondary school, French and mathematics test scores at this time, whether they are channeled into the academic track at the end of the second year of lower secondary school, and finally which track they are channeled into at the end of the fourth and final year of lower secondary school.

of natives by the beginning of lower secondary school (Caille and Rosenwald 2006). The picture appears similar in lower secondary school. Most studies show that ethnic minority students progress more than their French peers throughout lower secondary school, when socio-economic and family background is controlled for (Mondon 1984; Caille and O'Prey 2002; Caille 2008). To date, the best attempt to analyze the comparative progress in both French and mathematics of children of immigrants and children of natives from the first year of lower secondary school (age 11) to their fourth and final year (age 15) can be credited to Héctor Cebolla Boado (2008b). Based on the 1995 panel survey (see footnote 3), he shows that children of immigrants do progress faster in both subjects, but that 'their faster progress seems to stem from the fact that it is easier to improve one's marks when their initial level is low than it is when their initial level is high' (Cebolla Boado 2008b, p. 760).

Differences Between and Within Ethnic Groups

The remainder of this section is devoted to reviewing mostly recent studies that aim to give a more complex and realistic picture of ethnic inequalities in education in France, mainly by analyzing educational differences between first- and second-generation immigrants, between ethnic minorities and between educational outcomes (especially between performance and tracking).

As a whole, these research studies clearly show that children of immigrants are more educated than their parents (Moguérou et al. 2010) and that, among immigrant children, the younger a child is when he or she arrived in France, the better his or her educational achievement and attainment (Tribalat 1997; Vallet and Caille 1996a; Moguérou et al. 2015). Among adult immigrants, those who came to study and end up staying in France differ in two main ways from those who came to work or to reunite with a family member: the former are far more highly educated than the latter and they do not encounter the same problems with the recognition of their educational credentials than immigrants entirely schooled in their country of birth (Moguérou et al. 2015). Even if immigrant status (i.e. being first or second generation) does matter more than ethnicity *per se* (Cebolla Boado 2008a), one cannot deny that differences in the parents' country of birth, whether interpreted as ethnic, cultural, or economic, are associated with educational differences among ethnic minorities.

The two largest second-generation immigrant groups in France, i.e. those from North Africa (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia) and Southern Europe (Portugal, Spain, Italy) have been the focus of many studies (Brinbaum and

Kieffer 2005, 2009; Brinbaum and Cebolla Boado 2007; Cebolla Boado 2006, 2008a). The general conclusion is that, all things being equal, neither group has a significantly lower performance than the majority group, although, in certain models, North African children do seem to fare worse than children of natives. Due to small sample sizes, few studies have actually managed to analyze the situation of smaller ethnic groups.

However, Ichou (2013, 2015) has recently shown that the smallest and least often studied groups of children of immigrants are also those who differ the most academically from children of natives from similar social backgrounds. The lowest performing groups are children of immigrants from Turkey and the Sahel, while children of Southeast Asian immigrants have the highest average level of academic achievement, often outperforming children of natives.

Besides academic performance, tracking has been shown to be a key influence on (ethnic minority) pupils' academic trajectories. In descriptive terms, ethnic minority pupils tend more often than the majority group to be: in special education classes[7] in primary, but especially secondary school (Lacerda and Ameline 2001; Boulot and Boyzon-Fradet 1992); in low-prestige short vocational tracks in upper secondary school (Lacerda and Ameline 2001; Alba and Silberman 2009; Alba et al. 2013; Palheta 2012); and, at the *baccalauréat* level, in less 'noble' technological tracks rather than in the most prestigious scientific track (Laacher and Lenfant 1991, 1997; Brinbaum and Kieffer 2009; Tucci 2015). In fact, the proportion of ethnic minority pupils schooled in a specific track can be said to be inversely related to the track's social and academic prestige (Mullet 1980).

Important differences exist between ethnic groups, with European and Asian students less likely to drop out early than students of African and Turkish backgrounds. When they enter higher education, children of North African immigrants are more likely than children of natives to drop out without a degree (Brinbaum and Guégnard 2013). Overall, like in the native population, ethnic minority girls tend to fare better than boys in both tracking and attainment. However, the academic trajectories of daughters of Turkish immigrants have been singled out as especially unsuccessful and short, even after controlling for the effects of social background (Brinbaum et al. 2015).

When ethnic differences in academic performance and tracking are analyzed together, an interesting and seemingly paradoxical result emerges. In

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[7] Historically conceived for children considered as mentally deficient, these classes now target underachieving children considered to have cognitive difficulties.

descriptive terms (i.e. without controls for socio-economic background), ethnic minority pupils perform noticeably worse than the majority group. Yet, when prior academic performance is controlled for, they tend to be *more* likely than children of natives to proceed towards the academic track of upper secondary school (Brinbaum and Cebolla Boado 2007; Brinbaum and Kieffer 2009; Ichou and Vallet 2013). Thus, lower academic performance, not lower educational aspirations, is at the root of the overrepresentation of children of immigrants in the shorter and more vocational tracks of *lycée* (Cebolla Boado 2011). As is often the case in the study of ethnic inequalities in education, works that rely on descriptive bivariate analyses and those that use multivariate methods reach different and indeed opposite conclusions.

In sum, this research tradition that focuses on the quantitative descriptive study of ethnic inequalities in education has improved over the years in both the quality and accuracy of its results through the development of better data and measures of ethnicity, and the use of more advanced multivariate methods. Contrary to common wisdom, but in line with the conclusions of the international literature on the subject, the central finding in these studies is that if their class background and family structure are taken into account, ethnic minority pupils do not appear to perform less well academically than members of the majority group. However, it remains unclear how research findings are affected by the different ways 'achievement' is measured between studies, from standardized test scores to grade point averages to teachers' subjective assessments. In addition, due to limited sample sizes, both smaller ethnic minorities and differences within each ethnic group should be analyzed further by future research.

Limited Educational Resources of Ethnic Minority Families (LEREM)

This section reviews research studies focused on the description and explanation of the resources of ethnic minority families towards schooling. A wide range of educational attitudes and practices have been investigated. They can broadly be structured into the following categories: educational aspirations, which is the most widely studied topic, interactions with and knowledge about school, and help from extended family and the community. To account for the specificity of the resources of ethnic minority families, some researchers point to the influence of cultural differences, while others insist on socio-economic pre-migration characteristics.

High Aspirations, Social Distance from School, and Help from the Community

There is a large consensus among sociologists in describing the educational aspirations of ethnic minority families as higher than that of the majority group. This is the case for immigrant parents when compared with socio-economically similar native parents (Vallet and Caille 1996a; Brinbaum and Kieffer 2005; Caille and O'Prey 2002; Caille 2005, 2008; Ichou 2010; Ichou and Oberti 2014). This 'ambitious' and hopeful attitude is associated with a general trust from immigrant parents towards schools and teachers who embody knowledge (Henriot-van Zanten 1990; Ichou and Oberti 2014). These attitudes seem, by and large, to be passed on to the children's generation in the form of high aspirations and 'academic goodwill' (Caille 2005; Cibois 2002), especially for children of North African immigrants (Rochex 1992; Brinbaum and Kieffer 2005; Stuart Lambert and Peignard 2002). The educational aspirations of second-generation immigrants compared with that of children of natives tend to be less dependent on their actual educational position and academic achievement (Caille 2005; Brinbaum and Kieffer 2005): even after being channeled into short vocational tracks in upper secondary school, these pupils still seem to show relatively unaltered ambitions (Caille 2007; Palheta 2012). The high aspirations of immigrant parents and children have been shown to be associated with higher academic achievement (Zeroulou 1988; Zeroulou 1985) and are therefore considered to be the most likely cause of the higher educational position of most second-generation immigrants, all things being equal (Vallet and Caille 1996a).

These ambitious and hopeful attitudes of immigrant families cannot be understood independently of their demonstrated lack of knowledge about the school system, their difficulty in helping their children with homework, and their symbolic distance from schools and teachers. Because they were not schooled in France, immigrant parents often lack accurate knowledge about the French school system and its procedures, language, and norms (Henriot-van Zanten 1990; Zehraoui 1998; Dubreuil 2001; Caille and O'Prey 2002; Caille 2008; Ichou and Oberti 2014).

However, educational resources, often absent in the nuclear family of immigrant children, are frequently found elsewhere in the larger community. Significantly more than children of natives, ethnic minority pupils find support among elder siblings who went to school in France, or from other relatives and educated members of their ethnic or neighborhood community (Zeroulou 1988; Laacher 1990; Henriot-van Zanten 1990; Lahire 1995; Zehraoui 1998; Santelli 2001; Dubreuil 2001; Ichou and Oberti 2014; Brinbaum et al. 2015; Moguérou and Santelli 2015).

Cultural Differences and Pre-migration Social Position

Although culturalist approaches to ethnic differences in education are not dominant in French sociology, some researchers have adopted them to explain the specific resources and difficulties of ethnic minority families towards education and schooling. In addition to, or in place of traditional socio-economic interpretations, these authors maintain that each culture is associated with specific educational practices and representations (Carayon 1992; Lagrange 2010). For example, Vasquez (Vasquez 1980, 1982) focused on cultural differences in time management norms to explain educational practices leading to the academic underachievement of recently immigrated children of Spanish and Portuguese families. Unterreiner (2011) studied the academic consequences of specific family norms for children raised by parents of different cultural origins.

In a book entitled *Le Déni des cultures* ('The Denial of Cultures'), Hugues Lagrange (2010) uses a kinship structure-oriented culturalist framework to interpret secondary school underachievement among the children of immigrants from the Sahel region (i.e. Mali, Senegal, and Mauritania). He holds that the clash of immigrants' culture of origin and dominant French culture, in a context of urban segregation and economic inequalities, produces a subculture that impedes second-generation academic achievement. Although Lagrange's work does insist on the historical and contextual character of the group culture, culturalist approaches have been criticized on the grounds that they tend to overemphasize group homogeneity and overlook contextual and historical variation, thus presenting an essentialist view of culture (Charlot 1990; Chauveau and Rogovas-Chauveau 1990; Guénif-Souilamas 1994; Payet 1995b; Fassin 2011).

Recognizing both the need to take into account the pre-migration experiences of immigrants and the heterogeneity of these experiences, some researchers have followed a promising path that looks at pre-migration socio-economic and educational characteristics of migrants as a determining factor of their situation in France, their attitudes towards education, and the attitudes of their children. These researchers have been influenced by a key immigration sociologist, Abdelmalek Sayad, according to whom, 'Any study of migratory phenomena that overlooks the emigrants' conditions of origin is bound only to give a view that is at once *partial* and *ethnocentric*' (Sayad 2004, p. 29, emphasis in the original). Research has found that children of immigrants who succeed in school usually have parents, and even grandparents, aunts, and uncles, who were more educated, more urban, and had more economic resources than average in their country of birth (Zeroulou 1985; Zeroulou 1988; Laacher 1990, 2005; Gouirir 1998; Santelli 2001; Ichou 2013).

Combining information on the distributions of educational attainment in immigrants' countries of birth with data on the educational trajectories of their children in France, Ichou (2014) demonstrates that immigrant parents' relative level of education, compared to the population in their country of birth, positively affects their children's educational attainment, over and above the family's socioeconomic status in France. The level of "educational selectivity" of immigrants has also been shown to explain away a significant part of the academic differences between pupils of different ethnic groups in France (Ichou 2015) and across countries (van de Werfhorst et al. 2014; Ichou 2015).

The roots of immigrant families' higher aspirations towards school can be traced back to the pre-migration status and intentions of future migrants. Upward social mobility is often a central goal of migration, but not easily attainable by first-generation migrants. Parents consequently push their children to fulfill the 'migration project' that they formulated (Charlot 1999; Zehraoui 1998, 1996). The academic and professional success of their children is, for the parents, an achievement by proxy, which would legitimize their migration altogether (Zehraoui 1998; Laurens 1995).

In sum, the research tradition focusing on the limited resources of ethnic minority families towards schooling is not a very coherent and integrated one. However, a somewhat consistent picture emerges depicting ethnic minority families, most often immigrant families, as having high educational aspirations, being less knowledgeable of school matters and participating less in schools than natives, and as resorting more to elder siblings, relatives, and the community for school help. To explain these specific educational attitudes and practices researchers in this field have alternatively focused on cultural differences and on pre-migration socio-economic characteristics. The main limitation of this strand of research is the absence of any systematic assessment of the effect, either positive or negative, of these specific resources on the academic achievement of ethnic minority students.

Ethnic School Segregation and Educational Inequalities (ESSEI)

Both social and policy changes, on the one hand, and evolutions inside the field of sociology, on the other, have fostered the development of a research tradition focusing on ethnic segregation at school. From the 1960s onwards the French educational system has undergone a dramatic process of both comprehensivisation and massification. The progressive disappearance of formal tracking in lower secondary school has in fact led to the development of

subtler forms of differentiations in pupils' trajectories, depending on differences in languages studied, options chosen, schools attended, etc. (van Zanten 2001; Payet 1995a; Bourdieu and Champagne 1992). At the same time, as part of a general pattern of political devolution, the administrative autonomy of secondary schools has increased (van Zanten 2011). This twofold process of increasing school differentiation and autonomy has contributed to making ethnic school segregation both desirable to some families and socially and sociologically more visible. However, the focus on school segregation is also due to efforts by sociologists of education from the 1980s onwards to challenge and refine the dominant 'reproduction paradigm' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1970), by focusing on local educational processes (Duru-Bellat and van Zanten 2012).

Researchers in the ESSEI research tradition agree that the expression 'ethnic school segregation' should only be used if three conditions are present (van Zanten 1996; Barthon 1998): (1) one should be able to observe that pupils belonging to different ethnic groups are unevenly distributed between schools and within schools, over and above class-based segregation; (2) there should be specific school-related mechanisms and behaviors that shape the distribution of pupils between and within schools, over and above the spatial distribution of pupils in the neighborhood; and (3) this uneven distribution of pupils between and within schools based on their ethnicity should be shown to have negative consequences for individuals' educational achievement. This section will review how researchers have addressed these three types of issues.

The Existence of Ethnic Segregation at School

Following the pioneering and oft-cited book by Léger and Tripier (1986), researchers have used ethnographic methods to study the social and ethnic composition of local schools in ethnically mixed neighborhoods and have observed a clear pattern of ethnic concentration, especially in lower secondary school (Henriot-van Zanten 1990; Henriot-van Zanten et al. 1994; van Zanten 2001; Payet 1995a, 1998, 1999). Payet (1995a, 1998, 1999), amongst others, insists on one key point: ethnic segregation should not be reduced to the most visible *between*-schools disparity but should also be investigated as differences *within* school and *between* classes.

In the past 15 years, researchers have begun using statistical data to quantify ethnic school segregation and have confirmed its high level. They have shown that ethnic school segregation in lower secondary schools was both high and on the increase during the 1990s (Trancart 1998; Barthon 1998;

Louis-Etxeto 1998). In this field, a key innovative study was carried out by Felouzis and his colleagues (Felouzis 2003; Felouzis et al. 2005; Felouzis and Perroton 2009). Based on data on all 144,725 pupils from all 333 middle schools in the Bordeaux education authority, they used pupils' first names (instead of nationality like previous studies) to classify each of them according to their ethnicity, or as they prefer to say, their 'cultural origin'. Thanks to this creative measurement method, the authors showed that, within this education authority, 10% of the middle schools were concentrating 40% of pupils of African and Turkish cultural origins. Indeed, 'such an uneven distribution would be inconceivable according to other variables, such as pupils' class background or academic performance' (Felouzis 2003, p. 427). The major weakness of this research lies in its geographical limitation to only one education authority around Bordeaux making it impossible to generalize its results at the national level.

Causes of Ethnic Segregation at School

Three broad factors are involved in the uneven distribution of ethnic minority pupils between and within schools: (1) urban segregation and school district zoning; (2) families' strategies of school flight; and (3) school policies and in-school practices.

Urban sociologists and geographers have shown that ethnic minorities are by no means evenly distributed between neighborhoods (Desplanques and Tabard 1991; Rhein 1997; Préteceille 2009). Because pupils are normally educated in their local school at the primary and secondary level residential segregation alone can explain *part* of the uneven distribution of ethnic minorities between schools. White upper-class parents with significant economic resources frequently choose to move or already live (Préteceille 2006; Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 1994) in areas with high real estate prices next to prestigious lower and upper secondary schools (van Zanten 2001; Oberti 2007a). Although costlier, this strategy is probably the most efficient and least visible among the many strategies that families use to avoid schools with a significant concentration of pupils from immigrant backgrounds (van Zanten 2006b; Oberti 2007a).

Aggravating the effects of residential segregation on school segregation, school district zoning often tends to group social housing areas together in a single district, thus increasing the concentration of poor ethnic minorities in specific schools (van Zanten and Obin 2010; Barthon 1996). Because residential segregation is higher when smaller spatial units are considered, the size

of the school districts also matters: the smaller they are, the stronger the effects on segregation (Payet 1998, 1999). Residential segregation, combined with school district zoning, has a decidedly substantial impact on ethnic school segregation. However, researchers show that school segregation is almost always higher than residential segregation (Henriot-van Zanten et al. 1994; Felouzis et al. 2005; Barthon 1998; Léger and Tripier 1986).

This phenomenon points to other segregation mechanisms related to family strategies of 'school flight'. Even though according to school choice regulations called '*carte scolaire*' ('school map') pupils should normally attend their district school, parents have been given increasing leeway in requesting an out-of-district public secondary school, provided they give admissible arguments (van Zanten and Obin 2010). These arguments can range from having an elder sibling schooled in the requested out-of-district school, wishing to study a rare foreign language only offered there, being geographically closer to this school because of odd district zoning, etc. Not surprisingly, this opportunity to choose an out-of-district secondary school by using specific arguments is not used by all families equally. These 'choosers' – especially the successful ones – are overwhelmingly from the middle and upper classes (Ballion 1986; Henriot-van Zanten et al. 1994; Payet 1999; Broccolichi and van Zanten 1997; van Zanten 2009a, b; Raveaud and van Zanten 2007) and disproportionately white (Barthon 1998).

These strategies of school flight reinforce ethnic segregation at school, first, because they are carried out mostly by white parents and, second, because a key reason for withdrawing one's child from the local public school is the perceived high proportion of ethnic minorities among its pupils. This 'ethnic proportion' is considered by many parents to be a proxy of school quality, both in terms of academic performance and overall 'climate': the more visible minorities, the lower the perceived school quality (Barrère and Martucelli 1996; Broccolichi and van Zanten 1997; van Zanten 2006b, 2009b). Besides requesting an out-of-district public school, another form of school flight, which also increases ethnic segregation, consists in opting for a private secondary school. In this case, there is overwhelming evidence that white native families use private schools far more than ethnic minorities (Boulot and Boyzon-Fradet 1988a; Boyzon-Fradet and Boulot 1991; Héran 1996; Brinbaum et al. 2010; Louis-Etxeto 1998).

Yet another type of strategy pursued by middle-class families consists in keeping their children in the local public lower secondary school, while closely monitoring its functioning (Barthon and Oberti 2000) and relying on in-school practices to produce internal segregation that would keep their children from associating with too many ethnic minority pupils. This set of

behaviors characterizes 'cultural capital-rich' and 'economic capital-poor' middle-class families and corresponds to what Agnès van Zanten (2001, 2009a) has termed the 'colonization' of the local school.

One should not overestimate the responsibility of parents and their strategies in creating ethnic school segregation. Indeed, in a context of local school competition, these strategies constantly interact with school policies and in-school practices aimed at enhancing the school's image in order to retain white middle-class pupils (Payet 1995a; van Zanten 2006a; Barthon and Monfroy 2005, 2006). A common practice is therefore to adapt the general school policy to the perceived demands of white middle-class families, with a special focus on security and safety issues (Broccolichi and van Zanten 1997; van Zanten 2001, 2000b). However, the main tool used by head teachers is to create academically, and therefore socially and ethnically, homogeneous classes where better-achieving white middle-class pupils are grouped together, leaving working-class ethnic minority pupils in 'bad' classes (Payet 1995a; Barthon 1998; Visier and Zoïa 2010; Broccolichi and van Zanten 1997; van Zanten 2001, 2000b). These 'good' classes are also frequently created under the pressure of teachers who consider teaching in them as a reward for seniority or status (Blanc 2002).

Consequences of Ethnic Segregation at School

Research in this field shows that ethnic segregation generates unequal access to educational resources.[8] This concretely means that lower and upper secondary schools with high concentrations of ethnic minority pupils tend to offer less diverse and less prestigious academic options and tracks (Chauveau and Rogovas-Chauveau 1990; Barthon 1998; Trancart 1998; Oberti 2005, 2007a, b). Alongside white middle-class parents' flight from schools situated in ethnically diverse neighborhoods, there is a similar trend on the part of the more experienced and senior teachers. This leaves ethnically concentrated schools with both less-experienced teachers and a high overall rate of teacher turnover (Léger and Tripier 1986; Barthon 1998; Trancart 1998; Payet 1998; Mathey-Pierre and Larguèze 2010). Considering these combined processes, Felouzis and his colleagues suggest that residential and school segregation on the basis of class background and ethnicity can be considered a form of systemic discrimination functioning at the expense of already disadvantaged children (Felouzis et al. 2015).

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[8] Research that specifically deals with the effects of the concentration of ethnic minority pupils in schools on ethnic relations and in-school violence is discussed as part of the ERCS research tradition.

However, due to the lack of appropriate quantitative data, studies that actually analyze the effects of ethnic concentration on pupils' achievement are rather scarce. Moreover, most existing research provides only indirect evidence on this topic (see, for example, Broccolichi 2009; Broccolichi and Trancart 2010). Among the few more direct sociological investigations, findings do not perfectly match. Some researchers found no effect of the proportion of pupils on the average progress made by pupils during either the third year of primary school (Bressoux 1994) or in secondary school (Cebolla Boado 2007). In their study in the Bordeaux education authority, Felouzis and his colleagues (Felouzis 2003; Felouzis et al. 2005) find two seemingly contradictory consequences of ethnic segregation in secondary schools: on average and all things being equal, in the most ethnically concentrated schools, standardized academic performance is lower, but access to academic upper secondary school is higher.

Considering these conflicting results, no firm conclusion should be drawn on the consequences of the concentration of ethnic minorities in certain tracks or schools on average achievement. Overall, researchers tend to agree that, although segregation can be hypothesized to be an important factor in explaining ethnic minority academic disadvantages, ethnic differences in education are not reducible to neighborhood or school effects (Aeberhardt et al. 2015).

In sum, the research tradition focusing of ethnic school segregation is one that has brought out a set of particularly consensual and robust results. The extent of ethnic school segregation has been shown to be high and is not the mere reflection of ethnic segregation at the neighborhood level. According to families' socially differentiated resources and constraints, family strategies, in interaction with school policies, partly produce this high level of ethnic segregation both between and within schools. The main weakness of this research area is the lack of robust results on the exact extent of the consequences of ethnic segregation at school on students' academic trajectories and on the overall level of educational inequalities.

Ethnic Relations in Classrooms and Schools (ERCS)

In this section, we look at ethnographic studies conducted in schools and classrooms that analyze the salience of ethnicity in school professionals' views and practices. We also explore ethnic minority students' classroom behavior, feelings concerning discrimination, and social networks.

The Salience of Ethnicity in School Professionals' Views and Practices

Research studies in this area have shown that although the Republican model encourages teachers to adopt color-blind attitudes, many of them resort to negative stereotypes concerning the impact of economic deprivation or of outdated and inappropriate cultural traditions to explain the attitudes and behavior of immigrants and their children (Anderson-Levitt 1989; Henriot-van Zanten 1990). These stereotypes concern students' hygiene, beauty, dress, and politeness, as well as their intellectual potential (Zimmerman 1978; Vasquez 1982) and parents' inadequate socialization at home. In a more recent study, Bozec (Bozec and Duchesne 2007; Bozec 2017) has also shown that French teachers, because of their 'cognitive nationalism', express criticism or worry when minority students' express their attachment to their parents' country of origin or to Islam.

Ethnographic studies of primary schools have also documented the salience of ethnicity in teacher–pupil interactions. However, while studies comparing French and British teachers conclude on a clear separation in French schools between formal activities where the principle of 'indifference to differences' still applies with hardly any mention of linguistic, cultural or religious differences in the classroom, and informal activities where ethnic minority pupils are sometimes asked to share aspects of their culture with the teacher and other children (Raveaud 2003, 2006; Welply 2010), another one shows that ethnicity can be salient in formal interactions, although with great variations between teachers (Roussier-Fusco 2003). Three models seemed at work: (1) 'indifference to ethnic differences', associated with a good classroom climate but high levels of ethnic conflicts between children in the playground; (2) 'negative emphasis on children's ethnicity', associated with high levels of conflict within and outside the classroom; and (3) 'critical view of French treatment of immigrants'. This last model generated high levels of politicization of children's discourses and relationships.

In an ethnographic study comparing primary school classrooms in French and English schools, Welply also shows that in both contexts, despite contrasting approaches to linguistic diversity, children felt that their other (home) languages did not have a legitimate place in formal school spaces. This was justified as a formal, institutionalised principle associated to citizenship and belonging in the French school but remained more implicit in the English one. She also shows that in the French classroom, ethnic minority children reacted differently to the lack of public recognition of their language and culture. Some addressed this by rejecting or keeping an ambivalent distance from

them but others, by contrast, strongly identified with their other identity and rejected the French one. In spite of these variations, French children tended to emphasize more than English ones the positive sides of being 'different' in their construction of future aspirations with peers in informal social spaces and to articulate their multi-ethnic linguistic and cultural experience with global youth culture (Welply 2010, 2015, 2017).

In the French educational system, students' academic experiences change dramatically from primary to secondary school for various reasons. An important one is that secondary school teachers make less effort to keep pupils engaged in learning activities and to integrate those who have learning problems in the classroom. This leads ethnic minority students in middle schools to see racism as a major cause of their school failure (Bonnéry 2006). The relationship among ethnic minority children between feelings of being excluded on the basis of bad results and perceptions of being discriminated against on the basis of ethnicity is corroborated by another study comparing French and Australian students and showing that these perceptions are much more common in France (Windle 2009, 2010).

Studies on secondary school teachers have also shown considerable variation concerning the importance attributed to students' ethnicity in daily interactions (Payet 1995a; Perroton 2000a; van Zanten 2001). Differences between teachers are related (1) to the proportion of students from immigrant backgrounds in their classrooms, but also to (2) their age, younger teachers take ethnic differences more explicitly into account; (3) their social class, teachers from upper-class backgrounds tend to equate 'integration' with 'assimilation', while those from middle-class and working-class backgrounds appear more open to cultural differences (Legendre 2002; Rayou and van Zanten 2004; Sanselme 2009); but (4) apparently not to teachers' ethnicity. According to Charles and Legendre (2006), teachers from immigrant backgrounds, who constitute a small group, are more likely to start their careers in multicultural schools but their professional *habitus* appears very similar to that of teachers from native family backgrounds.

Still other ethnographic studies point out the tendency of other school professionals, involved in enforcing discipline or in liaising with parents, to refer to their own or to students' ethnic background (Payet 1997; Zéphir 2007). These professionals have in recent years been recruited on the basis of their ethnic and local origin and implicitly encouraged to use inside knowledge of students' cultures and neighborhoods in the accomplishment of their tasks (Rinaudo 1998; Perroton 2000b; Charlot et al. 2002).

Discrimination in Punishment, Grading, and Tracking

Evidence on teachers' discrimination of ethnic minority students is scarce. In line with John Ogbu's research in the United States (Anderson-Levitt and van Zanten 1992), some researchers have pointed out that misunderstandings between teachers and ethnic minority students arise not only because of 'primary' cultural differences, but because of 'secondary' differences, that is attitudes that these students develop in reaction to their subordinate position in society and in anticipation of discriminatory attitudes from institutional agents. For example, Payet (1985) showed that teachers tend to perceive students from Algerian families as 'insolent', 'sly', and 'aggressive' because of cultural differences in interactive styles but also because of these students' tendency to contest teachers' judgments and sanctions (Payet and Sicot 1997; Debarbieux and Tichit 1997).

Other studies have shown that, when making decisions about grades, assignation to different classes, and allocation to future tracks, teachers pay greater attention to the behavior of ethnic minority students, especially of boys from Maghreb and Africa, than to that of students from native backgrounds (Zirotti 1980; Payet 1997). These practices contribute in turn both to ethnic minority students' bad behavior and to their perception of being treated unfairly. In her ethnographic research on two 'bad classes', van Zanten (2001) showed that a significant proportion of minority students – allocated to these classes because of their behavior and not of their achievement level – felt not only rejected but bored by the low-level activities proposed by teachers, which led them to engage in disruptive behaviors and thus to be frequently sanctioned.

Tracking decisions are perceived by ethnic minority students as the most discriminatory dimension of their school experience (Akers-Porrini and Zirotti 1992; Favre and Manigand 2000; Brinbaum and Kieffer 2005; Caille 2007; Palheta 2012), although quantitative studies (Bastide 1982), including two using multivariate analyses (Vallet and Caille 1996a; Caille 2008), have shown that there are no conspicuous signs of the influence of ethnicity on these decisions once other significant factors are taken into account. However, what students from ethnic backgrounds perceive is that a large proportion of them are forced, because of their grades, to take courses and tracks, especially vocational tracks, that they did not ask for and that will reduce their future educational and work opportunities (Santelli 2001, 2007; Frickey 2010; Dhume et al. 2011;Palheta 2012; Felouzis et al. 2015). Brinbaum and Guégnard (2010) found that this was the case at the end of *collège* for 25% of second-generation students from Maghreb, Central Africa, and Turkey as opposed to 12% of second-generation students from Portugal and Asia, and

8% of pupils with French parents. Brinbaum and Tenret (2011) and Brinbaum and Primon (2014) report similar findings.

Many ethnic minority students therefore describe unsatisfactory personal experiences at school (Bouamama 2000) as well as in higher education where many of them, especially those who come from vocational and technological tracks, fail at academic evaluations and, later, at competitive examinations for access to occupations in the public sector, including teaching (Beaud 2002). Although these negative perceptions are not always framed in the language of discrimination, a significant proportion of students mention some form of institutional racism at school (Zirotti 1980; Akers-Porrini and Zirotti 1992; Oberti et al. 2009; Cortéséro 2010).

Peer Relations, Violence, and Delinquency

Qualitative studies have provided evidence on the existence of interracial and interethnic friendships in urban primary schools, but also on the ways in which they are influenced by children's gender and academic status (Xavier de Brito and Vasquez 1994; Perroton 2000a; van Zanten 2000a; Fouquet-Chauprade 2011). Roussier-Fusco (2007) has shown that the influence of these various factors leads to the formation of small groups of white girls that may include girls from ethnic minority groups if they are high achievers, and larger groups of boys from ethnic minorities that may include boys with native parents if they are underachievers.

In multicultural *collèges*, interracial and interethnic friendships are more common because of greater ethnic mix as well as higher adolescent autonomy from parents and teachers (Herpin 1996; Xavier de Brito and Vasquez 1996). However, the influence of academic position still remains (van Zanten 2000a, 2005). Using data from 1300 questionnaires distributed in six *collèges* characterized by high concentrations of ethnic minority pupils and an ethnic score obtained by adding eight characteristics (students' first and last name, place of birth, school trajectory abroad, date of arrival of parents, language spoken at home, and nationality of the students and his or her parents), Fouquet-Chauprade (2011) found that a high ethnic score was associated with weak academic integration but strong social integration and a preference for friends from ethnic minority groups.

Ethnographic studies have also shown that in segregated school contexts students frequently use ethnic and racial categories to identify themselves and others but also that these categories are not necessarily used and perceived as insults (Achard et al. 1992). They are part of verbal interaction rituals whose

purpose is to jibe and laugh at each other and, through that process, to cancel the stigma associated to those terms (Lepoutre 1997). These rituals can nevertheless lead to conflicts if these categories are used to make unfavorable comparisons or establish social and moral boundaries between students with different academic statuses or from different school tracks (Payet 1995a; Debarbieux 1997, 1999; Debarbieux and Tichit 1997; Perroton 2000a; van Zanten 2001).

Other studies have established a correlation between the proportion of ethnic minority students and the perception of school climate. Debarbieux (1998) found that when children of immigrants represented only 5% or less of the school intake, only 8% of pupils thought there was violence in their school. However, in schools with 30% of children of immigrants or more, the proportion of those who thought there was a bad climate was also 30% or more. Fouquet-Chauprade (2011, 2013) found however that ethnic mix had a different effect on the subjective well-being of native and ethnic minority students: while the former felt bad in highly segregated classes, the opposite was true for the latter probably because as a local majority in the classroom they had better opportunities for friendship and support.

Schools with large proportion of ethnic minority students do seem to be characterized by higher levels of what some authors call 'incivilities', which include insults and verbal aggressions, damages to school furniture or premises, small acts of delinquency, and bullying and fights between students (Debarbieux 1998; Debarbieux and Tichit 1997; Tichit 2001). However, this does not mean that ethnic minority students are more involved than their native classmates in these acts.

Some researchers point out that school violence can be analyzed as a subtype of urban violence as schools with large proportions of children of immigrants are often located in poor areas where delinquency and violence are part of everyday life (Dubet 1987). Others emphasize the impact of social and ethnic segregation as well as of the disorganization of these schools on the emergence of a culture of drift, deviance, and delinquency, and on the formation of gangs characterized by deviant behavior and a confrontational relationship with their immediate environment (Debarbieux 1997; van Zanten 2000a; Moignard 2008; Mohamed 2011). This is not inevitable however and other studies have shown that collective and sustained efforts to enforce norms significantly reduce the number of incivilities, transgressions, and micro-violences (Debarbieux and Blaya 2001).

In sum, research studies belonging to this last tradition show that, to varying degrees, teachers and other school agents use ethnicity as a resource to explain existing problems. Although there is little evidence of widespread eth-

nic discrimination, teachers do seem to focus on different dimensions when they evaluate children of immigrants and children of natives, while many ethnic minority students feel, rightly or wrongly, that they have experienced rejection and discrimination. Peer relationships in multicultural schools appear two-sided: interethnic friendships and conflicts coexist. It is difficult however to generalize the results of these, mostly ethnographic, studies because of the contextual embeddedness of the data and interpretations, and the limited number of comparisons of the processes at work within different types of schools.

Conclusion and Discussion

Research on ethnicity and educational inequality in France encompasses five major research traditions. These traditions have revealed a number of consensual and robust findings.

Research in the first tradition has been conducted by political scientists and sociologists and has concentrated on policy decisions concerning educational structures, curriculum and religion. Its most important findings concern the lack of a strong political will, irrespective of the political orientation of governments, to develop ambitious educational policies for ethnic minorities, but also the existence of a growing number of policies and schemes that use area or class as a proxy for ethnicity.

Another group of studies has used statistical methods to analyze ethnic inequalities in educational achievement and attainment. Despite the scarcity of relevant data until recently, a coherent tradition has developed from cumulative results in this field. The principal finding is that ethnic inequalities in education are, above all, class inequalities: the academic disadvantages of certain children of immigrants can be mostly explained by their parents' economic poverty and low levels of education.

Research in the third tradition focuses on the study of the limited resources of ethnic minorities at schools. This tradition is more fragmented and less coherent than the previous two. Researchers who have tried to identify the specific attitudes of immigrant families tend to show that these families have higher academic aspirations than those of native families but are less involved in school activities.

The fourth research tradition has focused on ethnic segregation in schools. As in the first tradition, cumulative research has resulted in particularly strong results, despite the rarity of multilevel statistical data. Ethnic segregation in schools appears to be high, even higher than ethnic residential segregation or

class-based segregation in schools. The causes of this segregation can be found at the conjunction between the interests of white middle-class parents and of school agents. Its consequences are important as students educated in schools with high concentrations of ethnic minorities enjoy fewer educational resources.

Finally, the fifth research tradition is quite coherent because researchers have addressed similar questions with comparable ethnographic methods. The main findings concern the contrast between official indifference to ethnicity and its salience in the everyday activities and interactions of school agents and students in multiethnic school contexts as well as ethnic minority students' perceptions of the existence of discrimination processes in punishment, grading and, especially, tracking.

Despite this consistent body of research, several research areas remain under-studied or altogether unexplored. First, more attention should be paid to differences between ethnic minority groups. Categories such as 'second-generation immigrants' should be further deconstructed and decomposed. Second, better quantitative and qualitative data on the characteristics of neighborhood and school environments are needed to refine the study of the effects of ethnic segregation in education. In particular, more detailed analyses of official and unofficial tracking processes within schools and how they affect ethnic minority students should be conducted. Third, a promising path for future research lies in the study of the influence of pre-migration experiences and characteristics on second-generation immigrants' school behavior and academic achievement. Fourth, more research is needed to explore why and how ethnic minority students come to feel discriminated against in schools and whether this perception is related to the objective attitudes of teachers, misunderstandings between teachers and students in everyday interactions or, more generally, students' perceptions of exclusion from French society (Safi and Simon 2014). Last, to unveil the full extent of ethnic inequality, researchers must further analyze the interaction between ethnic inequalities at school and in the labor market especially considering the fact that the latter have been shown to be high in absolute terms (Silberman and Fournier 2006; Lefranc 2010) and relative to rates in other countries, especially Germany (Tucci 2010, 2015).

The development of these research areas and, more generally, of research on ethnic inequalities in education in the French context is nevertheless strongly dependent on changes in social policy and in intellectual thought. Despite a growing political consciousness of the problems faced by ethnic minority students at school, political and administrative discourses and choices tend to ignore ethnic and racial inequalities. This continued 'veil of ignorance' makes

it difficult to obtain official statistical or documentary data to assess the extent of these inequalities and to obtain funding to conduct original quantitative and qualitative studies to further explore their different expressions, causes, and consequences.

In the same way, researchers' perspectives, resulting from socialization into the French model of integration but also into research paradigms focusing on class rather than ethnicity and giving preeminence to macro-structural factors rather than to cultural and interactional dynamics has limited research on educational processes involving ethnicity. However, changes in this area are taking place more rapidly among sociologists than among educational policy-makers given the former's professional interest in objective facts and the diversification of theories and approaches brought about by their increasing integration into international research networks.

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Germany: Systemic, Sociocultural and Linguistic Perspectives on Educational Inequality

Ingrid Gogolin, Sarah McMonagle, and Tanja Salem

Introduction

With respect to ethnicity, ethnic diversity and educational inequality, Germany is a very specific case. Due to the division into two German republics in 1949, the country has two different histories of migration and, likewise, treatment of ethnic and national minorities up to 1989. This also implies the existence of two different research traditions during this period, which will be outlined in the section "National Context: Migration, Educational and Social Policy in Germany" for the purposes of contextualisation and illustration. A further historical shift and new dynamic for social and educational policies can be observed from 2000, which has largely been a reaction to the first OECD-PISA results. These results suggested strong linkages between socio-economic status, cultural capital, ethnic background, and pupils' achievement, thus motivating both new political and research activities. For example, a biannual national education report was established in 2006 (Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung 2006), and a National Education Panel Study (NEPS) in 2009 (Blossfeld

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et al. 2011). Such political activities can be considered highly influential for the realignment of different research traditions concerning ethnicity and educational inequality in Germany.

The following section describes the national context by focusing on the first four decades or so of West Germany, and on migration patterns and ethnic composition in unified Germany after 1990. This will also include relevant developments in educational and social policies. Our methodology section then describes the process of sampling literature for inclusion in this chapter. In the third section we detail different research traditions in which, taken from a bird's eye view, three approaches can be identified: (1) features of the education system and their relevance for inequality; (2) characteristics of migrant students and their families as causes of inequality; (3) linguistic diversity and educational achievement. In the final section we summarise the key findings of our review and make further suggestions on how the research field in Germany could develop.

National Context: Migration, Educational and Social Policy in Germany

As indicated above, our chapter on Germany must address the fact that the country has two different histories of migration and thus two different research traditions in the period from World War II to 1989. We outline the different traditions, beginning with literature from the final decade of this period. The main focus of this chapter, however, will be on migration and policy patterns, and the attendant research, in the former Federal Republic of Germany (BRD; also known as West Germany) and on the actual Federal Republic (i.e. unified Germany) since then.

We take this particular approach as the general question of inequality as an outcome or even product of the educational or social system was vigorously discussed in the BRD, whereas in the DDR (i.e. the German Democratic Republic, also known as East Germany) it did not feature in public discourse.[1] 'Educational expansion' became a societal aim in the BRD in the late 1960s. In 1970, the (Western) German Educational Council (Deutscher Bildungsrat 1970) presented reform recommendations to overcome educational disadvantage perceived to be caused by socio-economic factors, gender, cultural

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[1] We use the German abbreviations BRD (Federal Republic of Germany) and DDR (German Democratic Republic) in this chapter in line with most of the research literature, including international research.

background (seen to be influenced by religious belief and affiliation), or region (i.e. rural vs. urban areas) (Cortina et al. 2005). At that time, a 'girl from a Catholic working-class family in a rural area' represented the quintessential educationally disadvantaged child in (West) Germany. Whereas the *Bildungsrat* had initiated intense public discourse and research on educational inequality, no similar development took place in the DDR. Here, by definition and political conviction, the social and education systems were not considered to support, let alone produce, inequality.

Furthermore, growing ethnic and linguistic diversity as a consequence of in-migration could be observed in the states (*Länder*) of the BRD, which from 1955 implemented a recruitment policy for 'guest workers'. The DDR, in contrast, austerely restricted visits and immigration from abroad. Of the limited number of foreigners allowed to enter the country, most were contract workers on a fixed-term basis or students and trainees from other socialist regimes. Rather than integrate them, the DDR conducted a policy of isolation toward foreigners by the resident population. Ethnic diversity was thus more or less invisible in the DDR, the topic irrelevant in public discourse and research prior to German unification in 1990 (Krüger-Potratz et al. 1991).

Given this background and the time frame set for this review, we focus on migration patterns and ethnic composition in the BRD for a historical retrospection, before describing the situation after 1990 in the section "Migration to Germany". With respect to educational and social policy, we concentrate on the contemporary German systems as they follow the traditions of the former BRD (section "Education System").

Another preliminary remark has to be made here. Although there is a discourse on 'racism' and 'anti-racist' education in Germany, this plays a marginal role in the migration-related field of research. This is mainly due to the historical connotation of the terminology which is inextricably linked with the systematic annihilation of the Jewish, Romany and disabled populations during the National Socialist (Nazi) era. Discourses on racism in Germany have primarily focused on attempts to reconstruct and understand the inconceivability of this historical burden, as well as on prevention of any such human disasters in the future. Research has been especially connected with work carried out in the *Neue Frankfurter Schule* (New Frankfurt School) such as *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al. 1973 [1950]). In the mainstream of migration-related educational and social scientific research, 'race' has been considered more a polemical term than part of scientific terminology (Bielefeld 1991). In light of this, we focus our review on research related to migration, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic minorities, and the associated terminology.

Migration to Germany

Germany, in its varying cultural and political shapes, has been an area of immigration throughout its history. After World War II, however, the country faced a new dynamic of immigration for two main reasons: the first concerned the absorption of returnees or refugees from the former eastern European war zones until the 1960s; the second was intense recruitment of labour from the early 1950s to the early 1970s as part of the German *Wirtschaftswunder* (the 'economic miracle').

The legal fundamentals of migration included (and continue to include, although in adapted versions) the possibility to recruit individuals or groups of migrants for specific purposes, such as workers, artists, scientists or other specialists, followed by the repatriation of 'ethnic Germans', and then the protection of refugees as determined by the Constitution (Grundgesetz, 1949). In 1955, the BRD signed the first recruitment agreement with Italy. Further agreements were then finalised from 1960: Greece and Spain (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1968), and South Korea (1970). These contracts were of limited duration. All workers from non-member states of the European Economic Community (EEC) – initially all of the above with the exception of Italy – were expected to remigrate once their contracts expired. During the first recruitment period, workers had to come alone. With respect to human rights agreements, however, the BRD began to accept and support family unification activities from the early 1970s. During the recruitment period, the proportion of foreigners in Germany grew from 1.2% in 1960 to 4.9% in the 1970s. In 1973, Germany ceased recruitment on account of the oil crisis and declining employment opportunities. Family unification then remained the only legal possibility for these groups of migrants to enter the country. Between 1973 and 1988 the number of foreigners increased from 4 million to 4.8 million (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 1999).

Another legal possibility to enter the BRD is based on Paragraph 1 of the Federal Law on Refugees and Displaced Persons (BVFG 2001) which regulates the re-migration of *Aussiedler* ('ethnic Germans', German repatriates). The addressees of this regulation are primarily the descendants of emigrants to the Russian Empire from the 17th century onwards, who left Germany on the basis of recruitment contracts, for example under Peter the Great. Still today and under certain conditions, 'ethnic Germans' have the right to 'remigrate'. Since 1990, the regulation includes 'ethnic Germans' from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Poland, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary, and Romania.

The third relevant immigrant group may enter the country based on Article 116 of the Constitution concerning the rights of refugees. The definition of refugees herein follows the Geneva Convention on Refugees (1951). Following World War II, and in recognition of the country's historical responsibilities, these regulations in Germany were utmost liberal. However, since then, due to changing public climate and EU-Schengen regulations from 1985, the right to enter the country as a refugee became severely restricted. In general, less than 10% of a given refugee cohort receives permission to reside. Irrespective of the high dismissal rate, refugees make up the third largest group of immigrants in Germany.

In 1990, around 5,342,500 'foreign residents' were registered in population statistics, amounting to 8.4% of Germany's total population. In reality, the number of immigrants was significantly higher as the criterion for entry in these statistics was 'foreign citizenship'. All immigrants with German passports – *Aussiedler*, naturalised citizens, those with dual nationality, children of binational couples – were therefore excluded. Researchers of migration bemoaned this highly insufficient data collection from the late 1970s as it did not provide a valid basis for research, policymaking or social planning. It took more than 30 years to convince the statistics authority of the importance of more detailed data on migration. Since 2005 the National Statistical Office compiles regular and representative data through the *Mikrozensus* (micro census) on 'migration background' (defined according to place of birth of a person or at least one of his/ her parents, i.e. 1st and 2nd generation migrants, main family language, and citizenship).

According to *Mikrozensus* data, about 15.7 million residents with a migration background in this sense lived in Germany in 2010. As migration is largely a phenomenon of 'the young', and because of higher-than-average birth rates in migrant families, the percentage of those with a 'migration background' is highest in the youngest age cohorts. In 2010, 35% of children below the age of six, 32% of adolescents up to age 15, and 26% of 15–20 year olds had a 'migration background' (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011).

Since 2010, Germany – like most other European and OECD countries – has been affected by the new dynamics of migration. The number of international migrants worldwide has increased rapidly, reaching 244 million in 2015 – a 41% increase since 2000 (International Organization for Migration 2015). Germany clearly appeals highly to migrants with, during several periods of its history, the country having the highest or second highest number of in-migrants of all countries in the world. This has been the case again since about 2013 when numbers of refugees from Arab and African countries began to increase. In 2015, roughly 800,000 new migrants came to Germany, and

about 720,000 in 2016. As no national immigration policy exists, one possible way for new migrants to stay in the country is to apply for asylum. On average, around 20% of such applications were accepted in recent years (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2017). In 2016, about 18.6 million migrants lived in Germany, i.e. 22.5% of the German population (Fig. 14.1).

Sources of migration vary considerably: While conflicts and crises are causes of forced migration (refugees), global mobility enables voluntary migrants to work or study in other countries. Today, people from about 190 countries – i.e. almost all officially recognised states of the world – contribute to the economic, social, linguistic and cultural diversification of Germany's population. Figure 14.2 depicts the largest 'foreign' populations (those larger than 500,000) living in Germany in 2016. The figures represent those holding a foreign passport, and not those born in Germany with a migration background. Still, this figure is particularly revealing in terms of the dynamics of migration and diversity in Germany – it shows that Turks represented the largest foreign group resident in 2016, unchanged from 2010. The number of Syrians, on the other hand, has increased dramatically in the same time period.

The effects of migration are visible mainly in urban areas: In cities like Hamburg, Augsburg or Duisburg, one out of two children comes from a migrant family. Many of these children are raised with more than one language at home. However, it is not only immigrants' descendants who experience language diversity. Children growing up in monolingual German families
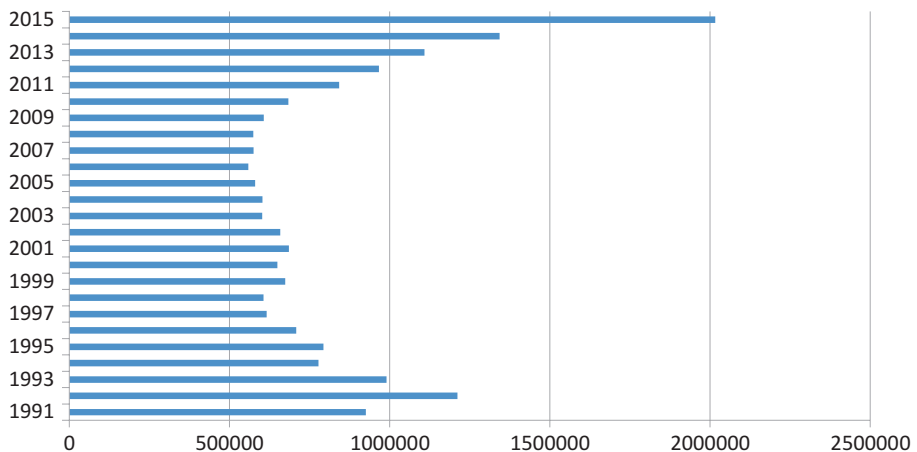
Fig. 14.1 Foreign migration to Germany, 1991–2015. (Source: Statista (adapted) (https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/251936/umfrage/zahl-der-einwanderer-nach-deutschland/))
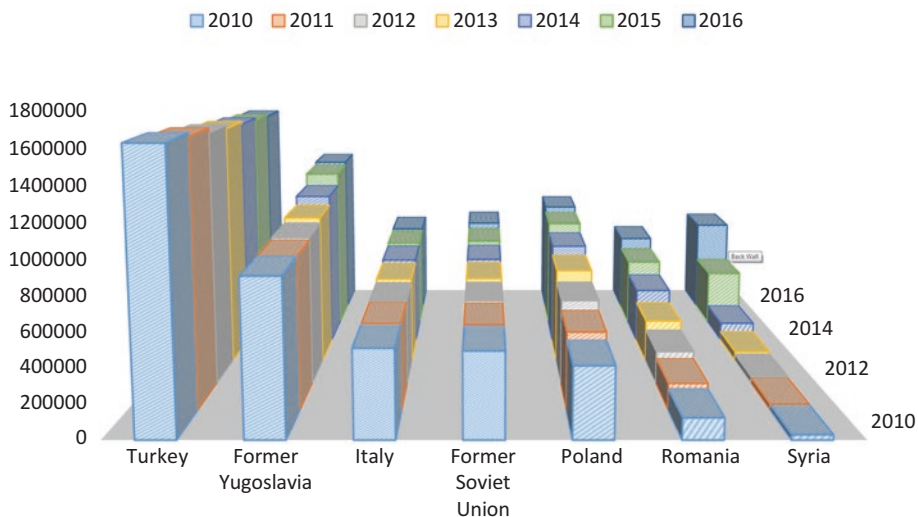
Fig. 14.2 Foreign population in Germany according to nationality, 2010–2016. (Adapted from Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis) (2017; https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/AuslaendBevoelkerung2010200167004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile))

learn foreign languages at school, communicate with multilingual peers and friends, and encounter different languages and dialects when travelling and using (social) media (Brandt and Gogolin 2016).

Despite continuous immigration since World War II, Germany long refused to accept its status as a country of immigration (Bade 2017). The official political statement with respect to immigration was that Germany was *not* an immigration country ("Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland", Kohl 1991). Immigration was regarded as an exception to the rule with political activities being reactive to new immigration rather than pro-active and constitutive. The very first official governmental statement that indicated comprehensive political responsibility for the integration of migrants in social, economic, cultural, and educational spheres was adopted in 2006, known as the National Integration Plan (Bundesregierung 2007). Since then, concerted measures regarding the integration of migrants are required from all governing authorities concerned, and are also asked of private authorities such as employers, trade unions, and charitable foundations. Expectations include, for example, increasing the share of migrants among staff or improving information policies for those without advanced German language skills. However, the National Integration Plan can be described as a blunt sword as participation is voluntary, and there are no sanctions for failing to meet self-made commitments.

Education System

Although no comprehensive integration policy was put in place for decades, the education sector has taken action to support 'foreign workers' children' (*Ausländerkinder*) since the early 1960s. At the same time, however, we cannot point to a precise policy here. This is not least due to the fact that Germany is a federal and highly decentralised state, particularly with regard to educational, cultural, and social welfare policies.

The German *Grundgesetz* defines the range of responsibilities of the federal government within the fields of politics and legislation. Some political fields are centrally governed (such as foreign affairs and defense), but many fields are either under joint responsibility, or they are under sole responsibility of the *Länder*. Education is especially rigorous with respect to decentralisation and is the responsibility of the individual *Länder* (federal states), of which there were 11 in the former BRD; since 1990 Germany comprises a total of 16 federal states. With the exception of vocational education, for which the federal government has overall responsibility, the *Länder* are responsible for all decisions concerning general education. The federal government may give financial support for certain measures – but only in agreement with the *Länder*.

Another particularity of the German system is that early years or preschool education for children up to six years is not considered part of the education, but of the public social system. As such, the responsibility here is assigned to the federal ministry of family and social affairs (*Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend* [BMFSFJ]). The operative basis of the preschool system is the responsibility of public agencies, partly economically driven, partly subsidised by local, regional or supra-regional bodies, such as religious organisations and social welfare services. Most *Länder* have 'educational plans' (*Bildungspläne*) that describe the aims of the preschool system; in some *Länder* these concern the 0–10 years age group. These plans are not binding and function as recommendations only. Figure 14.3 displays the basic structure of the German education system.

Once children complete their primary education, usually around age 10, there are various options for secondary schooling which are decided in the so-called orientation phase (*Orientierungsstufe*) in grades 5 and 6. The German system is highly selective with children recommended, at this early stage, to attend different types of school. Attendance at a *Gymnasium* leads to the *Abitur* certificate which is a requirement for enrollment at university; attendance at other school types leads to a low or middle certificate. Typically, the school certificate is one's 'admission ticket' to a future career: The lower the

CONTINUING EDUCATION
(various forms of continuing general, vocational and academic education)

Doctorate
Degree or examination after a course of study which provides qualification for
a profession (*i.a.* Bachelor, Master, state/ecclesiastical examination)

Tertiary Education

(e.g. university, institute of technology, teacher training college)

Qualification of vocational
further training

General qualification for
university entrance

Subject-specific
qualification for
university
entrance

General
qualification
for university
entrance

13	Vocational training certificate	Advanced technical certificate	
12			UPPER *GYMNASIUM* LEVEL
11	**DUAL SYSTEM OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING**	**VOCATIONAL SCHOOL**	*(in different school types)*
10			

Secondary level II

Realschule leaving certificate after 10 years
Hauptschule leaving certificate after 9 years

10				
9	10th grade			
8	**HAUPTSCHULE**	**REALSCHULE**	**GESAMTSCHULE**	**GYMNASIUM**
7				
6				
5	Orientation phase			
4				
3	**PRIMARY SCHOOL**			
2				
1				
GRADE				

Secondary level I

PRE-SCHOOL
(optional)

Fig. 14.3 Basic structure of the educational system in the Federal Republic of Germany

certificate, the lower the chance of gaining access to vocational training in the 'dual vocational training system'[2] or to other types of upper secondary education.

Traditionally, the *Länder* established a tri-partite system in secondary education. In more recent years, however, on account of declining birth rates and drift to urban areas, we have observed a tendency to reduce the number of tiers in secondary education. Some *Länder*, such as Hamburg, Berlin, and Saxony, have established a two-tier system with the *Gymnasium* (school leading to university entry qualification) and one other school type that leads to a lower or middle secondary certificate. The national report on education indicators repeatedly shows a strong dependence between school leaving certificate and further professional or vocational career in Germany (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016).

In Germany, such decisions concerning the education system are in the hands of the individual *Länder* with the federal government having no influence. Still, in order to guarantee equal standards in education in Germany as a whole, the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Federal States (*Kultusministerkonferenz* (KMK)) was established in 1948. Following German unification in 1990, the states of the former DDR (Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringen and Berlin) joined the Standing Conference. Its key task is to safeguard mobility for pupils, students, and teachers between the *Länder*. In order to meet this objective, the KMK harmonises and agrees on the comparability of certificates and qualifications, as well as on quality standards for schools, vocational training, and higher education.

The German education system can be described as 'loosely coupled' by agreement between the *Länder*. The system is highly decentralised, and its complexity is heightened by the principles of subsidiarity applied to preschool education and lifelong learning. This complexity is further reflected in general information concerning Germany's education system. In established areas of reporting we find data based on longstanding conventions. With respect to migration, education and social systems, however, data has been rather scarce until fairly recently. This was due to the fact that each of the *Länder* produces its own educational statistics, with migration-related data being – at least partly – operationalised differently. In some *Länder,* indicators such as place of birth of at least one parent is taken into account for the definition of 'migration background'; others additionally ask for the main language of the family or for other languages spoken in the family.

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[2] For an overview of the German vocational training system see: https://www.bmbf.de/en/the-german-vocational-training-system-2129.html

According to national statistics, in 2010, 8.3% (about 730,000) of approximately 8.8 million students in general and vocational education held non-German citizenship ('foreign students'). According to *Mikrozensus* data, however, 20.3% had a 'migration background' ('migrant students'). In 2010, 37% of the so-called migrant students held Turkish citizenship; 11% represented the former Yugoslavia. Overall, 22% were citizens of EU member states, 55% of which came from Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2012). In 2015, national statistics refer to only 7.3% (about 613,000) students with a foreign passport (Malecki 2016). The percentage of 'migrant children', however, increased. In 2013, 32% of primary school children (aged 6–10), 27% of lower secondary students (aged 11–15), and 22% of students aged 16–20 had a migrant background (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016, chapter H1).

Although the vast majority of 'migrant students' belong to the second or even third generation of residence in Germany there are clear indicators of educational disadvantage within this group (see section "Migrant Population Characteristics as Explanatory Causes for Inequality"). One indicator is an uneven distribution of school-type attendance: in 2015, 8% of autochthonous (i.e. those without a migration background) children and adolescents attended a secondary school of the lowest track, but 25% of migrant students were educated here. 44% of autochthonous students attended an academic track school (*Gymnasium)*, as opposed to 24% of migrant students (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016).

This data does not reflect the most recent developments in migration to Germany concerning the arrival of refugees, asylum seekers, internationally displaced persons, and stateless people since 2014. Due to the 'fluidity' and dynamics of their situation, no reliable data on the participation of children and young adults from these groups in the education system is yet available. According to estimates based on different data sources, roughly 56% of all new immigrants belonging to these groups are below the age of 25 (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016, p. 199). They thus belong to the segment of the population which, in one way or another, is entitled to participate in primary, secondary or tertiary education.

Policy Developments

Significant changes in social and educational policies were introduced following the publication of the first OECD-PISA studies (Baumert et al. 2001). There was considerable alarm in political and public spheres as the German education system obviously produced not only inequality to an undesired

extent, but also fairly low achievement among the general school population. Moreover, linkages between socio-economic status and pupils' achievement appeared to be closer in Germany than in most other participating countries. Ties between being born into a family with low economic and cultural capital and the chance of educational success were, and still are, remarkably strong. Migrant pupils were revealed to be especially disadvantaged (Klieme et al. 2010). These findings prompted the development of new social and educational support strategies.

The KMK contributed to the National Integration Plan of 2006 in which a commitment was made to establish model projects for the support of migrants in education (Gogolin et al. 2011). New qualification schemes for educators and teachers aimed to raise professional competence for working in culturally and linguistically diverse institutions. The impact and effects of these activities shall be observed in a biannual National Education report (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016). In 2009, a National Educational Panel Study (NEPS) was set up (Blossfeld et al. 2011). In order to support the integration of new immigrants, a national strategy was established and included the introduction of courses in the German language, history, and legal system.[3] Support for immigrants is one side of the coin of this strategy, the other being a raised demand for immigrants to increase their own efforts to integrate. One example is the introduction of so-called integration courses, which new immigrants are obliged to attend in order to receive certain social support. Participants must pay for courses themselves, but can apply for cost exemptions once they attend regularly and pass the final test.

Such activities on the political level were highly influential for the realignment of research on ethnicity and educational inequality in Germany, which we will demonstrate in the remainder of this article.

Methods

The sampling for our study is informed by strategies introduced in earlier reviews (Stevens 2007; Stevens et al. 2011). We began our research by probing journals listed in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), using specific search queries. Secondly, we searched for key researchers. We found seven German-based journals that included relevant articles. Both methods have certain limitations with respect to the social sciences and humanities: research

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[3] See http://www.bamf.de/SiteGlobals/Forms/Sprachumschaltung/DE/Sprachumschaltung_Formular.html for information on the strategy as a whole.

has shown that the European research area, particularly scholarship in languages other than English, is vastly under-represented here (Gogolin 2012). A further limitation of this method with respect to Germany is that a significant share of research is published in books. Although this tradition is changing, it is relevant for the time frame of discussion.

We included peer-reviewed SSCI-ranked journals such as *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft, Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Zeitschrift für Soziologie der Erziehung und Sozialisation* and the *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*. We also included relevant articles from other national and international journals on the basis of our assessment of their quality. We further selected books, edited books and book chapters from publishing houses specialised in our topic. In this instance, quality control systems similar to those used by research journals (e.g. peer review), had been established.

Via this sampling method we were able to identity the following research traditions: (1) features of the education system and their relevance to inequality; (2) migrant student characteristics (as well as those of their families) as causes of inequality; (3) linguistic diversity and educational inequality.

Research Traditions

In the German context, research on migration, ethnicity, social disadvantage, language diversity and educational inequality are all strongly related to one another. The three traditions that we identified all date back to the 1970s. The debate concerning the relative underachievement of migrant children (or 'foreign students', as they were then called) began in the early 1970s and initially focused on practical solutions to everyday problems in teaching. These pragmatic and practice-driven approaches were soon complemented by theoretical explanation for and empirical clarification of educational disadvantage. Empirical studies concentrated on traditional features of the German school system and culture, as well as on teaching strategies and their potentially negative effects in contexts of increasing ethnic and cultural diversity. These studies were mainly embedded in the humanities, namely anthropological and cultural theories, in combination with sociological theories of social stratification and class distinction.

The second tradition also arose from the application of social science approaches, with a focus on methodologies borrowed from psychology and economics. These studies consequently rely on quantitative or mixed-method approaches. Respective projects also work with sociocultural frameworks and

human capital theories, but mostly concentrate on a rational choice perspective. The third tradition considers linguistic perspectives. Here, explanations for inequality focus on the role and function of bi- or plurilingualism for educational success. Historical, qualitative and quantitative methods are often combined within this research tradition.

Features of the Education System and Their Relevance to Inequality

'Cultural Mismatch'

The 1970s saw a 'foreigner pedagogy' (*Ausländerpädagogik*) which assumed that foreign descent equated 'foreign culture' and thus a mismatch of expectations and beliefs between the 'foreigners' and the school. Projects sought to provide short-term solutions to problems faced in everyday classroom practice, but without any far-reaching theoretical claims or significant empirical foundations. The respective literature is dominated by reports on behavioral and learning problems of migrant children, accompanied by ethical considerations and programmatic blueprints for dealing with the problems perceived. Publications were thereby aimed at providing orientation for teachers (e.g. Koch 1970; Müller 1974; Hohmann 1976). Numerous pilot projects aimed at best-practice guidelines for schools and teacher training were launched by the *Länder*, partly in cooperation with the federal government. Evaluations were based mainly on expert interviews concerning participants' satisfaction and perception of success of the projects (e.g. Boos-Nünning et al. 1983; Beer and Wagner 1984; Esser and Steindl 1987).

These approaches were met from the outset with critical discussions of their theoretical foundation and, consequently, empirical validity (Heckmann 1992). The most fundamental issue raised concerned the notions of 'culture' and 'ethnicity', often implicit rather than explicit elements of the approaches. Analysis revealed that the terms were at first applied in a naïve manner to mean 'national background' (Gogolin 1998a). Given this connotation, the matter of the legal category of citizenship, and whether it could have any bearing on educational processes and attainment, was brought to the debate (Ruhloff 1983). A further matter was the internal diversity of migrant groups and the problem of homogenizing groups from a particular state. This not only has the effect of erasing differences, but also obscures potential relationships, such as socio-economic background, as causal factors for educational disadvantage (Hamburger et al. 1981; Radtke and Dittrich 1990).

Folgen der Arbeitsmigration für Bildung und Erziehung

In light of such criticisms, the German Research Foundation funded the research priority programme *Folgen der Arbeitsmigration für Bildung und Erziehung*/FABER (Consequences of labour migration for education) from 1993 to 1998, through which 25 research projects were financed. The majority of these projects aimed to establish sound theoretical and empirical foundations to explain educational disadvantage among children of migrant workers by focusing on the traditions and features of the German education system (Gogolin and Nauck 2000). The following examples derive from this research and from follow-up studies.

Historical Traditions

Most people in Germany – the general public as well as those in the education system – perceived post-World War II migration and diversification as a historically new phenomenon. In reality, however, migration is a continuous feature of German history (Bade 1992). At times, this history saw considerable emigration; at other times, Germany was the final destination for many immigrants, for example from Eastern Europe during the 19th century. Moreover, as state frontiers changed as a consequence of war, 'minorities' frequently and repeatedly emerged. Given this context, the necessity to present the apparent discrepancy between public memory and historical facts, as well as to research its possible influence on the educational disadvantages of migrant children, was obvious. Respective research projects applied historical theories and methodologies, namely social history approaches (Wehler 1987–2008) and the study of archives.

Emerging from this research was the highly significant insight that, from the 1960s onwards, features of Germany's education system continued to mirror those of 19th- and early 20th-century traditions (Krüger-Potratz et al. 1998; Krüger-Potratz 1999; Hansen 2003). Scholars showed that the development of *national* education systems in the 19th century gave rise to the general principle that a nation-state is responsible for the education of its citizens only. The inclusion of 'foreigners', and special provisions for them, was therefore coupled to the existence of bi- or multilateral agreements with the state(s) of origin. This principle was applied when initial provisions for the children of guest workers were made, evidenced by that fact that the right to attend regular school was tied to the legal residence permit of the child. Children or youth with fragile or illegal status would in most cases be accepted

by an individual school, but their rights to be educated can be restricted (Fuchs and Reuter 2002). This principle is further apparent in provisions for mother tongue instruction, i.e. the teaching of migrants' heritage languages. In most German *Länder*, such instruction is provided only if the state of origin takes responsibility for it (Reich 2000).

Another pertinent feature concerns assumptions regarding integration, seen to be a short-term process – quasi by nature – that leads to a living and learning situation bearing no difference to that of autochthonous learners; in other words: to normalisation. So-called reception measures for newcomers were established, lasting from six to 24 months. No further supports are provided following this period, except extra tuition for those students who are severely behind in learning or even drop out. For children born and raised in Germany, no specific support was envisaged. This is a matter of concern when we consider that the majority of so-called migrant children are, since the 1990s, born in Germany. It took the PISA studies to convince German policymakers that short interventions do not fulfil the objective of educational equality for migrant children and youth.

Institutional Discrimination

Another research perspective on ethnic minority discrimination in education is based on the sociology of organisations, especially Luhmann's systems theory (Luhmann 1984). Here, the mechanisms of schools as systems were studied according to how they 'act' in order to protect and reproduce their own existence. Through regional case studies, scholars uncovered mechanisms that were not explicitly designed to discriminate, but nonetheless functioned in this sense (Gomolla and Radtke 2002). They traced rhetoric that appeared favourable to children's academic careers, but which couched pedagogical decisions that were *de facto* unfavourable to them. One example is the justification for the allocation of migrant children to special needs schools. It could be shown via regional case study that the number of migrant children allocated to such schools rose after the number of autochthonous children dropped. Statements justifying the higher allocation of migrant children made no mention of their foreign heritage – which would have violated regulations – but focused on protecting them from physical or mental overload. Attendance at a special needs school was thus presented as a positive opportunity for the children concerned, rather than a measure of exclusion from educational success (which is what it actually is).

Perceptions of Diversity

The third approach consists of studies that strive for a deeper analysis of educational institutions. The theoretical background here is Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, applied in conjunction with methodological approaches from ethnography (Bourdieu 1977). One example was the case study *Großstadt Grundschule* (Urban Primary School) which looked at the ways in which a typical urban primary school masters the challenges of ethnic diversity in the student population (Gogolin and Neumann 1997). A primary school in the city of Hamburg was selected for observation. With around 50% of students holding foreign passports, this school was considered to represent urban student composition at that time. The aim of the study was to expose how teachers, children and parents perceived, evaluated and mastered this linguistically and culturally diverse educational constellation. A key finding was that the various parties were in agreement about ways to deal with diversity. They shared the view that the school is responsible for the development of high competence in German, recognised as a crucial factor in achieving educational success. While this can be accepted as common sense, the migrant parents and their children also had clear multilingual self-concepts. Parents wanted their children to maintain ties to the heritage language and hoped that they would acquire high levels in these languages. However, they did not expect the school to assume responsibility for heritage language support. Instead, this was considered a private affair. Language practices were described as an 'arrangement': participants in the study undoubtedly respected the privileged position of German in the public sphere, be it in school or other spaces. In the private sphere, families conduct plurilingual practices, using German and the respective heritage language(s) (Gogolin 1998b).

Teaching Subject Matter in Multilingual Classrooms

The projects described above mainly took a holistic approach to school life and teaching. In follow-up projects, more attention began to be paid to subject teaching. First attempts concentrated on the programmatic design of intercultural teaching methods (Reich et al. 2000). Since the 1990s, a growing number of empirical research projects ask whether and in what ways subject teaching practices in diverse classrooms can be responsible for educational inequalities. Some of these studies focus on individual students as object of observation (Kaiser 2003; Kaiser and Schwarz 2003). Complementary projects investigate whether different teaching methods and pedagogical

approaches have different effects on skills acquisition by children with and without a migration background, often concentrating on teachers as principal actors (see Kaiser 2003; Schütte 2009; Prediger and Özdil 2011; see also section "Linguistic Diversity and Educational Achievement" with respect to language education).

A key finding from these studies is the identification of systematic differences in perception and ways of dealing with learning tasks. Kaiser and Schwarz (2003) compared approaches to mathematical tasks by secondary school students with Turkish-German, Russian-German and monolingual German backgrounds. They were able to show actual differences between the three groups in modes of access to the tasks. The differences persist even among students who had their entire education in a German school. The studies further show that general proficiency in German is less important for the ability to work out mathematical tasks. Rather, subject-specific language skills and the command of academic language proved to be much more important. The authors conclude that these differences in processing tasks might contribute to a systematic disadvantage of migrant students. Migrant students, even if they showed high proficiency in everyday German, needed considerably more time than their monolingual German counterparts to decode mathematical tasks (Gogolin et al. 2005; Grießhaber 2011; Heinze et al. 2011).

Another relevant finding from these studies is that teachers tend to address students with and students without a migration background differently. One communicative strategy when addressing students with a migration background is to reduce aspirations and complexity (Gogolin 2009). This may negatively affect students' perceptions of themselves as successful learners, as well as their chances of acquiring the subject-specific and academic language skills which are the foundation of a successful educational career.

In sum, the research tradition presented here was fundamental in making progress in theoretical understandings of the consequences of migration for education. Moreover, a substantial body of empirical research on characteristics of the German education system, as well as on teaching and learning in German schools, was produced. The results show systematic patterns which likely contribute to the (re)production of ethnic inequalities in German schools. They also provide good groundwork for follow-up intervention studies aimed at the improvement of teaching in ethnically and linguistically diverse classrooms. In recent years, awareness of both researchers and the public has increased in this regard. Nonetheless, this research was not able to convince either the political sphere or the general public of the wide range and continuing relevance of this issue. It needed further research, which we present in the following section, to do this.

Migrant Population Characteristics as Explanatory Causes for Inequality

The second significant research tradition we present focuses on characteristics of the migrant population, rather than the education system, in order to explain ethnic inequality.

The starting point for this tradition was the discourse based on assumptions around migrant pupil deficiencies with respect to the competences, knowledge and behavior expected by the German education system. This discourse began in the early 1970s. The main impetus for the research concerned was to find explanations for educational disadvantage in the migrants' *cultural* backgrounds. As mentioned already, this perception was based on a static, nation-related connotation of the concept of culture, but became more differentiated and complex, not least as a reaction to research results. More recent research integrates the multi-modality and complexity of causes and effects into the conceptual design and methodological approaches of projects.

Cultural Deficit Approach

The cultural deficit approach was widespread up until the 1990s (indeed it still prevails among the general public and parts of the political sphere). Research projects mostly concentrated on finding reasons for educational disadvantage which could be attributed to socialisation in 'foreign' families and the culture(s) that they represent. Consequently, most studies operating within this framework focused on a specific group of origin identified by national background (Hopf 1987; Merkens 1990; Bott et al. 1991). Most studies argued from a social psychological or educational psychological perspective and applied related methodologies. One assumption was that family climate and support structures had negative effects on educational achievement (Schönpflug and Alamandar-Niemann 1993). Others assumed that migrant children's personality traits lead to adaptation problems in school, thus fostering lower achievement (Roebers and Schneider 1995). One basic postulate of these studies was that the 'cultural differences' between migrant families and their children on the one hand, and the school and majority society on the other, lead to conflicting constellations which cause underachievement.

This research was grounded on classifications of cultures as either 'modern' or 'traditional', indicated for example by more 'individualistic' and more 'collective' lifestyles (Triandis 1988). Cultural deficits, however, served as weak explanations for educational disparities (cf. Schönpflug and Alamandar-Niemann 1993, pp. 144f; see also Herwartz-Emden 2000; Diefenbach 2002).

This perspective consequently fizzled out by the late 1980s, although some researchers have continued to examine differentiated approaches to the cultural causes of educational disadvantage, mostly based on post-colonial studies (e.g. Hall 1996; Ashcroft et al. 1998).

A change in perspective is intended here, from a focus on migrants' 'mismatch' with the demands of the receiving society to the reverse whereby the receiving society is incapable of dealing with cultural and ethnic diversity in a non-discriminatory manner. The relevant literature is usually based on qualitative, ethnographic or biographical approaches that trace the disadvantages of being labeled ethnically or culturally 'different' (Mecheril 2003; Weber 2003). An important finding is the reciprocity of using cultural ascriptions or stereotypes in educational settings. Weber (2003), for example, traced understandings of 'Turkish culture' among girls with a Turkish background and their teachers in dealing with different issues in school. The teachers applied the label 'Turkish culture' when explaining students' unwelcome behavior; the girls used the same label in their own interests. For example, girls who did not want to take part in school excursions told their teachers that their conservative and paternalist fathers would not allow it. The teachers accepted such explanations without challenge.

Human Capital

A complementary approach to explaining educational disadvantage according to the characteristics of migrants themselves was developed in a tradition largely based on human capital theories, adapted mainly in their sociologically expanded variants, including Coleman's concept of social capital or Bourdieu's more general concept of capital and social stratification (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). The observation that not all migrant students of the same cultural or ethnic background succeed or fail in the same way motivated a number of projects. The questions as to why different schools of the same school type or schools in different regions produce marked differences in achievement, not only between migrant and autochthonous students, but also within both groups, were further taken into account.

The first, mainly quantitative, studies in this tradition focused on socioeconomic, cultural and educational backgrounds prior to migration to Germany, or on the social and economic features of the country of origin. Hopf (1987), for example, concentrated on families from Greece as their children belonged to some of the more successful groups in German schools. From analyses of socio-economic data, Hopf concluded that Greek migrants

represented a positively selected group with better school qualifications, better professional positions, and higher incomes when compared with the average population in their area of origin. He suggested that this indicated high educational aspirations and readiness to invest in children, leading to a positive impact on their educational success. This interpretation has, however, been challenged by other studies. Nauck (1994) showed that migrants from different states of origin disposed of a similar socio-economic and educational background to that of the Greek migrants. Moreover, parental investment in their children and educational aspirations were similarly high. Neither, however, led to similar success in the education system for their children.

The discourse on such contradictory results led to a concentration on features of the receiving country as possible explanation for the underachievement of migrant children. Research initially focused on obvious socio-economic factors, such as household income and the number of persons belonging to a household. It could be shown via the respective indicators that the migrant population in Germany represents lower social strata than the average population, although recruitment policies in the 1950s–1970s sought to attract skilled workers. A number of unfavourable conditions, such as restrictive practices in acknowledging professional or academic qualifications, and likewise constraints in issuing work permits, led to a downgrading of professional status of and low income opportunities for migrant workers. In the early 2000s, poverty risk for autochthonous Germans was estimated at 12%; for the migrant population it was 28%. Among 15-year-olds, the risk was estimated for 15% of non-migrants, but for 33% of those from migrant families (see BMAS 2008, chapter 9). The insight could thus be reached that heredity of educational poverty (*Bildungsarmut*) is a general characteristic of the German school system. Lower educational achievement and success, according to related sociological analysis, is handed down from generation to generation in Germany due to the interlocking attributes of the educational and social systems (Allmendinger 1999). Unfavourable socio-economic conditions and related disadvantages – such as low access to better off residential areas – brought about forms of ethnic stratification in Germany (Esser 2001). This has negative effects on educational opportunity, not least on account of the location of school types in or close to certain residential areas. As shown in the national education reports, the hierarchically tiered school system interacts with the social structure of residential areas. Whereas schools offering the lowest school leaving qualification tend to be found in low social strata areas, better off areas tend to host schools with academic tracks. The already disadvantaged are thereby typically further disadvantaged, especially students from migrant families (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2016).

Other studies to identify structural and procedural characteristics of the German school system have been conducted since the 1990s. In the context of the FABER focal project, for example, Nauck and others re-analyzed data from the Socio-economic Panel Study (SOEP), a longitudinal survey on household development which has been conducted for more than 30 years (http://www.diw.de/en/soep). The panel covers data on socio-economic conditions and participation in education. It includes a sample of foreign nationals (families of Turkish, Greek, Italian, Spanish or [former] Yugoslavian descent). Nauck and colleagues (e.g. Nauck and Diefenbach 1997; Nauck et al. 1998) identified stratified selection processes that work to the detriment of migrant students in schools, and even more so in the transition to vocational education and the labour market. The authors point to the hierarchically tiered school system and early selection in general schooling as causal factors for stratification. For the transition from school to the vocational education system, mechanisms of active discrimination could be identified (Imdorf 2010). Analysis showed that students whose families have knowledge of the general procedures and requirements – such as formal qualifications and tracks – are at an advantage in gaining access to more promising professions. Migrant students often lack the necessary information and opt for less promising qualifications or jobs (Bommes 1996; Baethge 2010). Evidence shows that non-migrant families are better equipped with networks and information channels (Nauck et al. 1998). Their cultural capital – understood here in terms of knowledge about the educational and vocational systems – as well as social capital increase opportunities for the successful integration of their children in vocational education and careers. Moreover, the authors reveal that the education certificates of parents have a higher impact on educational success in the case of non-migrant students than that of migrant students. In fact, the chances of participating in an academic track increase for children of higher-educated autochthonous families, but not to the same degree for migrant students whose parents have similar qualifications. To conclude generally, non-migrant families can benefit greater from their different capitals across generations than the migrant population (Nauck 2011).

Whereas the above-cited research centred on migration-related aspects of human capital, other studies showed that social status in general can explain educational achievement, regardless of the migration status of a child (see for example Lehmann et al. 2002; Baumert and Schümer 2002; Baumert et al. 2003). The gradual introduction of more sophisticated statistical methodologies and improvement in data sources allowed for multilevel analysis which could also trace hidden relations between different indicators. Theoretical discourse and empirical evidence revealed the internal differences of groups of

migrants, acknowledging that previous attempts to differentiate by nationality or culture were not fruitful. The introduction of 'place of birth' as an indicator resulted in different findings. Diefenbach (2007) was able to determine that Germany as birthplace of (at least) one parent has no effect on the type of secondary education that a child will attend. Yet, in analysis of school achievement results, correlations between place of birth and educational attainment were identified (DESI-Konsortium 2006). Whether place of birth is a causal factor or indicator is deliberated in related discussions that point to other relevant living conditions (Clauß and Nauck 2009; Diefenbach 2010).

More recent attempts to explain disadvantage consider the whole educational career of a child. Rather than focus just on school, these studies look for the effects of preschool attendance on educational success and consider both the ethnic and social backgrounds of children (see overview in Becker 2011). In a related study, Biedinger (2010) asks whether the time spent in kindergarten and the quality of the environment may have positive effects on the German vocabulary of three- to five-year-olds and whether these factors have a larger impact on children with a Turkish background when compared with non-migrant children. The analyses are conducted with data from the project Preschool Education and Educational Careers of Migrant Children,[4] which includes a two-wave panel over a one-year period. In effect, children with a Turkish background score worse on the German vocabulary test than non-migrant children at both points in time, but the migrant children's progress is steeper. Using fixed effect regressions, the author shows that longer preschool attendance leads to a significant improvement in German vocabulary. Both migrant and non-migrant children profit from a good quality preschool environment. With respect to the command of German, non-migrant children profit more than migrant children from social and cultural activities inside the family, while activities outside the family have positive effects on the migrant children's second language proficiency (Biedinger 2010).

In another study, Biedinger et al. (2008) enquire whether preschool attendance accounts for some of the educational inequality of migrant children when they enter school (usually at age six). By analyzing regional school entrance data, they aim to distinguish differences in school readiness between groups as an indicator of early school success. It could be shown that preschool experience improves school readiness, even when family background is controlled for. While this applies to all children, migrant children nonetheless

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[4] *Erwerb von sprachlichen und kulturellen Kompetenzen von Migrantenkindern in der Vorschulzeit*, http:// www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/d7/de/projects/erwerb-von-sprachlichen-und-kulturellen-kompetenzen-von-migrantenkindern

show lower scores in the respective tests when all socio-economic factors are controlled for. Multilevel analysis indicates that the ethnic effect differs between preschools. Preschool influence depends on social composition: preschools with children from well-to-do families foster children's development better than those in a poorer environment. Here, again, the social selectivity of housing areas shows effects.

Becker et al. (2013; cf. also Biedinger 2010) found that ethnic difference decreases at the end of preschool if the duration of preschool attendance is taken into account. The question of whether preschool attendance has short- or long-term effects on educational careers remains open. When controlling for social selectivity in access to preschools, strong evidence for long-term positive effects are found, provided that the socio-structural position of the family is average. Although preschool attendance can contribute to the reduction of educational inequalities, the effects of social background cannot be fully compensated for.

Whereas most of the research presented here has focused on comparisons between native and migrant children, some studies are concerned with differentiation within and between respective groups of migrants. These mainly focus on comparisons between students of Turkish and Russian heritage. The latter category combines students from different countries belonging to the former Soviet Union. The main reason for this selection of groups is the lack of adequate sample sizes of other groups for representative studies. An overall finding of the respective studies is that the Turkish-origin group belongs to the least educationally successful, and the Russian group to the most successful migrants in German schools (Stanat 2003; Müller and Stanat 2006). German schooling statistics, however, reveal the largest differences in educational success are between students with a Turkish and those with a Vietnamese background. While students of Turkish origin perform rather unsuccessfully, those of Vietnamese origin perform outstandingly – even better than the German reference population. Nauck and others carried out a study in which around 1300 German, Turkish, and Vietnamese students were included. The authors followed the assumption that, in order to explain differences in educational outcomes between the groups, a closer look must be taken at the culture-specific transformation of parental educational styles and everyday socialisation practices, because the pronounced differences between the three groups can neither be explained by differential discrimination in the education system nor by significant selection effects with regard to economic or social capital (Nauck and Lotter 2014). Data analyses, however, did not reveal any clear cultural distinctions between the two migrant groups. The authors conclude that interaction between culture(s) of origin and the situational cir-

cumstances of migrant families are crucial to explaining parental investments in intergenerational status transmission (Nauck and Schnoor 2015). With regard to findings in the USA, explanations for Vietnamese children's advantages and Turkish children's disadvantages in educational systems around the world remain an important area of research (Cheadle 2008; Zhou 2009).

The human capital approach unveils relevant characteristics of migrant families *and* the German school system that contribute to the educational disadvantage of migrant children (see also Alba et al. 1994; Diefenbach 2002, 2006; Walter 2006; Schnepf 2007). Results from this research approach are in line with findings from international comparative studies, such as Pásztor (2008). A particular strength of this approach is that results are replicable and can thus be generalised, also beyond national or regional migration characteristics. Nevertheless, a number of questions concerning the causes of migrant disadvantage in education systems remain unanswered by the human capital approach. Questions relating to the role of the education system and educational or teaching practice itself, and the interaction between teaching and the learning prerequisites of individuals in the system, are not captured by this approach. In the third relevant research tradition that we present below, problems of teaching and learning come into focus through the example of language as foundation of teaching and learning in general.

Linguistic Diversity and Educational Achievement

The third relevant research tradition we present is concerned with the role and function of linguistic diversity for educational equality. This question intrigued researchers, practitioners and the political sphere as labour migration to the BRD began and as family reunion increased in the late 1960s. The focus and perspective of this research has changed considerably over the years, however. Initial concern was with introducing learners to German as quickly as possible. Their linguistic heritage, i.e. command of their family languages, was considered a deficit and barrier to the acquisition of German. This position was quickly challenged by researchers who claimed that the first or heritage language is a valuable source of language development and provides important stepping stones for the acquisition of German as a second language (Pommerin 1977). A bilingualism perspective ought to therefore be applied in both research and practice related to language as a factor for educational achievement. The first works advocating this perspective concentrated on the specificities of the Turkish language in relation to German, considering the typological differences between these languages and the fact that the number

of children from Turkish families entering German schools had vastly grown since the 1960s (Meyer-Ingwersen et al. 1977; Neumann and Reich 1977). Today, Turkish remains the largest second language in Germany.

Complementary to the bilingual perspective, a further research tradition was stimulated by the increasing diversity of languages represented by groups of migrants in Germany. The claim for integrating a multilingual perspective was made, often embedded in concepts of intercultural education (Boos-Nünning et al. 1983). An integration of bi- and multilingual perspectives belonged to the aims of the FABER programme (op. cit.).

Transdisciplinarity is a general feature of the research presented here with projects embracing education and social sciences, linguistic theories and methodologies. We proceed with recent research that uncovered empirical evidence for language as a cause of educational inequality. Interpreting these results, however, led to some controversy concerning appropriate conceptualisations of language and language education in migration societies. In the second part of this section, we report on research that aims at a historical understanding of current and mainstream perceptions of linguistic 'normality'. We then describe some new approaches that attempt to conceptualise language and education in ways that capture language diversity as a general feature of present-day societies and schools.

Language as Cause of Educational Inequality

There is no doubt that access to the language of schooling is a fundamental requirement for educational success. The best ways to provide access to migrants, for whom the language of schooling is most probably not the only, and conceivably not the most important means of communication in everyday life, are contested. Moreover, general perceptions of linguistic diversity in Germany are inconsistent. On the one hand, policy and other public statements claim to embrace and respect linguistic diversity. On the other hand, strong concerns and even rejection of linguistic diversity are expressed, especially with respect to languages associated with underprivileged groups – such as migrants. The latter attitude is also present in some research, in particular large-scale monitoring studies in which the 'languages spoken at home' are often conceptualised as risk factors for educational success. This has been the case in the German parts of international large scale achievement studies, such as PISA (Klieme et al. 2010; Reiss et al. 2016), PIRLS, *Internationale Grundschul-Lese-Untersuchung* (IGLU) (Hußmann et al. 2017), or TIMSS

(Wendt et al. 2016). Within this influential research tradition, growing up and living with more than one language is considered to be a threat to educational attainment and, more generally, to integration. These studies deserve much credit as they managed to bring to public attention the highly selective procedures of the German education system with respect to socio-economic background. They further shed light on the key importance of language competence for education in general. For the German general public and political sphere, the insight that performance in mathematics and science is highly dependent on competence in the language of schooling was shocking, although it had been repeatedly addressed by researchers (Lehmann et al. 1995). It took the striking proof from large-scale statistics to really bring this to light, however.

'Language competence' in the aforementioned studies is generally operationalised as reading ability – a receptive language proficiency. The main reason for this is the challenge in testing large samples. Methodologies for the analysis of large sets of productive speech samples are scarce, and they are in any case more time consuming in elicitation as well as data analysis than tests of reading proficiency (Klinger et al. 2018). This problem has been taken up fairly recently in research projects supported by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (Redder et al. 2015). Although reading abilities are undoubtedly critical for educational attainment, a definite understanding of the interrelations between receptive and productive language competences and their role in educational attainment is not yet on hand (Portmann-Tselikas and Schmölzer-Eibinger 2002; Becker-Mrotzek and Roth 2017).

Most projects referenced here focus on the role of German for educational success. But interest in the potential relationships between bi- or multilingual living conditions and educational achievement is steadily growing. In a national representative study of students in the ninth grade (15–17 year-olds), the relevance of migrants' heritage languages for educational success has been explored (DESI-Konsortium 2006). The study focused on achievement in the two subjects of German and English. Findings indicated that bilingual migrant students have advantages in English, even when socio-economic and other background features are controlled for. This was also the case for students of Turkish origin (Rauch et al. 2010; see also Haenni Hoti 2009). These results indicate that the potential advantages of bilingual living conditions are taken up in the teaching of foreign languages in German-speaking countries, but not in those areas of schooling for which German is the language of instruction. The potential positive effects of transfer on language learning and learning in general

(Bialystok 2009; Poarch and Bialystok 2017) can thus not be fully exploited by learners. The results of an evaluation of bilingual education models point in the same direction. The *Land* of Berlin offers a number of two-way immersion schools – a model inspired by Canadian experiences (Cummins 2008). The organisational principle of these schools is based on the idea that 50% of the students represent the second language of instruction as (one of) their home language(s). A total of 32 schools in Berlin are organised according to this model. Many of them offer English or French, the usual foreign languages as partner languages; but, all in all, nine different languages are offered, among them also migrant languages such as Turkish, Polish or Russian. An evaluation of these models, based on a complete survey of Berlin schools, revealed that the bilingual model shows clear advantages not only for language learning, but also for competences in subjects such as mathematics or science. The advantages also include aspects concerning motivation and intercultural skills (Möller et al. 2017). The selectivity of the bilingual models and other influencing factors such as socio-economic background or cognitive potential were also controlled for (Baumert et al. 2017).

Despite national and international research showing returns on investment in migrants' home languages for their educational attainment, the general question of whether bilingualism is a threat to or an advantage for educational achievement has been constantly debated within the German research tradition. Different points of view are recurrently exchanged and disputed (Gogolin and Neumann 2009). The opposing positions point to different theoretical and normative framings of the research. From a rational choice perspective, command of the language of origin has no specific additional effect on educational success for the labour market (as measured by income level) (Esser 2006, 2009). From the points of view of linguistics and the sociology of culture, however, when additional indicators are applied (e.g. well-being or linguistic flexibility), elaborate command of all languages by bi- and multilingual individuals can have positive effects on educational achievement as well as integration (Auer 2009; see also Tracy et al. 2006). The bilingualism 'controversy' is still open to debate, due to two reasons: firstly, answers provided to questions within this debate tend to be inconsistent; secondly, it has to be acknowledged that the problem of linguistic diversity is deeply embedded in historical traditions which establish a frame for basic normative positions. Sometimes explicitly, though more often implicitly, such positions resonate not only in political or public viewpoints, but also in research perspectives. In the following section we present attempts to expose this problem.

Linguistic Habitus

Although multilingualism is hardly a new phenomenon in any region of the world, migration-induced linguistic diversity was perceived to be a new experience in Germany after World War II. This signifies that the notion of 'linguistic normality' is largely embedded in traditional European conceptualisations of the nation. Languages were – and still are – widely viewed as connected with particular cultures and 'their' territories. Inherent in this perspective is a monolingual norm that is bound up with the classical, European concept of the nation state.

On a rhetorical level, the equality of migrant children is a self-evident aim in the German education system. Normative texts, such as curricula, and official ministerial recommendations prompt respect for migrant students' heritage languages and cultures, and teachers themselves have asserted in interview studies that they act accordingly (see for example Bühler-Otten et al. 2000; Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder (KMK) and Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) 2015). In practice, however, support for heritage languages is an exception, rather than a rule, within the education system. The system is focused on the acquisition of German.

The discrepancies between rhetoric and practice are evident – but what are their reasons? This question was approached with a focus on the everyday routines and habitual practices of teachers – do they function as a potential source of unintended, but effective, causes of disadvantage among migrant children?

This question was tackled in historiographical analyses of the German and other European education systems that aimed to trace the foundations of widespread linguistic self-conceptions of schools and teachers (Krüger-Potratz 2000; Kroon 2003; Gogolin 2008). The framework for these analyses were taken from Bourdieu's concept of habitus, according to which each individual acquires in his or her socialisation certain dispositions for social action that are conditioned by one's own position in society (Bourdieu 1983). These dispositions develop in the course of the individual's engagement with the social world. They include what Bourdieu calls "a sense of the game": an understanding of the social order and one's own position in it; a mode of classification of the world; a certain taste and tone of voice – what Bourdieu calls "embodied social structures" (Bourdieu 1984a, p. 65). The individual develops a certain habitus that is typical of his or her position in the social space. A habitus is a necessary prerequisite for routine activities in the sector of the social world which is relevant to an actor. Inherent are mechanisms that prompt the individual to acknowledge, legitimate and reproduce the

accustomed opinions and forms of acting of his or her social group. There is thus a shared sense of understanding that is hidden from conscience yet governs routine practice. This theoretical perspective has been transferred to groups of actors, such as certain professionals (Bourdieu 1984b). It has also been applied to the field of language, unveiling relations between language use and symbolic power in societies (Bourdieu 1991).

By applying this perspective to historiographical analyses, the habitualisation of a monolingual self-concept, i.e. the emergence of a monolingual habitus during the process of nation building in the 18th and 19th centuries, could be shown (Gogolin 2008). These processes can be reconstructed for European nation states: the existence of a 'common' language is considered central to national identity as well as to linguistically zoned regions within a state (Caviedes 2003). The development of national education systems accompanied these processes and assumed a critical role in the creation of monolingual norms. In the case of Germany, studies have traced the processes of creating and securing the common opinion that German is, quasi by nature, the mother tongue of every person living in the country (Krüger-Potratz 1994). Educating children in German only was thus considered the best and natural way. Other languages that had formerly functioned as languages of instruction (e.g. Greek and Latin) were then restricted to subjects of foreign language teaching. As Gogolin (2008) showed, an unintended effect of this development was the emergence of a professional habitus among teachers that the emblematic 'normal' child is monolingual. Language development – with the exception of the acquisition of script – is thus expected to happen *en passant*. The task of the school was consequently to 'garden what grows naturally' (Hildebrand 1920).

This concept was taken up in international comparative projects on teaching the majority language in multilingual classroom settings (Gogolin and Kroon 2000). Using ethnographic approaches, teaching in urban classrooms in England, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany was observed and audiotaped over a period of schooling. In each case, classroom routines were based on shared common beliefs incorporated by the teachers in question. Language instruction was based on habitual routines of which the teachers were not necessarily aware. This included the idea that all children in their classroom possess a common and instinctive feel for the language of schooling (*Sprachgefühl*), which matches that of the teacher. Although teachers were aware of linguistic diversity in their classrooms, this 'feeling' for language was taken for granted, thus representing a stark element of the monolingual habitus as it governed teaching activities.

A consequence of this routine is that the specific linguistic knowledge and skills that are inherent in the language of instruction – the register of academic knowledge – are not systematically taught, but expected as 'natural' among students. Teachers possessed unconscious beliefs that children acquire these skills outside of school – first and foremost in the family. Children who do not grow up in very literate environments are not systematically introduced to the particular requirements of academic language which becomes more and more important to learning over the course of the school career. Bi- or multilingual students, but also monolinguals who have less access to literacy activities in the language of schooling in their family environment, can thus gradually be excluded from successful learning due to the linguistic presentation of contents and tasks (de Jong and Leseman 2001).

This research contributed to a deeper theoretical understanding of language-related factors that may influence educational inequality. It could be shown that a monolingual norm, following a 200-year tradition, forms part of the unconscious beliefs that rule individual practices and underlie social structures, even where public rhetoric extols multilingualism. The dynamics of linguistic differentiation and differentiation that derive from global migration flows and virtually limitless media communications are not captured by this perception, however. A monolingual habitus reinforces the notion that multilingualism is a threat to learning and educational achievement. Individual bi- or multilingualism is particularly considered to be a risk factor for migrant children and youth; in their case, low prestige and underprivileged status often serve to overshadow their linguistic competences and value of their languages. Attempts to consider both the potential risk factors and advantages of individual bi- or multilingualism are sketched in the following section.

Superdiversity

Although disagreement persists, the research community has come to the shared fundamental understanding that *language* will remain central in tracing the causes and effects of educational inequality for quite some time. Two main reasons led to this agreed assumption. The first concerns current patterns of migration which do not concern Germany especially, but Europe more generally. Whereas from World War II to the late 1970s, comparatively large groups of people from a relatively small number of regions migrated to Germany, the number of regions has since increased, leading to a diminishment of single groups of origin (Krüger-Potratz and Schiffauer 2010).

Demographic data reveal that migrants in Germany represent around 190 different nation states – virtually all nation states of the world, according to the United Nations definition (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2010). This development has led to a "diversification of diversity" in Europe, to "super-diversity", as termed by Vertovec (2007). This concept comprises distinctly more phenomena than just language. It has been applied to the interwoven effects of diversity as brought about by gender, social class, legal status, religious affiliation, to name but a few (Vertovec 2009). Language heritages, however, belong to the most relevant elements that create super-diverse constellations in educational settings. This is not least due to the fact that traditional patterns of language attrition within three migrant generations seem to become less relevant in the context of present-day migration. New, more fluid forms of migration, facilitated by increasing global interconnectedness, do invite greater loyalty to heritage languages. New communication technologies can support the continuous use of these languages in mobile transmigrant or diaspora communities (Androutsopoulos 2006; Pries 2007). The second reason for the continuing relevance of research on language and inequality is related to the scope of education itself. Whereas there is relatively little room to intervene in children's social backgrounds or the living conditions of their families, the field of language education is fairly open to innovation and effective action, provided that the necessary preconditions for successful interventions are created.

Aware of these developments, the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research launched a coordinated research cluster, made up of 12 projects that investigate various and contemporary issues of language education and multilingualism (*Forschungsschwerpunkt Sprachliche Bildung und Mehrsprachigkeit*).[5] Based at 15 German universities, the research projects investigate *inter alia* the development of multilingualism in children and young adults in the context of family, educational institutions, and informal learning situations. The goal is to determine which language biographies, learning settings, language education programmes and language learning strategies have favourable or unfavourable effects on the successful development of multilingualism. At time of writing, most of the projects are still ongoing and will be financed until 2020. Some initial research results are already significant for the developing field. For instance, the inclusion of multilingual support practices into subject matter teaching, e.g. of mathematics, does not only raise the learners' language abilities, but also their understanding of the subject itself (Prediger et al. 2016). Another strategy to support

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[5] http://www.kombi-hamburg.de/

migrant children's learning is based on their metalinguistic awareness. Intervention studies which aim at the explicit and systematic expansion of this potential are also being conducted (Bien-Miller et al. 2017). A third approach to raise the quality and effectiveness of teaching and learning in multilingual settings deals with the professional competences of teachers. In this area, ongoing intervention studies test 'on-the-job' strategies in raising teachers' awareness of the specific needs of multilingual classrooms as well as their ability to act adequately in these settings (Kratzmann et al. 2017). We expect research projects in this area to increase as – not least triggered by the recently rising numbers of migrants – it has become more and more difficult to ignore the changes in and challenges of education in Germany.

To summarise, the knowledge base concerning dependencies between individual multilingualism, linguistic diversity in educational settings and educational attainment has improved considerably in recent years. The validity of traditional notions of 'language normality' have been challenged by historical analysis, and consensus that language is fundamentally significant for teaching and learning in general has been achieved. Moreover, research shows that multilingual living conditions *per se* cannot be characterised as a risk factor for educational achievement. However, questions concerning the conditions under which individual multilingualism may have potential benefits or disadvantages for language development and educational attainment deserve further investigation.

Conclusion and Discussion

Research dealing with ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity and their impact on educational equality mirrors, to a large extent, the German socio-political, individual and historical context, especially the peculiarities of the migration regime in combination with decentralised political responsibilities. Initial attempts to deal with the consequences of migration for education were mainly reactions to phenomena attributed to the 'unfamiliar' (school) population. Cultural and ethnic differences were especially a topic of interest (Heckmann 1992). These differences and their potential relevance for educational disadvantage were not discussed in terms of racial categories, as elsewhere in Europe, on account of the specific historical burden of this terminology in the German context. A considerable amount of research on the causes and mechanisms of discrimination has been undertaken, however. The theoretical and methodological approaches are similar to research in ethnic and racial studies in other national contexts.

A general strategy that can be observed from earlier projects was their focus on certain groups of origin. At first, migrants from Italy attracted the attention of researchers. Increasingly, other groups of origin were taken into account – usually in reaction to their 'appearance' in Germany (Bade 1994; Krüger-Potratz 2005; Kalter 2008). Migrants with a Turkish background remain the object of most research. This is a reaction, on the one hand, to the size of this particular group and, on the other hand, to their perceived distance from German culture. Much research, which was not described within the parameters of this article, concerns the Islamic heritage of Turkish migrants – often conceived as part of their ethnic identities and a causal factor in their relatively low educational success.[6]

This feature of research traditions highlights the fact that there was, and still is, no consistent migration regime and integration policy in Germany. The first political programme that recognised immigration as a constant, irreversible element of German society appeared in 2007 (Bundesregierung 2007). From a historical perspective, the political reactions to migration have been termed *nachholende Integrationspolitik,* or 'catching-up integration policy', indicating that recurrent attempts have to compensate for previous omissions. This has affected research on migration as well as practical approaches in the education system as funding and special programmes in both areas followed government principle that integration was a short-term task – either because of the expected return of migrants to their countries of origin or the belief that migrants could adapt in the short-term to the country of residence. Such beliefs and expectations led to short-term funding programmes for research and practice. Initially, research on the topic was established in just a few institutes and universities by a small community of specialists.

This situation changed in the late 1980s, not least thanks to the establishment of the research priority programme FABER (see section "Features of the Education System and Their Relevance to Inequality"). The programme attracted interdisciplinary research and achieved results in theoretical and methodological respects which continue to inform the research field. Above all, FABER initiated changes in perspectives as it disclosed historical traditions in dealing with diversity and their traces among the general public, political sphere, educational practice and research. Furthermore, the internal diversity of migrants as a group, as well as groups of migrants, was brought to light. Results further

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[6] We have avoided the debate on religion, and particularly Islam, in our contribution because (a) we are not experts in this field and (b) the discourse is currently highly politicised and ideological. Only single studies have attempted to empirically approach relations between religious/Islamic affiliation and educational achievement and integration. The findings of these studies do not provide compelling evidence for any correlation between religious preference and educational (dis)advantage in Germany (see Boos-Nünning and Karakaşoğlu, 2005).

showed the complex relationships between attributes related to migration and other markers of diversity that affect living conditions and educational opportunity, such as socio-economic status and cultural capital. Additionally, it was shown that both the characteristics of migrants and those of the majority population and its institutions must be taken into account, if possible within a joint theoretical framework, in order to understand the causes and effects of inequality. Finally, both the challenges and power of mixed-method designs in the complex field of research on migration, diversity and educational equality was highlighted.

Another important impulse for increasing both the quality and scope of research was the growing interest in monitoring the German education system, indicated by the country's participation in large-scale, international student assessment surveys from the 1990s. Here, discourse concerning the best ways to record diversity were discussed and operationalised in more appropriate ways, for example by differentiating the marker of 'migrant background'. Methodological approaches that allowed for complex multilevel analysis were refined and new standards established. The attempts to describe and understand a wide range of causes and effects of educational inequality can be deemed a success.

The next step, and a pending field of research, is related to the lessons which can be learned from research findings for innovation in educational practice. We can now boast a wealth of knowledge concerning individual, contextual and structural attributes that affect the educational attainment of migrant students (and others) if they belong to underprivileged groups. In the particular case of migrants, language diversity is a specific feature which has to be considered beyond other elements of distinctiveness. A gap persists in the transfer of these insights to educational practice and/or the structural characteristics of the education system. The next and necessary step in the development of the German research sphere will therefore be the design and evaluation of intervention schemes that reflect ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity as a general and non-reversible element of German society and its education system.

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15

Ireland: A Shift Towards Religious Equality in Schools

Daniel Faas and Rachael Fionda

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the three main research traditions that have emerged in Ireland over the past four decades: cultural and religious diversity in policy documents and research reports; racism and education; and the development of newer and more critical research agendas. Increasing migration-related diversity can be seen as a challenge for schools, especially in newly immigrant-receiving countries such as Ireland. Previously largely homogenous in cultural terms, teachers and school principals in Ireland are increasingly faced with the challenge of addressing the needs of all students and not favouring one group over another while acknowledging that schools should strive to create an environment where all children feel valued and views and learning of all students is supported. This chapter begins with an overview of the Irish educational system, and moves on to outline the main immigration phases and patterns including levels of diversity. It then discusses each of the three main research traditions we have identified in turn through a synthesis and analysis of the main literature available.

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In the final section, building on the identified main research traditions, we offer possibilities for researchers to engage in new directions of migration and educational research in Ireland, for instance around policy versus practice in schools.

The Irish Educational System

Schooling in Ireland is compulsory from the age of six until 16. Most primary schools are privately owned but state-funded and provide education for children from the ages of four to 11 or 12 years. Around 96% of primary schools are denominational in their intake and management, with 90% of all primary schools under Catholic patronage (McGarry 2017). Alternative option to parents is provided by the new multidenominational Community National (CN) and Educate Together (ET) schools. CN schools were set up in response to parental demand in areas with considerable numbers of immigrants, and where children were not able to secure places in local schools. Since 2008, 14 schools have been established, providing an additional option for parents, and are designed to meet the demand for a different approach in providing religious and moral education (see cns.ie, Faas et al. 2018a, b, c). These schools provide faith formation for different religious groups during the school, distinctly different from the approach adopted by the currently 97 ET schools (84 primary plus 13 secondary schools, see educatetogether.ie/schools) that teach children about different world religions with an optional faith formation component after school, organized by the parents. A further 12 primary ETs will open in September 2019. There has been a growing demand for alternative schools, as the proportion of the population who do not belong to the Catholic faith has increased. During the past three years, ET schools have increased by over 50%. There are also three state-funded Islamic primary schools in Ireland and one Jewish school. All state schools follow a centralized curriculum. Pupils are not generally permitted to repeat a school year (see Department of Education 2003). A revised primary school curriculum was launched in 1999 and outlines six areas: language; mathematics; social, environmental and scientific education (history, geography and science); arts education (music and drama); physical education; and social, personal and health education. Curriculum and assessment are centralized on a national basis, by the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (see ncca.ie).

In the Republic of Ireland young people enter lower secondary education at 12 or 13 years of age. Participation in full-time education is compulsory until the age of 16, or three years of lower secondary education, whichever is

later. In 2017–18, there were 715 secondary schools in Ireland, of which 374 were denominational voluntary secondary, 245 vocational and 96 community/comprehensive schools. Voluntary secondary schools, traditionally more academic in focus, are privately owned and controlled, mainly by religious orders. The vast majority of voluntary secondary schools are Catholic, with a small number of minority faith schools. Vocational schools are publicly owned and are administered by education and training boards (ETBs) and have greater practical orientation. There is also a small number (about 8%) of private fee-paying schools. Community and comprehensive schools were established in an attempt to bridge the gap between the previously-mentioned two school types, by providing a broad curriculum catering for pupils of different backgrounds and ability levels. The types of school not only differ in their student composition, with a greater concentration of working-class and lower ability students in vocational schools (Hannan et al. 1996), they are often also more accessible to migrant students (see Table 15.1).

The second-level curriculum is divided into two cycles: a three-year junior cycle (generally catering for students 12–15 years of age) and a two-year senior cycle (generally catering for students 16–18 years of age). At both junior and senior level students can be 'streamed' according to ability; those considered to have higher academic potential study for and take exams at 'Higher Level' and those of average ability study at 'Ordinary Level' (Maths, English, and Irish can also be studies at 'Foundation Level'; see www.curriculumonline.ie for more details). Students can self-select which levels they take, in consultation with their subject teachers. There are significant implications; Higher Level exam results are worth double in the points system required for university entry (see www.cao.ie). Between the junior and senior cycles students may

Table 15.1 Overview of the Irish education system

Primary education	Secondary education: junior cycle	Secondary education: senior cycle	University education
Pre-primary schooling (age 3/4) Senior and junior infants (age 4–6)	3 years (age 12/13 to 15/16) Voluntary, vocational, community and comprehensive schools	2 years (age 15/16 to 17/18) Voluntary, vocational, community and comprehensive schools	Generally 3 years, in some universities 4 years until BA degree
Primary schooling 6 years (age 6 to 12)		Further education: post-leaving certificate 1 year or apprenticeship training	

complete the Transition Year Programme. This is an option for students in some schools while it is compulsory in others. This programme is not examinable and is characterized by curricular flexibility, cross-curricular initiatives, and school–community linkages. Senior-cycle education underwent significant change during the 1990s and is currently the subject of review by the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA), including the introduction of a new subject 'Politics and Society' in September 2016 which was examined for the first time at the 2018 Leaving Certificate. Although The *Irish Times* newspaper publishes an annual league table of post-primary schools, the 'accountability movement' is having less of an influence on the Irish educational system compared to countries like the UK (Stevens 2007). Nonetheless, parental choice is emphasised leading to a rather heterogeneous school landscape particularly at primary level. Another difference to the UK is that many schools are not state-run, but instead managed by the (Catholic) church or private bodies who have considerable control over the school ethos and curriculum. Schools in socio-economically deprived areas, so-called DEIS schools, can apply for extra support (i.e. free meals and additional support teachers).

Training for teachers is offered by specialist colleges for primary-level teachers, while second-level teachers complete an undergraduate degree and then a one-year postgraduate course in education at an Irish university. As of September 2014 the traditional Higher Diploma in Education (a postgraduate specialisation course) was replaced by the Professional Master of Education (Teaching Council 2013), or students can take one of five concurrent undergraduate level Bachelor of Science, often with each of the universities specialising in a specific subject (Teaching Council 2013). The postgraduate level course is a two year, full-time course (the Higher Diploma in Education was one year full-time) and incorporates a wider curriculum. Previously to this, courses differed from university to university, and this system had been criticized as providing inadequate preparation for post-primary school teachers (Eurydice 2009). Whether the updated postgraduate education course provides prospective teachers with any grounding in educating the diverse classroom and migrant students is yet to be seen, though diversity and inclusion are highlighted in some course outcomes. Diversity in education was either not covered, or was covered in a deficient manner, and any improvement to this stance has not yet been proven:

> The narrow vision of 'Irishness' which was promoted continues to permeate both the education system and society, as evidenced by the continued dominance of the Catholic Church in areas such as school ownership and teacher training, and the persistently ethnocentric curriculum. (Nowlan 2008, p. 255)

Since the year 2000 the Department of Education and Skills (DES) has restructured itself and assigned certain responsibilities to external agencies such as the State Examinations Commission (Devine 2005; Smyth et al. 2007), the intention of this move being to allow the DES to concentrate on policy issues and allow schools' management to direct the implementation of individual policy, establish their own ethos and organize the delivery of each student's education.

Catholic schools continue to dominate the educational landscape in Ireland and the relative lack of alternatives for minority faith and non-faith groups has resulted in a situation whereby many children attend schools which do not reflect their own beliefs and, in fact, have a strong emphasis on socialisation into the majority faith. At the same time, the intake of migrant children from schools outside Ireland is continuing, albeit at a slower pace than during the economic boom. Each year, during the past decade, a minimum of 3,000 new entrants from outside Ireland to mainstream primary schools have been recorded, with a peak of 8,000 per annum around the time of the start of the recession in 2008 (DES statistics). In March 2011, a Forum on Patronage and Pluralism in the Primary Sector was established. The Minister appointed an Advisory Group which recommended the introduction of a common curriculum, Education *about* Religions and Beliefs (ERB) and Ethics for all primary school children. Recent media debates centre on inclusion at enrolment policy level and parental choice in opting out of the religious ethos and education of a school (Kitching 2013). In 2018, a new School Admissions Bill was passed by the Irish Parliament (Dáil), removing the so-called "baptism barrier" on schools admission. The bill prohibits the requirement for a child to be baptised before they can be admitted to Catholic denominational schools and has thus made the enrolment process more equitable. Most multi-denominational schools do not require acceptance of a particular religious philosophy as part of the admissions process, and instead emphasise community factors such as the 'sibling rule' or residence in the local area (Faas et al. 2018a, b, c).

Much literature claims that the disempowerment faced by many students is a reflection of the habitus of the individual educators (Nowlan 2008; Fionda 2011; Darmody et al. 2012), of institution-wide and national policy (Lentin and McVeigh 2006; Kuhling and Heohane 2007; Faas et al. 2015) and of the society in which the educational institution is set. DES recognizes the role disadvantage plays in preventing groups of students from accessing mainstream education: '[educational disadvantage prevents] students from deriving appropriate benefit from education in schools' (DES 1998).

At present, the DES distributes 'circulars' to communicate to schools updates in policy, new policy initiatives, and general business. It is up to the individual school to decide on the best way to implement the policies as set

out by the DES; the School Inspectorate examines whether the implementation meets the original demands of DES policy via a series of evaluations, either whole school or for each subject department. Little is known about effectiveness and best practices of implementing DES 'circulars' and other DES policies and initiatives (such as the NCCA Intercultural Guidelines 2006, for example). Anecdotal evidence suggests such documents are not routinely used by teachers in practice (Fionda 2011).

Immigration to Ireland

Although Ireland has always been a destination of in-migration including Celts, Normans, and British, it was the economic boom during the 1990s which brought unprecedented levels of prosperity and helped transform the country into one of *net immigration by 1996* (Ruhs 2005). For the first time in its history, Ireland experienced a significant inflow of migrants – both workers and asylum seekers – from outside the European Union (EU). Between 2001 and 2004, Ireland reached new peaks in non-EU immigration flows before a shift occurred toward intra-European mobility from East to West following eastern enlargement of the EU. Ireland, together with Sweden and the UK, allowed migrants from the new member states access to the labour market resulting in considerable inflows of Polish (63,276 in 2006) and Lithuanians (24,268 in 2006). At the beginning of the economic downturn in Ireland, in 2008, there was a general expectation that most migrants would return to their countries of origin. Instead, the number of non-Irish nationals increased by 124,624 or 30% (CSO 2012, p. 33) between Census 2006 and Census 2011. The increase was particularly marked among Eastern European nationals.

Ireland became a *net emigration country between 2008 and 2015*, in the wake of the economic recession where unemployment peaked at a rate of over 15%. In 2016, for the first time since 2009, Ireland returned to a net inward migration country. The Central Statistics Office noted that between April 2015 and April 2016, the number of immigrants has increased by almost 15% from 69,300 to 79,300 while the number of emigrants declined over the same period from 80,900 to 76,200. Irish nationals continue to experience net outward migration albeit at a much lower level than in previous years falling from 23,200 to 10,700 while net inward migration among non-Irish nationals has grown for the past four years. The latest Census data, collected in April 2016, show particularly large increases among Romanians, Brazilians and Spanish (CSO 2017).

As reflected in the Census results, there has been a significant growth in the diversity of the population in Ireland. Over the years the non-Catholic population has increased, due to growing numbers of people with 'no religion' (138,264 in 2002 compared with 468,400 in 2016 which represents nearly 10% of the total population in Ireland in 2016) accompanied by an increase in the number of migrants with different belief systems (up from 89,223 in 2002 to 275,200 in 2016). The number of Catholics reached the lowest point in 2016 (3,729,100), representing 78.3% of the population (down from 84.2% in 2011). A number of primary school-aged children (14,769 or 3%) were recorded as belonging to 'no religion, atheists or agnostics' categories with 6% belonging to a minority faith background (Faas et al. 2016, CSO 2017).

Children of immigrants and non-nationals account for 10% of the primary school level population (between four and 12 years of age) and 8% of the post-primary school level population (between 12 and 18 years of age). There is however a difference in the distribution of these students across schools at primary and post-primary levels. At post-primary level the vast majority of schools (90%) have so-called newcomer students, but many of them have a rather small proportion of between 2% and 9%. At primary level, over 40% of schools have no newcomers at all, but those that do, tend to have a greater proportion of newcomer students (ESRI 2009; Byrne et al. 2010).

There are many studies which identify racist attitudes in Irish society in general, as well as in the education system (see for instance Lentin and McVeigh 2006; Keogh and Whyte 2003; Devine 2005; Nowlan 2008). Traditionally 'Ireland lies far behind other European countries in addressing racism in terms of anti-racist legislation' (Tannam et al. 1998, p. 11), though recent equality legislation may point to a shift towards more policies which bring Ireland in line with its European counterparts (Employment Equality Acts (EEA) 1998–2004 and the Equal Status Acts (ESA) 2000–2004). Theories of racism highlight a tendency to give with one hand while taking away with the other; this contradiction is discussed in Lentin and McVeigh (2006). Other studies claim there to be a comparatively sympathetic attitude towards migrants (Turner 2010; such studies may be out of date considering the economic decline between 2008 and 2014).

Education and Social Policy

While many European states have adopted a number of different official policies to deal with migration-related diversity such as assimilation, integration,

interculturalism, or multiculturalism (Gray 2006; Mac Éinrí 2007), the debate about cultural diversity, including what the appropriate educational response should be, is still very much in its infancy in Ireland (Devine 2011a). Thus immigration has posed a number of challenges for Irish schools, which have had little prior experience of dealing with diversity. These developments in Ireland reflect wider debates about the impact of increased ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity on traditional conceptions of citizenship and national identity, and how educational policies and curricula should respond to these challenges (O'Connor and Faas 2012; Faas and Ross 2012).

Despite some progress in providing targeted support for migrant children in Irish schools in the form of additional English-language provision, the economic downturn resulted in significant cuts in the education sector that have also reduced initiatives supporting linguistic and sociocultural inclusion of migrant students. These cuts led to the discontinuation of Integrate Ireland Language and Training, which was established to meet the language and training needs of children from diverse cultural and educational backgrounds, particularly in secondary schools. Over the years, a considerable body of research has built up on school inclusiveness in Ireland (Bryan 2010; Smyth 1999). However, few studies have specifically focused on school-based support mechanisms available for migrants (see Faas et al. 2015). At government level, in 2018, an Education (Admissions to School) Bill was passed to ensure all schools have inclusive admissions policy. The legislation targets what the Department of Education and Skills calls soft barriers to admission by forcing schools to publish entrance policies, and make it illegal to turn down a student on grounds of race, religion or disability.

Analysis of recent, context-specific literature uncovers criticism of the way official DES policy for migrants in the school system is constructed and disseminated, and of the non-uniform way in which many schools and teachers implement the policy (Devine 2005; Nowlan 2008; Ó Riagáin 2013), while other studies propose solutions and recommendations (Little 2008; Lyons and Little 2009; Little and Lazenby-Simpson 2009; Fionda 2011). DES response to the changing levels of diversity in society, and therefore in the student population, began in 1999 by making funding available for English language support (Nowlan 2008). Circular 0053/2007 (DES 2007) is entitled 'Meeting the needs of pupils for whom English is a second language' and this three-page document was issued by DES in 2007 to address a situation which had necessitated intervention since the arrival of Ireland's new migrants at least a decade or two earlier. Earlier documents (see DES 2003) set out availability of funding available to support migrants in the school system. Funding centers around offering language support to migrant students, which is meant to support and open access to students' mainstream learning.

Circular 0053/2007 detailed the first guidelines for official educational provision for migrant students. According to the circular, its purpose is 'to assist schools in providing an inclusive school environment to meet the needs of pupils for whom English is a second language and outline the resources that are available to assist schools in this task' (DES 2007, p. 1). It goes on to provide limited guidelines on the subject of creating an inclusive school environment. The circular offers a brief description of the role of a language support teacher. Many such teachers describe a situation of confusion, isolation, and often blurred boundaries between a school's language support program and its special needs department (Nowlan 2008, p. 261). Many mainstream teachers appear not to inform themselves about matters related to migrant students (Fionda 2011), even though the circulars clearly state that mainstream teachers are responsible for migrant students in their mainstream lessons (DES 2007, 2009).

Circular 0015/2009, intended to replace the previous one, came in response to the recession and subsequent budget cuts across many spheres of Irish life. A review of Circular 0015/2009 indicates that ESL support was reduced to two teachers per school, except for those schools where over 90 students require ESL support. Prior to 2009, a third ESL post required just 42 students. ESL funding was cut to 100 million from 137 million. Further circulars (DES 2012, 2017) state that language support is effectively discontinued as a distinct policy issue, and is instead considered to be under the umbrella of learning support, with teaching allocation essentially halved.

A 2011 DES funded and issued report was critical of the practice of both Circulars above, stating that the 2007 Circular 'did not lead to uniform good practice because it was in many ways a move made in isolation, preceding the availability of adequate CPD, assessment instruments and teaching materials, particularly in the post-primary sector' (DES 2011, p. 116). The same report also noted that the 2009 Circular was often regarded by schools only in terms of the allocation received rather than its stated educational aims. Furthermore, the report makes recommendations which support international best practice as set out in the literature though as yet no follow-up Circular has been issued which deals with the recommendations specific only to English language support. Anecdotally, teachers talk of reforms in the ways English language support was allocated in 2012 though there is no written documentation to support this.

Furthermore, the role of religious bodies as administrators in the education system has led to concern (the vast majority of Irish schools, particularly at primary level, are Catholic, Darmody et al. 2012), particularly 'the exemption

that denominational schools currently enjoy from equality legislation, allowing them to discriminate in terms of student admissions and teacher appointments in order to protect their ethos' (Nowlan 2008, p. 256), which means that a school can exclude a student from a migrant background on the grounds of their religious background – a practice which has received heavy criticism. Devine (1999) draws our attention to the long history of domination by the church in the education system. The moralization of the young, through religious instruction, continued to be perceived to be 'a fundamental part of the school course' and in line with the overall principles of the curriculum, was to be implemented in an integrated and child-centred manner (Devine 1999, p. 21).

Literature in the field has identified gaps in provision for migrant students in the Irish post-primary system and contributes to emerging literature which addresses educational policies for Ireland's migrant students and practice in schools (Devine 2005; IILT 2007; Little 2008; Lyons and Little 2009; Ó'Riagáin 2013, Faas et al. 2015; Faas et al. 2018a, b, c). Nonetheless, Irish schools perform reasonably well according to international evaluation studies such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). PISA 2009 showed that Irish-born (native) students and non-Irish-born migrants who speak English at home had significantly higher mean reading scores than migrant students who spoke other languages at home. Unlike in most other European countries, there is no statistically significant performance gap between (first-generation) migrant students and their native peers in Ireland (OECD 2010), though at this early stage, post the significant wave of immigration, it is imprudent to compare to countries with a longer history of immigration. Ireland is also characterized as an inclusive system in terms of the even distribution of migrant students across schools compared to other OECD countries (OECD 2009), despite there being no enforcement of school choice for migrants.

Methodology

Several factors make the Irish context unique: (a) a shorter history of students from immigrant backgrounds within the education system, (b) a largely denominational education system despite increasing religious diversity and secularisation, (c) relatively heterogeneous distribution of languages within schools, and (d) fewer context-specific studies – research is still emerging but very much in its infancy. The economic downturn appeared to be reversing the trend of funding; interest and research into the area, however, remain.

Many studies into the Irish educational and migration context necessarily draw upon a wide range of international studies, because Irish-specific research is still emergent and limited. This is due to several interconnected causes; first and foremost that Ireland is traditionally a country of net emigration, and only during its economic boom (the so-called 'Celtic Tiger') from the mid-1990s until the crash of 2008 was immigration widespread.

Although, for the factors listed above, it was therefore difficult to source exclusively Irish-context literature it was decided that including only such literature was necessary to maintain the focus on the unique attributes of the Irish perspective. In presenting only studies that focused on Ireland, more effective comparisons may be made with other chapters of this book. Furthermore, and in line with Stevens (2007) and Stevens et al. (2011), and a necessary limitation given the range of Irish literature which exclusively explores the nature of educational inequality and migration, our chapter is restricted to studies conducted between 1980 and 2016. Also in line with the methodologies cited above is the decision to restrict analysis to only secondary education (referred to as second-level education in Ireland), though further rationale behind the decision is particular to the Irish context: the holistic nature of first-level education means that much practical progress has been made regarding provision for migrant students (see Little and Lazenby-Simpson 2004). However, studies into second-level education are approached from a somewhat distinct perspective, partly due to the divided curriculum (into subject areas) and further divisions for the junior, senior and Transition Year cycles, exam type, and so forth.

In addition, the majority of the sources reviewed were peer-reviewed articles and edited books; however, this guideline was not adhered to as strictly because of the emergent nature of studies relating education and migration in Ireland much of the research carried out has not yet been published officially. Three distinct research approaches emerge from the Irish context: (1) cultural diversity in policy documents and research reports, (2) racism and education, and (3) developing newer and more critical research agendas.

Research Traditions

In this section, we focus on the specific research questions, methods, results, and related debates characteristic of each of the above-named research traditions. Emphasis is placed on the Irish-specific developments in terms of social and educational policy and intellectual thought explaining each of the three identified research traditions: charting ethnic inequalities and policy issues;

racism and education; and developing newer and more critical research agendas.

Cultural Diversity in Policy Documents and Research Reports

During the aftermath of initial waves of immigration, so from the mid-1990s, the Irish research agenda set out to describe the changes in society, analyze the relationship between the influx of large numbers of people from varying ethnic backgrounds and its resulting effects across political, social, and educational spheres as well as in the labour market, and to shape policy decisions. Such studies focus on pre-existing diversity and discrimination issues at national policy level and paved the way for researchers to address more domain-specific, empirical studies on racism and education (see next research tradition). Aligned with a post-structuralist perspective, the methodologies are descriptive and analytical, identifying trends over time by reviewing policy and literature.

Lentin and McVeigh (2006) provide a key reference study which identifies how inequality in Ireland is addressed via research and policy agendas, but only within an antecedent framework of discrimination, which results in a disparity between policy and practice (a trend which is picked up again in the following research traditions). According to them, racism in Irish society reflected as institutional racism in schools is revealed by, on the one hand, a tendency to 'provide for' minorities (Lentin and McVeigh 2006, pp. 5–6), observe the current wave of 'intercultural' and 'anti-racist' education initiatives (NCCA 2006), and on the other hand reluctance to fully implement educational programs which enable migrants to learn. There is evidence to suggest that debate in Irish society tends therefore to reinforce the unequal distribution of power (Guerin 2002), and attitudes in the media are visibly racist (McVeigh 2002). Policy reflects the white, Catholic hegemony in its viewpoint that racism is 'caused by the 'strangeness' of incoming immigrant groups [rather than by the 'host' society]' (Lentin 2002, p. 229).

There are a profusion of large-scale guidelines and policy documents also embedded in this research tradition; some studies cross over in their purpose between providing exploratory research and suggesting policy implications. The NCCA (2006) and Irish National Teachers' Organisation (INTO) (2005) Intercultural Education Guidelines fall under this category. The Intercultural Education Strategy was launched with the twofold aims of ensuring that

> all students experience an education that 'respects the diversity of values, beliefs, languages and traditions in Irish society and is conducted in a spirit of partner-

ship' … [and] all education providers are assisted with ensuring that inclusion and integration within an intercultural learning environment become the norm.

The strategy documents a macro-study of the context (demographic details, national legislation, and research overview) as well as setting out components of the strategy and how to implement it. It was launched by the DES in mid-September 2010 but anecdotal explorations show the document to be widely ignored in practice. Most recently, the Migrant Integration Strategy 2017–2020 outlined several areas within education that will be monitored and improved with the aim that 'migrants and particularly their children benefit from the education system' (Department of Justice and Equality 2016, 10).

In 2010, the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) was commissioned by the Integration Centre of Ireland, a migrant NGO which ceased to exist in 2014, to develop an integration monitor to measure the integration of immigrants in Ireland, and publish an annual monitoring report on integration. The reports consist of an overview of the main trends in migration and chapters covering integration policy and national indicators in the domains of employment, education, social inclusion and active citizenship. These indicators will allow for assessment of economic, political and social equality of immigrants in Ireland. The annual reports also identify data gaps in each integration domain, and reflect on the implications of the findings for integration policy. Four such reports were published in total between 2010 and 2014 (McGinnity et al. 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). In 2016, the Department of Justice began funding the ESRI to continue with this series and an integration report covering 2016 was released in Spring 2017.

Early studies, and follow-up research of policy and guideline documents, argue that opening the doors to its schools but failing to provide the support necessary to access the curriculum is representative of Ireland's migration policy: a policy characterized by legislation which is 'intended to *control* rather than liberate those people who are the subjects of Irish racism' (Lentin and McVeigh 2006, p. 2). The issue of race is 'problematized' and 'common sense' legislation (see Gramsci 1971, p. 322, for discussion of 'common sense' notions) seeks to manage 'the problem of racial and ethnic difference' (Lentin and McVeigh 2006, p. 2). There are a wealth of findings from the later research traditions which relate their agenda to the preceding context; namely the identification of structures which pre-date the large-scale increase of immigration and concluding that as such, recent discrimination is indicative of already present problems. Diversity in the Irish population is not new. 'Minority ethnic groups, including the indigenous Traveller community, as well as relatively small immigrant Jewish, Italian and Chinese communities, for example, have

been part of Irish society for a long time' (Nowlan 2008, p. 255). So, the influx of immigrants does not initiate or uncover a new problem, it reveals existing problems in the education system.

Parker-Jenkins and Masterson (2013) address education policy via a medium-scale study of 12 post-primary schools which focussed on cultural diversity and how policy translates into practice across areas such as school uniform and the curriculum (hidden or otherwise). The study concludes in identifying the significant challenges in place when moving from a 'Catholic, White and Gaelic' ethos to policies and practices which are inclusive and acknowledge cultural diversity (ibid., p. 489).

Studies from this research tradition set the tone that discrimination in schools reflects inequalities within the broader society. This largely descriptive and analytical research is limited to reviews of existing studies and policy documents. In drawing together existing research on education, legislation overviews, and large-scale demographic reports, the research highlights structures which present obstacles to migrants. The findings also uncover constructs which historically discriminate against other minority groups before the widespread immigration, such as social, cultural and religious barriers, as well as linguistic ones.

Racism and Education

In Ireland this research agenda, which developed to describe and analyze racism in education in specific response to large numbers of migrants in the school system and affect policy (in theory), emerged from the later 1990s on and has been noticeably responsive over time to the unstable dynamics of the Irish economic circumstances. Many studies draw focus on qualitative and quantitative strategies (which paved the way for triangulation, integrating elements of qualitative approaches in the final research tradition, see next section). For example, a key study in this tradition represents the emerging interest in migration, ethnic minority, and education; Keogh and Whyte (2003), in their study on the experiences and aspirations of immigrant students in second-level schools, draw attention to the fact that within their sample schools, no Traveller students were participating in the senior cycle (Keogh and Whyte 2003).

Studies from the wider European context also contribute to this tradition. According to such research, ESL students do not fare well; students who speak a language other than English at home still face a gap in achievement:

> The immigrant students in Ireland are a heterogeneous group. There is a gap in achievement between those students who speak English at home and those who do not. Ireland aims to provide 'inclusive, high quality education for all students'. (OECD 2009, p. 9)

This tradition is characterized by a Bourdieuian analysis set in a framework which links academic potential to dominant cultural ideology. In schools, where the culture of the dominant group is promoted, educational differences and failure are often misrecognized as resulting from a lack of academic talent, when in reality they stem from class differences or cultural diversity (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, 1979). And so, while success at school is celebrated by the dominant social groups as based on merit, Bourdieuian theory questions the idea of a meritocracy and instead suggests a concern that schools merely reproduce dominant ideology by simply refusing to recognize that the established order is problematic (Bourdieu 1993; Mills and Gale 2007). Wacquant (1998) elaborates the theory of cultural capital thus, 'rather than education acting as an equalizer in a prejudiced society with all participants afforded equal opportunity, success in education is based on the cultural experiences, social ties and economic resources that each student has access to' (ibid., p. 216; Mills and Gale 2007, p. 433). Irish studies initiated debate in the research which observed how migrants were subjected to 'quick fix' approaches which devalued their own 'cultural capital.' Keogh and Whyte (2003, p. 8) refer to European and human rights philosophies in their observations that provision for migrant students means not simply asking the students themselves to 'fit in', but rather a long-term and sustained effort on the part of policy-makers and schools to include and value a diverse student population:

> It means that every effort should be made to provide them with the support they need to achieve their potential and the same standard of education as their peers, without forcing them into a situation where they have to deny their ethnic and cultural heritage, traditions and beliefs. (Keogh and Whyte 2003, p. 8)

A key theme explored in this research tradition further explores the idea of the 'gap' in wider inequality and the role of schools in either mitigating or reproducing such social disadvantage (Darmody et al. 2012). Darmody et al. (2012) are among the first to employ a larger scale study which addresses such issues in situ and concludes that cumulative disadvantage is reproduced from the start of a migrant student's educational career; from the point of enrolment, higher than average admittance to designated disadvantaged schools (DEIS) schools, and throughout streaming.

Further large-scale studies highlight key features of school environments which promote higher levels of (migrant) student success (Fionda 2013; Faas et al. 2015). Strong school leadership, student-centred practices, parental involvement and linguistic support are some of the attributes uncovered by the studies. Such results indicate measures schools can take to mitigate issues of racism in education.

This research tradition draws on a theoretical framework derived from Bourdieu and Gramsci, and relies upon studies from similar contexts (specifically migrant education in the UK and Canada, because these predominantly English-speaking systems have well-developed literature compared to the emerging Irish context). A significant conclusion is that practice in place for many ESL students maintains the privileges and power of dominant cultural ideology, at the cost of provision of equal chances for Ireland's new migrant students. This practice is not overtly enforced but, as Gramscian hegemony illustrates (Gramsci 1971; Cummins 2000; Ferguson 2006) quietly negotiated via procedures where educational structures exclude groups who fall outside the dominant culture, by promoting an assumption where biculturalism and bilingualism are viewed as deficits (Ward 2006), and via a state of confusion which leads to a tolerance and perpetuation of 'worst' practice. In sum, this tradition sets its research in a Bourdieuian framework and focuses on describing a rapidly emerging and new 'status quo' in relation to race and education. It seeks to illustrate, drawing on qualitative and quantitative methods, the challenges faced by education systems and students alike, and concludes that educational parity is not offered in favour of maintaining existing power structures. It is only tentative in any attempt to approach policy propositions, which leads us to the next tradition.

Developing Newer and More Critical Research Agendas

Key studies in this tradition set out to address what the ideal definition of 'language support' should be in Ireland and what provision for migrant students meets the specific needs of the Irish context. Researchers in this tradition suggest the disparity between policy and practice is an obstructive factor in achieving parity of educational access. This tradition continues to set its agenda within a Bourdieuian framework, and again draws on qualitative strategies.

A key study in this area is the Lyons and Little (2009) research report which widely criticizes both provision and practice. Other studies in this tradition come to similar conclusions: discrimination in schools reflects inequalities

within the broader society. 'School practices are understood to be influenced by their location within the broader social and policy contexts, as well as by the individual actors in schools – students, teachers and parents' (Nowlan 2008, p. 254; Faas 2010), and much recent research in the field of diversity in Irish schools has concentrated on such issues (Devine 2005). Nowlan (2008) and Devine (2005, 2011b) are also key contributors to this tradition.

Lyons and Little (2009), Nowlan (2008) and Devine (2005) conclude that Ireland's migrant students face significant obstacles in accessing education: social, cultural and religious barriers, as well as linguistic ones. Research into these issues benefits not only migrant students but also ethnic English and Irish students who, while having been born in Ireland to Irish parents, may face similar obstacles due to their social and/or economic disadvantage, and lay the foundation to prepare all students for participation in an increasingly diverse society. Devine (2011b), in a key study, concurs with Lyons and Little (2009), that as well as drawing migrant children into the curriculum via their English language, schools have to value the cultural and personal backgrounds of the students.

Crozier et al. (2010, p. 209) identified the societal changes which have initiated research trends:

Irish society shifted from being one characterised by intensive periods of emigration, to one of intense immigration. This 'unexpected immigration' during a period of rapid economic development has given rise to renewed challenges related to definitions of national identity and citizenship. Coinciding with changes in the education system arising from processes of modernisation and intense educational reform, old certainties are replaced by insecurities and challenges as to how best to work with increasing ethnic diversity in classrooms and schools.

Crozier et al. (2010) are critical of Ireland's approaches to policy development, and Kitching (2010) identifies the dangers in Ireland's apparent reluctance to learn from the mistakes of countries such as the UK in avoiding tension between migrants and local communities.

Nowlan's (2008, p. 253) findings confirm the challenges faced by a system so unprepared for the dramatic change in its student population:

Just as society is changing, the education system needs to change in order to ensure that the schooling provided to all people prepares them for life in an increasingly pluralist society. The needs of all students must be met, including those who are not from the majority ethnic group (i.e. Irish, white and Roman Catholic).

While diversity has always existed in Irish schools (on socio-economic background and gender grounds, for example), recent immigration has uncovered insufficient provision for a diverse student body within the education system. 'Second language learners, who were seen as the 'barium meal in the X-ray' showing up deficiencies in the schooling system that affected the progress of many other students' (Bourne 2003, p. 26). Critical pedagogy is concerned with the potential role of education as a true preparation for future citizens. 'The social and political dimensions of schooling, the need to understand and transform schools and society, and the key role that educators in these processes play are core themes shared by many critical educators' (Fischman and McLaren 2005, p. 426).

Practice which may be a result of the 'exclusive' origin of Ireland's post-primary schools, when schools were open to only a small number of wealthy families (Hyland 1999, p. 33), is evident in Irish schools. The tendency to stream students in some schools is a legacy of this and Nowlan (2008) points out that many migrant students are placed disproportionately in lower stream groups.

Biggart et al. (2013) addresses issues faced by migrant students who live outside of the urban areas traditionally included in research studies in this area. The study indicates that students in these areas experience low levels of belonging (in particular among Irish Travellers which reinforces the findings across many studies in this chapter which shows how recent inward migration has uncovered pre-existing inequality in policy and practice).

Like many of the context-specific research into inequality, Nowlan's (2008) research identified with Bourdieuian traditions (see preceding research tradition also). Nowlan draws on Bourdieu's ideas of cultural capital, arguing that 'society was stratified according to the possession of cultural as well as economic capital' (Nowlan 2008, p. 254). Nowlan develops this point, reflecting that 'minority language students in particular, may be discriminated against within the education system since they lack the means to acquire the particular cultural capital which is necessary in order to do well at school' and also therefore to participate equally in society after school. According to Bourdieu, migrant students do possess rich cultural capital, that of their varied linguistic abilities and cultural experiences which are distinct from the often (more) homogeneous linguistic and cultural experiences of students born in Ireland (not ignoring the differences in social background of these students). Research shows that 'bilingual students' linguistic abilities are not valued as cultural capital… there is a danger that stereotypes will emerge and become self-perpetuating, resulting in lower expectations on the part of both students and teachers' (Nowlan 2008, p. 262). This contrasts, for instance, with the UK

where Reay et al. (2011) found that the 'socially inclusive middle-class' student and family actively embraces diversity and is open to difference, seeing themselves further enriched through the consumption of ethno-cultural – though not necessarily social – diversity.

Later empirical studies in this area adopt the perspective of institutional intervention programmes and students' views of ethnic minority students; Tormey and Gleeson (2012) reported a large scale attitudinal study of second level students which captured early indications of low-levels of social distance with respect to African and Eastern European students. The highest levels of social distance were reported towards Muslim students and Irish Travellers (ibid., p. 165–167). Studies such as this pose to make recommendations and more critical research and policy.

In brief, the tradition addresses and is characterised by a strong focus on qualitative and 'chalk-face' research. Again, set within a Bourdieuian framework, this tradition is more progressive in its forthright approaches towards policy and ideal practice recommendations. It links small-scale case-studies, interviews, and other qualitative methods to broader theories which define some existing practices as inappropriate and puts forward model frameworks upon which to base policy. It builds on agendas set within the Bourdieuian framework and employs case study research, the data from which provides suggestions to further both newer research traditions and inform policy.

Summary of Research Traditions

There is a tendency, widespread across all three research traditions, of approaching studies from a mainly qualitative perspective. Quantitative approaches are often believed to overlook the 'human story' elements of the wide range of cultural and social backgrounds of migrants, especially in second-level schools. Nowlan (2008) and Fionda (2011), for example, spent time in either one or a small number of schools and used semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and observations to build a narrative of the students' experience of school structures. This is perhaps illustrative of the motive behind studies into the context – to put the migrant students first and uncover their perspectives. Therefore even studies with a quantitative emphasis tend to illustrate findings with qualitative components. Economic and Social Research Institute (2009, 2010) studies are structured in such a way as to include both qualitative and quantitative elements, and Lyons and Little (2009) emphasize that 'chalk face' narratives are imperative to obtain an accurate description of haphazard educational structures. Only within the past five

years has a more noticeable shift occurred towards more quantitative approaches in the area (see for example ESRI 2009; Mühlau et al. 2010; Parker-Jenkings and Masterson 2013; Darmody et al. 2012; Tormey and Gleeson 2012). These quantitative studies have started to map more systematically the social, cultural, political, and economic integration of various groups of immigrants in Ireland.

The research traditions all lead to the conclusion that the arrival of migrants has been useful in drawing more attention to such educational deficits, as the second research tradition (racism and discrimination at national policy level) highlights. Furthermore, studies in this area reveal a tendency to blame migration 'problems' firmly in the hands of migrants themselves. The third research tradition, which looks at education practice since the mass immigration and attempts to develop a more critical perspective, focuses on studies which observe that as society has changed the education system has struggled to keep up with it and instead maintains the cultural status quo in terms of power distribution. With Ireland's idiosyncratic context meaning there is much overlap in the traditions, in part due to the rapid pace of migration, the relative heterogeneous distribution of migrants, and then in necessary response to unstable economic conditions, the key defining features are notable. While the first research tradition, 'charting ethnic inequalities and policy issues', reviews pre-existing policy with a descriptive and analytical purpose, the second and third traditions ('racism and education' and 'developing newer and more critical research agendas') extend their methods to include qualitative analyses. The second tradition applies both quantitative and qualitative methods to describe emerging contexts, while the third tradition offers a more critical analysis in its objective of defining an ideal policy/practice paradigm.

Conclusion and Discussion

Our review of research traditions in the Irish case has indicated that there is a gap between policy documents and guidelines, and the ways in which local institutions understand and respond to diversity. Research in Ireland could therefore usefully explore how migration is managed within educational settings and what best practices have emerged including a focus on how education management understands and deals with diversity. This links to existing and new literature in the field of new managerialism in education including tracking and streaming of students (see Lynch et al. 2011). Research on differences between policy as text and policy as enacted by teachers could be

studied more in depth and framed from appropriate theoretical angles (see Ball et al. 2012). Most recently, research conducted in the Irish primary education sector (Faas et al. 2018a, b, c) has sought to explore the official school ethos in 11 of the 14 new community national schools in Ireland, and the extent to which there is a difference among schools in how they uphold the common guidelines underpinning ethos and identity. This includes an analysis of the extent to which the formal/lived ethos of community national schools support the promotion of diversity, tolerance and integration.

In 1999, the Primary School Curriculum in Ireland was launched and described as *evolutionary rather than revolutionary* because it was founded on *Curaclam na Bunscoile* (1971) and it was developed by the NCCA through engagement with the partners in education. The 1999 curriculum is structured in six curricular areas (e.g. religious education) with 11 subjects. Since 1999, the NCCA has produced additional guidelines to provide practical support to schools on specific aspects of curriculum and assessment such as assessment and teaching students with special educational needs. To date, the NCCA has completed two phases of review to support ongoing improvement of the curriculum in primary schools. These reviews were not a specific response to diversity or migration, but rather a general review process concerning the effectiveness of the curriculum and the extent to which it enables teachers to support children in their learning. Phase one of the review, completed in 2005, focused on English, visual arts and mathematics. Phase two, completed in 2008, focused on Irish language, science, and social, personal and health education (SPHE). There have been no changes to the SPHE curriculum as of yet following the review with the main issues highlighted being approaches to assessment and 'curriculum overload'. History and geography have yet to be reviewed. Moreover, the Irish language requirement for primary school teachers has in effect made it very difficult to recruit teachers with a migration background. In 2016, NCCA undertook a consultation process around the introduction of a common curriculum, Education about Religions and Beliefs and Ethics (ERBE) for all primary school children, but met with strong criticism from the Catholic Church. At the moment, the religion and/or ethics programmes available in primary schools depend on the patron body, and the NCCA found big variations in content and quality.

More recently, Ireland has also become more involved in larger-scale comparative migration and education research. A European Commission report on migration and mobility (European Commission 2016) lists seven FP7 and Horizon 2020 projects, completed and ongoing, where Ireland participates as project partner. These include SOM (Support and Opposition to Migration), STYLE (Strategic Transitions for Youth Labour in Europe), YMOBILITY

(Youth Mobility: Youth Mobility: Maximising Opportunities for Individuals, Labour Markets and Regions in the EU), WSF (Welfare State Futures), TCRAf-EU (Transnational Child Raising Arrangements between Africa and Europe), NORFACE Plus (Norface Transnational Programme on Migration in Europe), and FACSK (Family complexity and social work: A comparative study of family-based welfare work in different welfare regimes. However, very few of these studies deal explicitly with educational issues. Notable exceptions include REMC (Religious education in a multicultural society: School and home in comparative context), EMILIE (A European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship: Legal, political and educational challenges), and ACCEPT PLURALISM which investigates the meanings of tolerance in a variety of societal contexts.

There are a range of other largely unexplored migration research themes in Ireland including the interface between migration and sexuality. Research on bullying (see O'Moore 2010, 2008) could usefully focus more on homophobic bullying and link this with earlier emigration to places like the UK (see Ryan-Flood 2009) and possible return migration following the historic same-sex marriage referendum in Ireland on 22 May 2015. For many young members of the lesbian, gay, bi- and transsexual community, sexual citizenship is replacing national identity as a master narrative (Valentine 2001) yet very little is known about how young people from various ethno-cultural backgrounds in Ireland negotiate their belonging and what impacts their sexuality has on mobility, migration, and general social well-being (see Röder and Lubbers 2015).

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Israel: Gaps in Educational Outcomes in a Changing Multi-Ethnic Society

Nura Resh and Nachum Blass

Israeli Society, Immigration Processes, the Educational System and Educational Policy

Israeli Society and Immigration Processes

Israel is a relatively young state, established in 1948, following a war that ended in ceasefire agreements (not peace) and an ongoing intractable Jewish-Palestinian conflict. The Jewish majority of over 6.5 million citizens (in 2016; see CBS 2017, Table 2.1) is a highly heterogeneous population, including immigrants from around the world, who mostly arrived in a few large waves in the late 1940s and 1950s, and their descendants.[1]

The establishment of the Israeli state was a turning point in both the size and the ethnic composition of the Jewish population in the country. A population of 650,000 Jews (mostly of European origin) prior to 1948 doubled in three years and tripled in ten years through the influx of WWII refugees from Europe (excluding the Soviet Union) and the Balkans, together with

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[1] For a detailed description of waves of Jewish immigration, 1948–1996, see DellaPergola 1998.

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the great majority of Jews from Middle Eastern and North African countries. Despite large within-group heterogeneity, a social divide evolved between Jews of European-American origin (*Ashkenazim*) and of North African-Asian origin (*Mizrachim*) – two groups about equal in size. The former fared better socioeconomically and politically; the latter possessed poorer economic and educational resources and had less access to political power (Adler 1984; Dar and Resh 1996; Gaziel 1996; DellaPergola 1998). This divide was reflected, as could be expected, in educational gaps that soon became a focus of public concern and thus drew academic attention over the years. Despite major changes in the "minority" position of the *Mizrachim* group and signs of decreasing educational and economic gaps (Dar and Resh 1996; Shavit and Bronstein 2011), the sense – and, in some respects, the reality – of Jewish ethnic inequality still exists, accompanied by cultural and symbolic gaps that are expressed in feelings of deprivation and calls for fairer distribution of resources in all realms of life.[2] Hence, Jewish ethnic educational gaps will be a major focus in our review of research. It is important to note that socioeconomic and Jewish ethnic gaps are intertwined in most of the educational research, and in many cases hard to disentangle.

During the 1990s, two distinct waves of Jewish immigrants arrived. The first was from the former Soviet Union who, after the fall of the Communist regime, were allowed to emigrate. About one million immigrants(!), on average highly educated and technologically trained but with low economic resources and lack of (Hebrew) language mastery, were at first pushed to the lower SES echelons. However, due to their high human and social capital, they gained a strong foothold relatively quickly in all walks of life (DellaPergola 1998; Horovitz 1999; Sever 2004; Bodovski and Benavot 2006). The second wave, much smaller in size (about 85,000), was of Ethiopian Jews, who arrived from an underdeveloped society, were much less educated and had little technological exposure. Further, their Jewishness was questioned by the Orthodox establishment, and their blackness adds to distinguish them as a group. They are still struggling for better integration (Lifshitz et al. 1997; Herzog 1998; Sever 2000), but they are also showing signs of fast progress (Fuchs and Brand 2015). Immigrants of both groups are full Israeli citizens and there are no formal boundaries of segregation that inhibit their participation in political, occupational, residential or educational domains. However, they are large groups that arrived in a relatively short period and were a focus of research

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[2] These calls are accompanied by demands that the existing and especially past educational and political leadership acknowledge past wrongs, whether intentional or unintentional.

that followed the process of their integration (or lack of it) into Israeli society and its educational system, which we shall cover in our review.[3]

Israeli-Arab citizens, an indigenous minority (currently about 20% of the population, comprising about 1.7 million people), live in their own towns and villages and in de facto separate neighborhoods in a few bi-national towns. They are marginalized politically and deprived economically, as well as discriminated against formally and informally in many aspects of public life. From the end of the war in 1949 until 1966, this minority was under military regime and its educational institutions (including teaching staff, curriculum and textbooks) was under tight control, far from the eyes of Israeli researchers. Although formally declared full and equal citizens, the unsolved continuous Israeli-Palestinian conflict has made them "natural" suspects whose loyalty to the state is constantly questioned, which affects their position in the educational system, expressed in both resource allocation and educational outcomes compared to the Jewish majority. Hence, the national-ethnic gap (Jewish–Arab), as it appears in Israeli research, will be another major issue in this review.[4]

Israel is a "familial" society with a higher fertility rate than all other developed countries, similar to rates in the Arab world (Anson and Meir 2006; Feniger and Shavit 2011). The Israeli TFR (total fertility rate) is about 2.75–2.90 (depending on the data source) as compared to a world average of 2.58, a European average of 1.51 and a U.S. average of 2.05. The TFR is reflected in the proportion of school age children who need to be educated in the society. For example, the 0–14 year age group constitutes 28% of the population in Israel and is growing, reflected in an ever increasing need for development expenditure (for buildings, equipment, teachers) just to maintain standards in educational allocation (e.g., Feniger and Shavit 2011). Thus, even though Israel scores high in terms of gross educational expenditure in international comparisons (6.8% of GDP in 2013), it is quite low on the comparative scale of per student expenditure: $6900 (PPP) compared to the EU average of $8350 at the elementary level and $5780 compared to the EU average of $10,100 in secondary schools (Ministry of Education 2016, Table B1.1a).

It is important to note that, despite its relatively small size and being a "young" state, Israel was able to enter the category of developed countries both economically and in terms of scientific and technological development. Just to illustrate, the latest edition of the Human Development Index

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[3] In Israeli slang, these groups are defined as distinct social categories: "Russians" and "Ethiopians."

[4] In the analysis of national-ethnic gaps, Jewish and Arab students are compared as a whole.

published by the UN Development Program (Human Development Report 2016) indicates that in 2016 Israel ranked 19th among more than 200 countries.

Educational System

The strong egalitarian ideology and the "nation building" ethos ("gathering the exiles") of a new immigrant population that existed in the early years of statehood was reflected in the construction of an almost entirely public educational system, regulated by a relatively centralized administration of the Ministry of Education (hereafter MoE), which allocates funds and controls school curriculum, textbooks, teacher training, hiring and firing. Today, education is free[5] and compulsory from kindergarten through twelfth grade (age 17–18). This is the result of a long process that began with the 1949 law of free compulsory nine-year education (one year of kindergarten and eight years of elementary school). An additional year of free compulsory education was part of the 1968 systemic reform, which transformed the eight years of free elementary school and four years of paid high school into six years of elementary school, three years of middle school, and three years of (paid) high school. In 1979 all 12 years (plus one year of kindergarten) became free of charge. Recently, partly due to a highly salient social protest in the summer of 2011, there is also free and compulsory kindergarten from the age of three.

Under the umbrella of a national public system, there are four educational sectors, differentiated along national-ethnic and religious lines (e.g., Rapoport and Lomski-Feder 1994; Resh and Benavot 2009). Percentages for these sectors among elementary schools in 2015 were: Jewish secular (38.8%), Jewish religious (21.8%),[6] Jewish ultra-Orthodox (13.7%)[7] and Arab (25.6%).

Notwithstanding egalitarian rhetoric, and owing to existing political realities, sectors continue to differ in terms of quantity and quality of the resources at their disposal and the degree of autonomy or close supervision applied by the central administration (Blass et al. 2010). Both elementary and middle

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[5] Parents are requested to supplement some parts of the school budget.

[6] The Jewish religious sector is "richer" in terms of financial allocation. The rate of students of Asian-African origin (on this ethnic group, see more below) is higher in this sector. There is also a greater tendency to use selective structures in this sector, like ability groups and separate classrooms by ability (Chen 1975; Resh 1989).

[7] The ultra-Othodox system is a relatively new and growing sector, partially financed by the MoE, but quite independent in organizational, pedagogical and curricular matters. It is mostly closed to academic investigation.

schools are inclusive and all students are exposed to a common curriculum, although in some cases they are placed in ability groups (especially in middle school) in one or two subjects.

At the high school level (grades 10–12), students are tracked or (now, mostly) choose various academic and technological/vocational tracks, mainly in comprehensive high schools. The MoE's control of school curriculum, though less centralized in recent decades, is maintained mainly by a set of national high school exit exams, known as the *Bagrut*. This matriculation certificate (i.e., *Bagrut*) is a critical transition point in students' educational trajectory; it is a sort of "entrance ticket" into Israeli society that serves as a preliminary requirement for a variety of occupations, as a sign of quality considered by employers when hiring, as a component in the composite army measure of "quality group," and especially as a central requirement for entry into higher education. Reform in the structure of this national exit test, based on high school curricular reform, wherein students can choose the "level" of study (3, 4, 5 points) in given subject matter resulted in differentiating between "regular" matriculation and "university eligible" matriculation, with the latter based on tests in a higher standard curriculum (accelerated English as a second language and mathematics). In recent years, more than half the cohort managed to earn the certificate and rates of holders (including "university eligible" matriculators) in any ethnic or socioeconomic group is an indicator of educational achievement and educational gaps in any comparative measure.

Finally, higher, tertiary education has expanded significantly, especially since the second half of the 1990s, mainly due to a great expansion of colleges. In 2014, about 65% (71% of Jews and 32% of Arabs) of the 25–34 year age group (CBS[8] Annual Statistical Abstract of Israel, 2016, Table 8.72)[9] attended higher education institutes: universities (6), academic colleges (public and private) or some other post-secondary, non-academic educational institute. Acceptance to universities and colleges is based on a complex weighted measure of high school final exit exams (*Bagrut* certificate) and achievement in a national psychometric test. The required grade is higher in the more prestigious departments and lower in colleges, especially the public ones. Higher education is not free and the financial burden of tuition and accompanying expenses also limits participation.

For a visual representation of the Israeli school system, see Fig. 16.1.

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[8] Unless stated differently CBS + reference year relates to the annual Statistical Abstract of Israel.

[9] The age category of 25–34 is used due to universal army service (3 years for boys and 2 for girls) that postpones entry into higher education institutes.
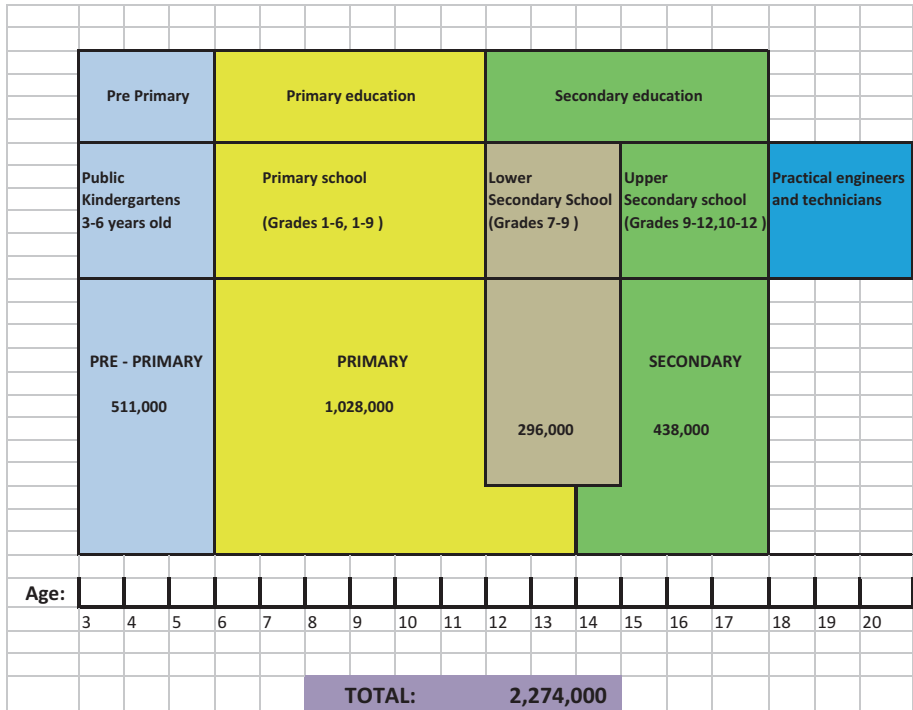
Fig. 16.1 Structure of the Israeli education system (2017/18). As the 1968 structural reform was never fully implemented, the middle school level includes about 75% of the age group. (Source: Ministry of Education 2018, p. 16)

Educational Policy

As in other nations, Israel's educational policy reflects major cultural-ideological societal trends. The country is characterized by rapid demographic change (due to large immigration waves and high fertility rates in certain sectors[10]) and a relatively fast move from a collectivist egalitarian to a neoliberal societal orientation that has influenced its policy in all realms of life, including education.

It is worth noting that, although the roots of sociological research is based on German Jews (e.g., Martin Buber, Uriel Simone, Judah Magnes) who immigrated to Palestine and worked at the Hebrew University – the single university in the pre-state era – Israeli sociology, economics and social psychology research mainly follows the American academic pattern. English is

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[10] Average fertility rates of non-religious Jews were 2.3 children per household in the 1980s and dropped to about 2.1 in recent years. Among ultra-Orthodox Jews, the number is 6.5–7.0 with little change over time. Among the Arabs, it was 6.0 in the 1980s and is down to about 3.6 in recent years (Atrash 2011).

the spoken "second language," and the majority of Israeli researchers in these fields publish in English, mainly in American journals. They were mostly trained in the U.S. and tend to spend sabbaticals in American universities. It is therefore no surprise that changing policy trends in the U.S. are reflected in the discourse on education in Israel and partly affect educational policy decisions there.

Concern about educational gaps between the old-timer Israeli-born (mainly, *Ashkenazim*) and new immigrants (two thirds of whom were *Mizrachim*), which were noticeable already in the late 1950s, was reflected in a move from "equal input" (formal equality) to an affirmative action policy (Peleg and Adler 1977; Adler and Sever 1994). The latter was expressed in the channeling of extra resources to schools or students entitled to it, but only in the Jewish sector and excluding ultra-Orthodox pupils. The allocation of these extra resources relied on a Nurture Index – an administrative measure that ranks students and schools on a relative scale of "disadvantage."[11]

Pressures to open the selective high school to mass participation, and thus increase the educational opportunities of low SES groups (mostly *Mizrachim)*, resulted in a considerable increase in vocational high schools and vocational tracks in comprehensive schools during the 1960s and 1970s, expanding the rate of students in vocational education from 27% in 1960 to its peak of 48% in 1980 (Benavot 1983). This was reduced to 38% in 2014, partly in response to strong criticism accompanied by research that showed it was a selective mechanism that maintained Jewish ethnic gaps (e.g., Swirski 1990; Yogev and Ayalon 1991; Yair 1996; Resh 1998; Yona and Saporta 2003).[12]

School integration policy that accompanied the 1968 structural reform aimed at decreasing ethnic and socioeconomic educational gaps and was centrally implemented in middle schools from the 1970s and 1980s (Amir and Sharan 1984; Resh and Kfir 2004; Resh and Dar 2012). This reform – its implementation, implications and outcomes – was a focus of much research, especially in the 1980s and 1990s.

As in many European countries and in accordance with globalization trends, in recent decades pressures have grown in Israel to decentralize the administration of public education and provide greater autonomy to local communities and schools over educational matters. Thus, since the second half of the 1980s and especially in the 1990s, calls for school accountability,

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[11] The Nurture Index was constantly criticized and over time was revised and reconstructed more than once (Cahan 1987, 2009; Yair 1991; Blass 1980; Blass et al. 2010). Only in the 1990s was the Arab sector considered entitled to affirmative action resources and it was not until 2003 that ultra-Orthodox students were also included.

[12] This criticism quite often does not pay tribute to the critical role of these schools in raising high school participation rates.

open registration boundaries and parental choice (reflecting similar trends in the U.S.) affected educational policy (e.g., Shapira et al. 1995).[13] The reduced centralization and trends of devolving state control were reflected, among other things, in the establishment of schools within the public system that could select their student population, which contributed to a growing trend of compositional stratification (Yair 1996; Dar 1997; Wexler 2004; Dahan and Yona 2005; Ichilov 2010). The increased role of municipalities in financing various aspects of local schools has accentuated this trend.

Finally, it is important to note that preventing dropout is a strong policy message. Participation rates at all levels of formal education are relatively high in Israel: in 2016, 97% of Jews and 93% of Arabs aged 14–17 attended schools (CBS Statistical Abstract of Israel 2016, Table 8.22).

Methodology

The Framework of the Review

The dissonance between the hegemonic egalitarian ideology, on the one hand, and the harsh reality revealed in clear educational gaps, on the other, was reflected in public, educational and academic discourse and resulted in much research, most of it by Israeli scholars.[14] In light of the vast amount of research on ethnic gaps, we made several decisions about the framework of this review.

1. As mentioned, we include studies that investigated ethnic inequality within the Jewish majority, i.e., between *Ashkenazim* and *Mizrachim*. Although not exactly defined as ethnic groups, we also include studies of two specific immigration groups: immigrants from the former Soviet Union and those from Ethiopia who arrived in the 1990s. Finally, we include studies of national-ethnic gaps between Jews and Arabs in terms of both resource allocation and educational outcomes (for detailed explanation, see below).
2. We focus on investigations carried out and published by sociologists and sociologically oriented economists.
3. We review research conducted since 1980, but where relevant, we also sometimes relate to earlier studies.

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[13] It is interesting to note the effect of the changing "public climate" on Supreme Court decisions regarding parents' appeals about their right to have a voice in their children's education (in choosing their schools). While in the 1970s such appeals were rejected on the grounds of "public good," in the 1990s the court's decisions emphasized the need to honor parents' desires regarding their child's placement in a certain school ("private interest") (Goldstein 1995).

[14] Hence, many publications are in Hebrew.

4. As the Jewish population of Israel is an immigrant society, considerable research in the early decades of the state compared "newcomers" (not born in Israel; *olim,* lit. "ascenders") to indigenous (Israeli-born *vatikim*). However, because these social categories are not ethnic categories, and each may be composed of two (or more) ethnic groups, we do not include these studies in the review.

5. The great concern about inequalities in education, especially in the Jewish majority, since the 1950s, was reflected in many intervention programs on the micro, mezzo and macro levels, accompanied by evaluative studies. We limit our review to those studies that evaluated macro-level interventions and, in doing so, compared outcomes for ethnic groups.

6. Educational gaps were examined mostly through quantitative analyses, using various measures of academic achievement in specific subject matters and in various grades. The tendency to measure academic achievement was accentuated with the extension of international testing (PIRLS, TIMMS, PISA), which Israel willingly joined, along with implementation of its own state-wide testing system (*Seker* from the 1950s; *Meitzav* since the 1990s). Gaps were measured also by comparing number of years in school, rates of dropout, success in high school exit exams (*Bagrut*), rates of university entrance and successful degree eligibility. Within-school structural differentiation known to affect academic achievement – tracking, ability grouping and, to a smaller degree, achievement-related attitudes like educational and occupational expectation and self-image – were also quantitatively measured to reveal educational gaps. We relate in our review to all those measures. The academic discourse on ethnic gaps also produced quite a bit of qualitative, evaluative and policy-oriented publications, which are included in our presentation.

7. A different line of research, mainly by psychologists, dealt with interpersonal contacts, investigating inter-ethnic relations and prejudice in the integrated context. Although ethnic gaps were not measured directly, this research added an important facet to the understanding of the prevalent ethnic gaps and are included in the review.

8. Finally, in a pedagogical response to gaps between "weak" and "strong" students (with an ethnic flavor), a progressive method of teaching-learning called "cooperative learning," especially suitable for heterogeneous classrooms, was introduced and researched.[15] We refer to these studies in our review.

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[15] Much of this research was carried out as evaluations of real interventions. A group of psychologists headed by Prof. Yehuda Amir founded (with the support of the MoE) the Institute for Integration that was dedicated to structure, implement and evaluate outcomes of methods for teaching heterogeneous classes. Those studies were carried out solely within the Jewish sector.

Resources

In collecting information (studies) related to the review, we referred to the following resources:

1. Published papers in reviewed academic journals and book chapters in Hebrew and English (1980 and on).[16]
2. Unpublished Ph.D. theses.
3. Publications of academic and semi-academic research centers that focus on social and educational inequalities.
4. Secondary analyses of Israeli findings in international achievement tests that compare academic outcomes of national-ethnic groups.
5. Official publications of the MoE and the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), for fact verification and updates.
6. As Israel is a relatively small country with rather strong personal academic networks, we also contacted researchers known to us as dealing with issues of ethnic and national gaps and received from them a list of their own relevant publications.

The search for materials was based on an Internet search of publications' abstracts re- relevant terms and phrases: gaps or inequality in education, educational inequality, ethnic educational gaps, achievement gaps, Israel. Publications were summarized and sorted by our categorical definitions of the ethnic groups we compared.

Some Methodological Considerations

We first discuss the Jewish inequalities: *Ashkenazim* versus *Mizrachim*, as well as the Russian and Ethiopian immigration groups. In discussing the Jewish ethnic groups, gaps in resource allocation – particularly in the time period covered by this review – cannot be presented for three reasons. First, budgets and other resources are allocated to schools and not to individual students. Moreover, allocation follows budgetary formulas that do not take ethnic origin into consideration. Second, almost all schools in the Jewish sector include students from various ethnic origins although in different proportions. Third, even when the ethnic factor was included in the affirmative

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[16] Relevant journals in Hebrew are *Megamot* (Trends), *Iyunim Be'Chinuch* (Studies in Education), *Teoria ve'Bikoret* (Theory and Criticism), *Sociologia Israelit* (Israeli Sociology) and an English language publication, *The Israeli Social Research Journal,* which closed in 1997.

action budget – the Nurture Index (in its early years) – it was but one of a few indicators in the measure and cannot be disentangled, nor can we calculate its weight in determining allocation or achievement gaps. Since it is quite impossible to follow the trail of the money, or other resources allocated to the various ethnic groups, we shall discuss inequality in educational outcomes only. Finally, after examining gaps within the Jewish majority, we discuss Arab–Jewish educational inequality – the deepest, most significant gap – in terms of both resource allocation and educational outcomes. We close the chapter with a summary of our findings, analyzing the nature of and trends in Israeli research on ethnic inequalities.

Inequality Between *Ashkenazim* (EA) and *Mizrachim* (AA)[17]

Introduction

As mentioned, the Jewish population (the majority) in Israel was comprised of waves of immigrants from all over the world. This consisted of about 650,000 persons who arrived prior to 1948 (the establishment of the state), mostly from eastern and central Europe, and large waves of immigration arriving in the first decade after 1948, two thirds of whom came from Islamic countries (Middle East and North Africa).

Before we review research on the ethnic gaps between these two major Jewish categories, some preliminary comments are in order. First, the dichotomous definition of the Jewish ethnic division is a socially constructed one, based on lumping together very heterogeneous groups of immigrants by their country of origin. This distinction is rooted in people's minds and is a source of collective identity but also of prejudice, reflected by differential treatment, on the one hand, and a sense of deprivation accompanied by calls for emendation of the discrimination, on the other.

Second, a methodological note: The large immigration waves from the Middle East and North African countries (AA) arrived during the 1950s, at which time "country of origin" served as the straightforward indicator defining ethnic origin. Within a decade, however, when new cohorts of Israeli-born were entering school, it was replaced by the "father's country of origin." As time passed (late 1980s and 1990s) the grandfather's country of origin

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[17] Hereafter, we refer to the Jewish ethnic groups as EA (*Ashkenazim*, European-American origin) and AA (*Mizrachim*, African-Asian origin).

was added (e.g., Dar and Resh 1996; Friedlender et al. 2000; Dahan et al. 2003). The growing rate of inter-ethnic (Jewish) marriage (about 24% in recent decades) has created a new category of "mixed" ethnic origin (Yogev and Jamshy 1983; Dar and Resh 1996; Cohen et al. 2007; Okun 2007; Stier and Shavit 2007). Hence, it has become virtually impossible to measure "ethnicity" in the "classic" sense, especially among young student cohorts, most of whom are third (and fourth) generation Israeli-born. The complications of the "ethnic origin" measure, the rising rate of the "mixed" category, along with the socioeconomic heterogenization of the AA group, resulted in removing "country of origin" as an indicator of "disadvantage" in the revised administrative Nurture Index, replacing it with SES indicators. Moreover, multivariate analyses indicate that "ethnic inequality" is largely socioeconomic inequality, and many researchers tend to prefer SES (e.g., income, parents' education, place of residence, number of siblings, occupation) as a measure of inequality (Dar and Resh 1988). Hence, students' SES was used as an indicator of educational gaps in all the international testing that Israel participated in (PIRLS in reading; TIMMS in mathematics and science; PISA in reading, mathematics and science), as well as in national testing (*Meitzav* in Hebrew language, mathematics, English as a second language and science), and "ethnic" gaps were tested only between Jews and Arabs (see also Blank et al. 2015).

Finally, research on educational processes and outcomes accompanied (or followed) systemic interventions that elicited significant, sometimes heated, public discourse and focused academic interest and investment in research that evaluated their implementation processes and educational outcomes. As already mentioned, in response to achievement gaps (sometimes defined as between newcomers and Israeli-born) visible in the 1950s (Ortar 1967), affirmative action policy was implemented based on the administrative Nurture Index that guided the allocation of extra resources to schools. Created in 1963, the index was initially based on "father's country of origin" as one of the major indicators; in 1974 (until 1993) "father's education" was added (Algerabli 1975); and ethnic origin was completely deleted from the index thereafter. This policy and its implications consumed researchers' theoretical discussions and empirical investigations, especially in the 1960s. In the book *A Decade of Affirmative Action Activity*, a bibliography by A. Shtal (1970) listed 75 publications (all in Hebrew) on the issue.[18]

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[18] We shall not elaborate on this research, which is beyond the scope of this chapter.

School Integration[19] Policy: Effect on Ethnic Educational Gaps

Introduction

One of the most fruitful lines of research in terms of ethnic educational gaps accompanied the 1968 school reform and integration policy. Thus, we breach the time frame (1980 and on) and review research on this earlier period.

The decision on school integration policy as an embedded component of the 1968 school structural reform was pushed forward by a strong network of politicians, high MoE officials and academics (Resnik 2007). However, despite an impressive parliamentary majority, a variety of economic and political factors slowed its implementation (Blass and Amir 1984).[20] The middle school (grades 7–9), the newly created school level, was the major carrier of integration policy, defined as mixing students of diverse ethnic origins and socioeconomic strata in the aim of "raising academic achievement level and closing achievement gaps, and advancing close social relations between students of these diverse groups…" (Hamer 1985). Organizationally it was carried out through a centralized action that channeled sixth-grade graduates of a few elementary schools, preferably from neighborhoods of differing socioeconomic background, non-selectively to the newly created middle school. Schools were also instructed to structure homeroom classes whose composition reflected that of the (integrated) school composition (Resh and Kfir 2004).

An influx of research activity followed the implementation processes, investigating the academic and psychosocial outcomes of school and classroom integration. Most of this research was conducted in middle schools but since, unintentionally or as a voluntary intentional intervention project, heterogeneous student populations existed in elementary schools as well, this level was investigated as well. It is important to note that the basic concept that guided the integration project was an assimilatory one. The main rationale was: AA students are socially disadvantaged either because they (or their parents) arrived in Israel with a low level of economic and human capital or due to discriminatory treatment by the absorbing hegemonic majority. Exposure to

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[19] While U.S. academic lingo distinguishes between "desegregation" – the moving of students from separated to heterogeneous compositions – and "integration" – the expected social outcomes, in Israel the term "integration" is used for both. We thus follow this custom and use "integration" throughout this section.

[20] Today, about 25% of the Jewish schools are still operating in the 8+4 grade structure (see Fig. 16.1 above).

advantaged students with usually higher quality teachers in a more motivating learning environment was expected to positively affect their academic progress and thus help reduce achievement gaps (Klein and Eshel 1977, 1981; Amir et al. 1984; Dar and Resh 1997). The naïve assumption that the direct encounter in the learning environment would improve social relations between students of the two groups was another pillar of this rationale. In that sense, both the theoretical argumentation and the empirical research followed the American model of desegregation.

Most of these studies were carried out in the 1970s and 1980s. Their main concern was students' achievement and achievement gaps (e.g., Litwin 1971; Lewy and Chen 1976; Arzi and Amir 1977; Lewy 1977; Minkovich et al. 1977; Smilansky and Shephatiah 1977; Chen et al. 1978; Egozi 1980; Klein and Eshel 1980; Dar and Resh 1986, 1996; Goldring and Addi 1989; Willms and Chen 1989; Resh and Dar 1992, 1996, 2000; Aitkin and Zuzovsky 1994).[21] However, some studies (also or solely) referred to achievement-related attitudes – educational aspirations, academic self-image and the like (e.g., Chen et al. 1978; Kfir and Chen 1985; Dar and Resh 1986; Shavit and Arad-Weiss 1987; Kfir 1988) – or inter-ethnic social relations (Levin and Chen 1977; Schwarzwald and Cohen 1982a; Fretchman and Chen 1996; Schwarzwald and Amir 1994). Finally, another line of research indirectly related to academic gaps was the study of cooperative learning as a preferred pedagogical method, especially in heterogeneous classrooms (e.g., Sharan 1980, 1990; Sharan and Shachar 1994).[22]

Effect of Ethnic Composition on Achievement

Four large-scale studies investigated the academic effect of ethnic composition on students' achievement, which we briefly summarize here. First is a cross-sectional study by Minkovich et al. (1977), carried out on a national sample of elementary school students ($n = 17,700$) and influenced by the Coleman report (Coleman et al. 1966). The study investigated the effect of ethnic class composition on first, second, fourth and sixth graders' achievements. Ethnic composition, which was entered last in a regression model controlling for five classroom composition variables (including SES composition), was found insignificant. Indeed, educational integration was considered as a deliberate

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[21] Only studies with national or regional samples that were published in reviewed journals or books are mentioned. For a comprehensive summary of these studies, see Resh and Dar 2012.

[22] In this domain of inquiry, Israeli academics followed American academics (e.g., Robert Slavin, Elizabeth Cohen) and even cooperated with their investigations.

enrichment of the learning environment whose quality is affected by social, economic and cultural components and not just as a "pure" ethnic composition effect. Adding "ethnic composition" last in the regression equation, after (the highly correlated) SES composition had its impact, made it insignificant.

A second large-scale study of importance was Klein and Eshel's (1980) six-year follow-up (from first to sixth grade) of elementary school students in a quasi-experimental 2×2 design of compositional manipulation (integrated vs. nonintegrated) and pedagogical manipulation (activity-oriented[23] vs. conventional instruction). Students were tested in mathematics and reading. In general, the following order in achievement was revealed: integrated activity classes > integrated or homogeneous classes with conventional instruction > homogeneous activity classes. Differences were more significant in mathematics than in reading, and advancement was more marked for the low SES (mostly AA) group.

Thirdly, the Middle School Study (Chen et al. 1978) was directly targeted to follow up the educational outcomes (mainly, but not solely, academic achievement) of the newly implemented school integration policy. This was designed as a three-year longitudinal investigation of a national sample of (Jewish) middle schools, with a built-in comparison with non-reformed schools (seventh and eighth grade elementary and a followup to ninth grade in high schools), comprising altogether about 4000 participants. Comparison of student composition (ethnic and socioeconomic) in the reformed integrated middle school with the non-reformed sample revealed that composition of middle school classrooms was indeed significantly more heterogeneous. Nonetheless, due to geographical homogeneity of towns and some residential areas, about 40% of the students were still studying in relatively homogeneous schools. Comparison of achievement in reformed (integrated) middle schools and the non-reformed elementary schools was non-significant, but the middle schools managed to significantly decrease dropout in the transfer to high school (tenth grade). Finally, controlling for SES background, classroom ethnic composition affected student achievement significantly, but not meaningfully (added 1% to the explained variance).

Finally, in a careful reanalysis of the middle school data (Dar and Resh 1986), the effects of classroom intellectual, socioeconomic and ethnic composition were tested. The study found that classroom composition (a higher rate of students of advantageous background) positively affected student

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[23] Activity-oriented instruction is an alternative pedagogical method to classic frontal teaching, whereby learning is carried out in groups in which students are active, are allowed to choose topics of study and are called upon to cooperate in the learning process.

achievement; that this effect was not dramatic (added 4–5% to the explained variance); and that the compositional effect was much stronger for the "disadvantaged" group (lower quarter of ability or SES distribution). The stronger effect on "weak" students (AA, low SES) was repeated in most of the other investigations that checked differential effects, similar to what was found in U.S. studies (e.g., Coleman et al. 1966).[24] Taking all four studies into account, findings thus suggested that school integration somewhat decreased ethnic achievement gaps, but the effect was not as dramatic as expected.

Effect of Ethnic Composition on Achievement-Related Attitudes

Research of compositional effects on achievement-related attitudes and images is meager. Richer composition (higher rates of EA students or high SES students) was found to be positively related to educational aspirations and to inner locus of control and negatively related to self-image and to teachers' grades (e.g., Kfir and Chen 1985; Dar and Resh 1986; Shavit and Arad-Weiss 1987; Kfir 1988). This last finding was interpreted as the "psychological price" paid by the "weak" students, who face harder competition in the heterogeneous school and classroom, where they are exposed to academically "stronger" peers.

Effect of Ethnic Composition on Social Relations

Studies of inter-ethnic contact and friendships among students in the integrated middle school did not directly measure gaps, but were indeed related to the problematic situation of inequality between the two groups. The basic idea (and expectation) was that meeting each other in the educational context would lead to more favorable attitudes and interpersonal relations, reduce intergroup prejudice and advance friendships.

Investigations followed two research approaches. First, studies involving sociometric maps – choice of classroom peers as friends – in the integrated context found that EA students were somewhat preferred. That is, EA students tended to choose friends from their own ethnic group, while AA students were more open to choosing EA friends (Levin and Chen 1977; Fretchman and Chen 1996). Resting theoretically on Allport's contact

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[24] Using an HLM statistical method, Borman and Dowling (2010) strengthened Colman et al.'s findings about school compositional effect. However, they did not analyze the differential effect of student composition for black ("weak") and white ("strong") students.

hypothesis (Allport 1954; see also, e.g., Amir 1969),[25] which argued that the expected social interaction induced by integration was open to question, especially when encounters were asymmetric ("weak" and "strong" students), the second research approach focused on conditions that might modify the social cleavages. One such condition was the student's academic status: findings suggested that being a successful student overcomes the ethnic origin "disadvantage" (e.g., Schwarzwald and Cohen 1982b; Eshel and Kurman 1990; Schwarzwald and Hoffman 1993; Schwarzwald and Amir 1994; Fretchman and Chen 1996). Schwarzwald and Hoffman (1993) also raised methodological concerns related mainly to variations in measurement of contacts – more or less intimate – that affect students' responses.

Cooperative Learning in Heterogeneous Classrooms

In principle, when the cooperative learning method is applied, students learn in small groups which are involved in investigating a given topic. Hence, teachers' instruction changes mode from lecturing and knowledge dissemination to guiding and helping. The expectation is that, by cooperating and participating in group work in heterogeneous compositions, "weak" students may gain a "voice" in the process of learning and thus also advance academically (Hertz-Lazarowitz 1987; Hertz-Lazarowitz and Fuch 1988; Sharan and Sharan 1994). Under certain conditions, especially when equal status of students is created, students' attitudes and interpersonal relations might also improve.

Evaluative studies of academic and social outcomes of cooperative learning implementation revealed in many cases (but not always) the expected improvement, resulting in decreasing gaps. However, teachers had difficulty adjusting to the new pattern of teaching and in many cases implemented it only partially, or in a small portion of their teaching.

A Final Word on School Integration Policy

Although the integration policy introduced in 1968 was never relinquished, its implementation – and with it research on the issue – slowed down from the second half of the 1980s. This was mainly due to a diminished collectivist

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[25] The contact hypothesis and theoretical variations of it, was studied extensively in the domain of interpersonal attitudes and relations. Dealing with the topic was especially popular in the desegregation era in the U.S. Here we shall only bring some examples of studies in Israeli schools.

orientation and general neoliberal trends in Israeli society, accompanied by a call for school autonomy, free school choice and magnet schools that could choose their students (Dahan and Yona 2005; Ichilov 2010; Gibton 2011; Resh and Dar 2012; Shapira et al. 1995).

Ability Grouping and Tracking

Although presented as completely different educational practices, ability grouping and tracking do have a feature in common with (the flip side of) integration. Ability grouping is intended to create homogeneous learning groups that increase pedagogical didactic fit – learning material and pace – and thus allow for better learning progress among all students. Similarly, tracking, usually implemented in high school, is intended to adjust curriculum to students' interests, thereby increasing their learning motivation and academic success. In other words, ability grouping is a hierarchical separation by ability, and curriculum tracking is a horizontal differentiation by interest. In effect, in both practices, ability or former learning success play a role in the separation within school into different classes and, in some cases, into separate schools. Hence, whereas school integration brings together different groups and creates heterogeneous compositions, ability grouping and tracking separate students into seemingly homogeneous learning frameworks that correlate with ethnic composition. Moreover, the significant correlation of ethnic origin with "ability" and SES result in a proportionally higher prevalence of AA students in lower ability groups and vocational-technological tracks. The vast empirical research findings suggest that these practices increase educational gaps and especially damage educational chances of "weak" students.[26]

Ability Grouping

The practice of ability grouping was institutionalized in middle schools in response to pressures from educators who complained about difficulties teaching very heterogeneous classes, especially in mathematics and English as a second language, but in some schools also in additional subjects. Schools that had greater reservations about integration policy (mainly presented as pedagogical reservations) tended to use ability grouping more extensively – in

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[26] Sociological research on ability grouping and curriculum tracking is abundant and beyond the scope of this chapter. Hence, below, we only present a short introductory paragraph that contextualizes the practices in the framework of ethnic gaps.

some cases, up to five subjects – as well as other re-segregating mechanisms (Chen et al. 1976; Resh and Dar 1992, 1996). Ability group position became a major clue for track placement recommendation in the transition to high school. It was found that the intensity of within-school segregation affect mainly "weak" students, that are segregated into homogenous low-level groups, who lose out (Resh and Dar 2000). Similarly, Cahan and Linchevski (1996), applying the methodology of regression discontinuity design, found that placement in a higher ability group had a unique significant, cumulative positive contribution to student achievement (controlling for background variables). Thus, AA students, who mostly populate lower ability groups, lose, and increasing gaps between high- and low-level ability groups also increase ethnic gaps (see also Willms and Chen 1989).

Tracking

In discussing ethnic differentials in track composition, we focus on the major distinction between academic and vocational-technological tracks in high school. Research shows that social and ethnic composition of communities is correlated with students' chances of entering academic tracks due to the limited offering of such tracks in peripheral towns and communities, which are also of lower socioeconomic composition (Ayalon 1992; Swirski et al. 2015).[27] This ethnic-related differential composition, i.e., higher rates of AA in vocational tracks, was also shown by Yogev and Ayalon (1982), though SES (and gender) were the best predictors of track position. Track position, in turn, affects students' further educational expectations and chances for higher education (e.g., Yogev and Ayalon 1982, 1991; Ayalon and Yogev 1997).

Investigations of antecedents of track placement show that ability grouping (mostly in mathematics and English as a second language) affects students' chances of track placement in high school: students in lower ability grouping levels, which have a higher rate of AA or lower SES groups, tend to be placed in vocational-technological tracks (Yogev 1981; Resh 1989). While academic performance appears as the strongest predictor of track placement in all studies, there is evidence that "weak" students (and girls) are getting more "cooling out" messages than "strong" students (and boys), who get more "pushing up"

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[27] Towns in the periphery, established by the state mainly in the 1950s, were relatively small, with mostly lower SES compositions, over-representation of AA population (then new immigrants) and, until the 1968 reform, usually did not have high schools. Middle schools that were established in the 1970s were defined as "growing comprehensive high schools." The high school grades had fewer academic classes and a greater proportion of students (mostly AA) in vocational classes.

messages in the counselling session (Resh and Erhard 2002). Further, in schools with higher rates of "disadvantaged" students, counsellors consider behavioral problems (and not just academic performance) when recommending track placement (Yogev and Rodity 1987). Finally, it was found that high SES students, mainly (middle-class) students of EA origin, have a better chance of entering the academic track (Resh 1998).

A longitudinal followup of ethnic track composition (Friedlender et al. 2000) suggests that AA students are over proportionally studying in vocational-technological tracks. This compositional gap is shrinking in younger cohorts, due to the combination of higher rates of high school participation and higher rates of participation in academic tracks by AA students. However, ethnic differentials in track participation are still prevalent, affecting the chances of successfully passing high school exit exams (*Bagrut*). According to 1995 census data, 64% of EA males and only 45% of AA males learned in academic tracks (respective rates among girls was 76% and 60%). This finding was verified in a more recent study (Mizrachi et al. 2009), but in open (qualitative) interviews, both teachers and students rejected the idea of a socioeconomic (ethnic origin) relation to track position.

A followup of high school students' educational and occupational careers from the 1960s until the 1990s (using census data of 1983 and 1995) compared vocational and academic high school students and showed the effect of tracking on life chances (Zussman and Tsur 2010). The study found that vocational track students in the 1960s were over proportionally from lower SES families, of AA origin and with lower academic achievements. Further, the chances of a vocational track student to complete high school was 3% lower than that of an academic track student. Parallelly, there was a 22% lower chance to be eligible for the *Bagrut* certificate, a 15% lower chance to earn an academic degree university or college), a 12% lower chance to work in a high prestige occupation and, as a result, a 10% lower income than that of the average academic track student (for similar conclusions, see Cohen et al. 2007; Ayalon and Addi-Raccah 2008; Ayalon 2009). It is important to note, however, that an evaluation of the role of vocational education (Shavit and Muller 1998) suggests that, while it indeed limits chances of access to higher education and eventually to high status occupations, it does function as a "safety net" for "weak" social and ethnic groups who otherwise would not be able to successfully participate in secondary education and graduate. Arbiv-Elyashiv (2011) also found that dropout is more successfully prevented in vocational schools.

Recently, technological education has been upgraded in several senses. Most high schools are comprehensive, i.e., include both academic and technological tracks, and reform in the final exit test (*Bagrut*) allows students the

choice of both academic and technological subject matters in which to be examined. Moreover, technological education offers a wider variety of subjects, and now includes highly prestigious and academically demanding tracks, like computer sciences and pre-medical studies. Hence, the distinction between the two tracks has become blurred, reflected also in close to equal rates of student entitlement to the *Bagrut* certificate (see CBS 2016, Table 8.26).

Academic Outcomes over Time

The belief that the Jewish ethnic gap would disappear – or at least significantly decrease – in the younger cohorts, among the Israeli-born generation educated in the "equal" Israeli public system, was proven to be naïve. The *Seker* – the first nationwide testing conducted in eighth grade (1955–1973) – revealed time and again an ethnic (AA–EA) achievement gap of about one standard deviation (Ortar 1967).

Investigations of academic ethnic gaps were carried out at both elementary and secondary school levels and, as higher education expanded (from the late 1990s), also on the tertiary level. Once data of longitudinal nature became available,[28] trends in AA–EA educational gaps were also analyzed. However, research varied in the decade studied, in the educational level (elementary or secondary), in the measurement of gaps, and in the controls or explanatory variables in the model. Hence, conclusions about AA–EA gaps – whether diminished, remained unchanged or increased – are not clearcut. We summarize the main findings, referring to examples of investigations that covered sizable samples (mainly national, but also a few district samples).

A longitudinal study of fourth to sixth graders in the first half of the 1970s (Lewy and Chen 1976) found an unchanged achievement gap of about 0.9 standard deviations over the years. Willms and Chen (1989) found an increasing ethnic gap from fourth to sixth grade due to ability group position (with high rates of AA students in lower groups). Lavy (2003) found little academic advantage of EA students in first grade, which grew in higher grades, as well as unchanged gaps among second- and third-generation students.

Dar and Resh (1996), who compared results of 17 studies from 1967 to 1988 that measured gaps in standard deviations, pointed to a clear decrease from about 1 SD to about 0.60 SD and, in national samples of middle school students, a decrease from about 0.85 SD in 1973 to about 0.55 SD in 1986.

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[28] Such data came either from longitudinal studies or from retrospective models that merged census data (mainly 1983 and 1995 national censuses) with individual student's data of earlier years, when ethnic origin was available.

Friedlender et al. (2000) also found a tendency for decreased ethnic gaps, which was attributed to the growing rate of AA students in academic high school tracks, as this increased their success in obtaining the *Bagrut* certificate. Dahan et al. (2003), who analyzed 1995 census data for 18–21 year olds, categorizing them by both ethnic origin and generation in Israel, found that while rates of *Bagrut* certificate eligibility rose for both AA and EA students, the gap between these two ethnic groups was larger in the second generation (Israeli-born).

Cohen et al. (2007), who studied enrollment in higher education and total years of education based on 1983 and 1995 census data, suggested that ethnic educational gaps did not change from the second to the third generation of Israelis. Also examining achievement of students from "mixed" AA–EA parents, they found this group's achievement to be in the middle, closer to EA achievement (see also Yogev and Jamshy 1983, regarding middle school; Dobrin 2015, regarding high academic education). CBS data (2008, Table 8.4) indicated that the number of EA individuals with over 16 years of education was double that of AA individuals.

There is consensus among researchers that the best predictor of student achievement is the parents' educational levels (as an SES indicator), and controlling for it either significantly reduces the ethnic origin effect or cancels it altogether (e.g., Dobrin 2015; Feniger et al. 2015). A recent report (Ben-David 2014), indicates that the correlation between father's occupation and *Bagrut* acquisition strengthened from 1995 to 2008.

Two methodological notes are in order here. First, as mentioned, the distinction between EA and AA is becoming less and less possible. Until recently, there was no official Nurture Index in high school; hence, information about parents' education and residence may serve as an indirect indicator of ethnic gaps. Second, *Bagrut* eligibility as an outcome is measured in three ways that may produce different outcomes: as the rate within the age group; as the rate of students in school (disregarding dropouts); and the rate of students who were tested.[29]

Based on MoE publications, the rate of *Bagrut* eligibility is rising slowly. Nonetheless, in 2015, about 44% of the age group and 34% of high school graduates were still ineligible (*The Marker*, August 2, 2016). In 2014, 52.7% of high school graduates were eligible (Swirski and Dagan-Buzaglo 2014) while the respective rate in 2005 was 44.9% (Dagan-Buzaglo 2007). About an additional 5–7% manage to make up missing exams and earn the

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[29] "Age group" includes ultra-Orthodox youngsters and east Jerusalem Palestinians who, for various reasons, do not take the exams.

certificate within eight years. As mentioned earlier, the high school track is a significant predictor of the chances of gaining the *Bagrut* certificate (e.g., Ayalon and Yogev 1997; Friedlender et al. 2000; Ayalon and Addi-Raccah 2008). Rates of *Bagrut* entitlement are higher in high SES communities (Dagan-Buzaglo 2007; Swirski et al. 2015) and in schools with high rates of high SES students (Ayalon and Yogev 1997). A recent CBS publication (2016, Table 8.27) shows a clear correlation between mother's education and *Bagrut* eligibility: among students tested in 2015, 64.5% of the Jewish students who were examined in the Bagrut exams and whose mother's education was less then 8 years passed the exams whereas 90.6% of the students whose mother's education was over 16 years passed. Among the Arab students 53.2% with mothers having less than eight years of education were eligible for the certificate, while the respective rate among students whose mothers had over 16 years of schooling was 90.8%.[30]

Looking at high school graduates of 1991–1998 who could be ethnically identified through CBS data, Ayalon and Addi-Raccah (2008) found an advantage of EA over AA with regard to the university-eligible *Bagrut* certificate, which is later reflected in higher rates of college participation. The effect of ethnic origin is significant even when controlling for father's education and a set of other personal and organizational variables. As mentioned earlier, structural changes in both tracks and *Bagrut* tests in the 2000s that blur vocational-academic boundaries probably also contribute to decreasing AA–EA gaps.

Israel has participated in three major international tests in recent decades: PIRLS – reading literacy in elementary school (fourth grade), TIMMS – mathematics and science literacy (eighth grade) and PISA – reading, mathematics and science literacy (15 year olds, mostly in 10th grade). In none of these tests, which were accompanied by personal questionnaires, was the student's ethnic origin identified.[31] However, in all these tests, Israel appears in the lower part of the achievement scale of participating countries and among the highest in achievement gaps related to SES. Results of the recent 2015 TIMMS and PISA are basically similar: about average mean achievement, but very large gaps in all the tested subjects. This is so also in regard to the national *Meitzav* test that is administered in fifth and eighth grades in a variety of subjects: under-expected achievements and large gaps by SES (see RAMA 2016). The same picture emerges in the recent *State of the Nation*

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[30] The correlation between SES and ethnicity indicates an ethnic gap (of an unknown magnitude) whenever findings refer to gaps by SES.

[31] The Jewish–Arab distinction does appear in the questionnaire, and findings regarding this gap will be presented later.

report conducted by the Taub Center: summarizing the status of education, Blass and Shavit (2016) pinpoint a number of positive developments in educational outcomes, mainly rising mean achievement, along with persisting large gaps.

In recent decades (since the mid-1990s), researchers' attention has moved to higher education, which has significantly expanded. While higher education is beyond the scope of this chapter, to the degree that ethnic origin could be identified, it is clear that the AA–EA rift still exists in higher education participation, in the choice of institution (university or college) and in curricular choices (Ayalon and Addi-Raccah 2008).

The EA–AA Educational Gap: Summary

The dichotomous Jewish ethnic gap between *Ashkenazim* and *Mizrachim* has been of great concern and a major focus of research over the years. This concern reflects the dissonance between the declared goals of the Zionist movement of "gathering the exiles" and "nation building," accompanied by an egalitarian ethos, and the reality of a deep rift in all realms of life that is ethnically colored.

Initially (1950s and 1960s), led mainly by psychologists, the gap was explained by the resource deficiency of AA students due to cultural shock, poverty or lack of parental support (e.g., Ortar 1967; Frankenstein 1970). The move from "formal equality" to affirmative action policy was based on the belief that extra resources allocated specifically to the "disadvantaged" would compensate for the initial deficiency. Disappointment with the outcomes, as evidenced by continuous gaps, was reflected in a move to explanations rooted in school structure and possible environmental effects. Hence, research on the organization of learning – ability groups, tracks, school and classroom composition, curriculum and pedagogy – followed. World trends, like the Swedish and English reforms, and especially trends in American actions and research, affected educational discourse and policy decisions in Israel and were reflected in research. In all these changes, the Jewish ethnic gap was the focus of concern and a major argument for any advanced reform.

In retrospect, AA Jews, low in economic and educational resources on their arrival, were deprived of an equal share in the distribution of material resources (land) and spaces of residence (relegated mainly to the periphery), had less access to political power and economic positions, and were looked down upon by the hegemonic EA Jewish population. Obviously, this was reflected

in educational gaps, academic achievement and positions in educational structures: ability groups and tracks, as well as rates of dropout, successful high school completion and higher education enrollment. While there are no conclusive findings, and although in recent decades "ethnic origin" is harder to define, research evidence tends to suggest a shrinking educational gap that is accompanying the socioeconomic heterogenization of the AA population, which is both a source and an outcome of educational advancement. This is also reflected in a growing rate of inter-ethnic marriages, where education and not ethnic origin is the major factor for dating and choosing a partner.

Interestingly, but not surprising, this change in objective conditions has been followed by a strong and loud move to the politics of identity. A sense of deprivation, statements about "white patronizing," calls for emendation of past injustices and a more just distribution of national allocations all characterize public and political discourses in recent years that penetrate the educational scene in one way or another.

Russians

Introduction

As already mentioned, the disintegration of the USSR (1989) was accompanied by free emigration for Jews or people of Jewish ancestry, and about one million new immigrants from the former Soviet Union arrived in Israel during the 1990s, following a much smaller, but very ideological, wave at the end of the 1970s. On the average, this new group was highly educated and professionalized, but low in economic resources and lacked (Hebrew) language skills. They were over proportionally single-parent families (mainly, single mothers) and three-generation households. In Israel, they resided in peripheral towns or low-SES neighborhoods within big cities and made their living in low-status, low-paying jobs, which obviously affected their children's education process.

On the other hand, rich in cultural capital and, moreover, strongly attached to their cultural heritage and convinced about its superiority to the "levantine" Israeli style, the Russian immigrants insisted on actively preserving the Russian language and transmitting it, along with features of the "ethnic" culture, to their children through a variety of cultural and Russian-style educational institutions. Within a decade they managed to construct extra-curricular Russian-oriented programs, special classes within schools or even a few

charter-like (selective) schools where Russian language is included in the curriculum and a strong emphasis is put on science and technology.[32]

"Russian" was never defined as an ethnic group, but as new immigrants, they were entitled to special treatment (e.g., extra learning time). Research could thus follow the "first-generation" immigrants in the 1990s and 2000s. A recent publication (Feniger in press), based on the Israeli PISA data of 2006, indeed showed that immigrants from the former USSR successfully instilled high educational aspirations in their children to ensure them real educational advantages.

Educational Outcomes Among "Russians"

A few broad conclusions are salient from the research on educational outcomes of "Russian" students, as compared to the general Jewish population:

1. The shock of immigration, economic difficulties and living in low-status neighborhoods, along with the negative reaction of the absorbing Israeli-born population, has resulted in a relatively high dropout rate, especially in high school (Sever 2002; Bodovski and Benavot 2006; Chachashvili-Bolotin 2007; Arbiv-Elyashiv 2011), compared to non-"Russian" Jewish peers – although altogether high school dropout rates are low. Related observed behavior is heavy drinking, drug use and involvement in violence (Arbiv-Elyashiv 2011).
2. Student achievement depend more on parents' (especially the mother's) education and former (pre-immigration) socioeconomic status, than on present status (Bodovski and Benavot 2006).
3. Time is a critical factor. Students who were in Israel longer, or who immigrated at a younger age, closed the gap in achievement except in the Hebrew language (Sever 2002; Levin et al. 2003; Ben-David–Hadar 2009; Goldshmidt and Glikman 2012).[33]
4. In high school, the "Russian" students tend to choose technological-scientific tracks more than academic or low vocational tracks (Bodovski and Benavot 2006; Chachashvili-Bolotin 2007; Blank et al. 2015). This tendency indicates their preference for practical and future income-promising tracks, and is reflected also in choice of majors (e.g., engineering) at higher education institutes (Feniger et al. 2015).

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[32] In addition, newspapers in Russian, classical music groups and a Russian theater were established and became an integral part of the Israeli cultural scene. It should be noted that, unlike the attitude in the initial decades of the Israeli state, in the 1990s there was greater acceptance of the tendency to retain the language and cultural tradition of the origin country.
[33] Levin et al. (2003) calculated that gaps in mathematics disappear after nine years in Israel.

5. There is no real gap in *Bagrut* entitlement and these students even seem to have an advantage in eligibility for advanced scientific curriculum, which eventually translates into an advantage in acceptance to prestigious university departments (Chachashvili-Bolotin et al. 2011).

Thus, at least in the first generation, immigrant students from the former USSR appear to be divided into two polar groups. They are dropping out of school to a higher degree than their Jewish Israeli-born peers, but they tend to excel in mathematics, scientific and technological achievement. Similarly, they are less likely to join academic high school tracks, but also less likely to be in the low vocational tracks. Instead, they tend to join technological tracks and to choose university majors with better expected economic returns. Most important, the gaps are smaller the younger they immigrate and the longer they live in the country.

Summary

Beginning their life in Israel with considerable economic disadvantage, reflected also in a greater-than-expected school dropout rate and achievement gaps, the Russian immigrants managed to almost close these gaps within two decades. Their specific integration pattern – keeping their language and cultural heritage (some considered them the "Russian ghetto") – makes the Russian collective a unique group in Israel (Rapoport and Lomski-Feder 2012; Lerner and Faldachi 2013). It would be worthwhile to follow the coming generations through the educational trajectory and to unravel their unique passage to "Israeliness" and possible effects on the educational system.

Ethiopians

Introduction

Jews from Ethiopia immigrated to Israel in small numbers even before the foundation of the state. However, between 1979 and 1984, and especially in the 1990s, sizable waves of Ethiopians were flown to Israel, mostly in secretive semi-military operations. Later (and to this day) a few thousand Falashmura[34] were allowed to enter Israel to join their relatives. According to the CBS 2017 Table 2.8, in 2016 the Ethiopian group includes about 136,600 individuals,

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[34] The Falashmura are Ethiopian Jews who converted to Christianity generations earlier, but kept their affiliation to a Jewish identity, especially through family ties.

of which about 55,300 are "second-generation" Israeli-born youngsters. Many arrived in Israel after years of great suffering – walking in the Sudan desert, en route leaving behind thousands who died of hunger, illness and attacks by robbers.

As Jews from Ethiopia mostly adhered to religious traditions, they were sent upon arrival in Israel to schools in the public religious sector or to boarding schools. In the 1998/99 school year, 74% of Ethiopian students attended schools in the religious sector (Swirski and Swirski 2002); in 2013, about half of them learned in this sector (Cohen-Kdoshai and Rigbi 2014). The Orthodox Jewish establishment, however, has been hesitant about legitimizing their Jewish identity.[35] Their dark skin and low economic and human capital also mark them as a distinct group that is (informally) discriminated against. In addition, they are characterized by a relatively high rate (about 29%) of single-parent families.

Educational Gaps Among the Ethiopians

Against this background, it is not surprising that rather large gaps appear between the Ethiopian and the general Jewish student population. Their entitlement to systemic help (extra resources) is mainly based on the Nurture Index and additional generous resources allocated to "students from poor countries." They also benefit from external donations from public and private foundations. For example, a special five-year program (2008–2013) on their behalf was planned as a joint national project by the Jewish Agency, the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), the Jewish Federations of North America and the Israeli government, with a planned budget of 870 million dollars. This amount was ultimately drastically cut, but the program still contributed about 2 million dollars (8 million NIS) to various learning projects in the first year (Adva Center 2015).[36]

As in the case of "Russian" students, the relatively sizable dropout of Ethiopian students has been disturbing. Whereas dropout rates in ninth to twelfth grades from 1990 to 2001 were about 5.9% in the general Jewish student population (lower than the OECD average), they were almost double – 10.5% – among students of Ethiopian origin. Moreover, about 23%

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[35] Their rabbis (Kase) were not allowed to practice, and many of the immigrants were forced to undergo a process of conversion to legitimize their Jewishness.

[36] Various intervention projects were initiated in an attempt to meet the specific needs of Ethiopian students, to advance them educationally or to improve their teachers' skills. These projects were followed by evaluation studies. However, such evaluations usually do not add information on gaps and, so, as already noted, are not included in this review.

were defined as "hidden dropouts" (i.e., systematically absent), 20% transferred between schools, and a relatively high rate learned in vocational tracks (Sever 2002). In the 1998/99 school year, 46% were placed in vocational tracks, compared to 32% of Israeli-born students (Swirski and Swirski 2002). Dropout rates are clearly decreasing: 2.2% in 2010 (among ninth to twelfth graders) and especially low (1.4%) among second-generation Israeli-born (Vorgan 2011).

Levin et al. (2003) compared achievements in (Hebrew) language and mathematics between Israeli-born and non-Israeli-born (immigrant) students in fifth, ninth and eleventh grades in 2000–2001. As expected, they found a considerable disadvantage of the new immigrants in both subjects and especially large gaps among the Ethiopian students that did not narrow with time (years in Israel), not even in the second generation. In their conclusions, the researchers pinpointed a lack of teachers' professional training and the need for more extensive social activity aimed at integrating these students.

Cohen-Kdoshai and Rigbi (2014) analyzed results of national testing (*Meitzav*) in (Hebrew) language, mathematics and science for fifth grade (elementary) and eighth grade (middle school) Jewish students in 2007–2013. They found that Ethiopian students' achievements were considerably lower than the general Jewish student population in all the subjects. In fifth grade, the gaps decreased considerably from 2008 to 2013: in Hebrew from 90 to 55 points; in mathematics from 90 to 65 points; and in science from 60 to 40 points. However, in eighth grade, the gap was not reduced in 2013, and in mathematics it even widened. The researchers also found that second-generation, Israeli-born students of Ethiopian origin were doing significantly better than first-generation students.

A recent investigation (Fuchs and Brand 2015) compared Ethiopian-born who immigrated at the age of 12 and over ("older") to those who immigrated younger than 12 or were born in Israel ("younger"). The study shows that the "younger" generation is doing dramatically better than their "older" counterparts at all educational levels: high school graduates (90% vs. 36%), those entitled to a *Bagrut* certificate (53% vs. 16%), and higher education graduates among those 30–35 years old (in 2008, 3.5 times that of the "older" group).[37] While these growth rates are impressive, in all the indicators the Ethiopian group still lags behind the general Jewish population. This gap is also reflected in a higher rate of technological-vocational track participation: 52% Ethiopians vs. 35% of the general Jewish student population Similarly, about

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[37] Similar differences appear in terms of occupation and labor market participation.

Table 16.1 Jewish and Ethiopian twelfth graders with matriculation eligibility (%), 2001–2013

	General Jewish population		Ethiopians	
	Bagrut certificate	University eligible[a]	*Bagrut* certificate	University eligible
2001	61.9	54.0	37.9	15.0
2005	58.9	51.8	36.1	18.5
2010	61.8	53.5	42.2	24.3
2013	67.3	57.4	49.2	27.6

Source: Baruch-Kovarski et al. (2015)
[a]Matriculation certificate for accelerated curriculum (and test) in English as a foreign language and mathematics

30% of twelfth-grade Ethiopian students earn the *Bagrut* at the level required for university entrance, compared to 65% of the general Jewish student population. Table 16.1, based on MoE data, shows this trend over time.

Summary

The Ethiopian group is a good example of "outside-inside" (society-school) permeation of mutual effects. Their entry into Israeli society from an under-developed country lacking economic and educational resources, after years of great suffering with many cases of broken families and orphans, put them in a huge disadvantaged position vis-à-vis Israeli society as a whole. Added to that was the skepticism of the religious establishment as to their Jewishness, accompanied by a disregard of their rabbis (Kase) who were not allowed to function as such, and repulsion from their blackness. As most were religious, their children were sent to schools in the more selective public religious sector (or to boarding schools). Their encounter with the very different social structure of Israeli society and the Israeli school system contributed to the disintegration of their traditional system and family structure, exacerbating their hardships.

The various signs of educational progress, as suggested by the data above, are encouraging, but the gaps are far from closing. In recent years, prejudice that deters interpersonal contact (not only in schools), combined with a raising sense of deprivation, have erupted in protests that frequently became violent.

Longitudinal studies that systematically follow the educational trajectory and life events of Ethiopian students from generation to generation are very much in order. It is important to investigate not only academic achievements, but also teacher and peer attitudes, as well as their actual behavior. Such research might reveal specific effects on the educational gaps and pinpoint specific treatments within schools that can make a difference.

Inequality Between Jews and Arabs[38]

Introduction

The most pervasive gaps in the Israeli education system – as well as in Israeli society in general – are between Jewish and Arab populations. These gaps are all the more evident since the Arabs, for all practical purposes, learn in separate schools. That is also the main reason it is possible to identify and describe gaps in resource allocation between the Jewish and Arab sectors, while it was not feasible to do so in the case of gaps between Jewish students from different ethnic backgrounds.

The following sections focus on the gaps in a few aspects of resource allocation (budget, class size, teacher characteristics and various school facilities), on the one hand, and achievements (*Meitzav*, *Bagrut* and international exams), on the other hand. Although it can be argued that unequal resource allocation is one of the main causes of achievement gaps, we consider it as an issue of inherent importance that deserves to be treated on its own when studying inequality in education. Research has not conclusively established a direct positive link between physical and financial resources and educational outcomes (e.g., Coleman et al. 1966; Baker 2016), yet it seems safe to conclude that allocation of certain resources is an essential, though insufficient, condition for an effective educational process and that some resources will be more effective than others with respect to students' academic outcomes.[39]

Despite the great interest in the inequalities in the educational system, resource allocations and their implications have not drawn much attention by the research community in Israel. Only a few studies were carried out on this topic by the last decade of the twentieth century. For example, a long bibliography, citing over 70 studies about disadvantaged students (Shtal 1970), does not include any research that deals exclusively with gaps in allocation of resources. Even Swirski (1981, 1990), who dedicated most of almost 40 years of research to the problems of ethnic and national gaps, did not describe or analyze gaps in educational resources allocated to the various groups.

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[38] The Arab population is not homogeneous. Large differences can be discerned between Muslim Arabs, Christian Arabs, Druze and Bedoins. The Bedouins are the poorest group and the most discriminated against. However, in the current context, we treat the entire Arab population as one entity.

[39] Our discussion deals exclusively with fiscal budgetary resources. The review disregards resources which are not strictly monetary – for example, the classroom's socioeconomic composition, the "cultural capital" in students' homes, society's attitude toward issues of inequality – though they are perhaps no less important.

Only in the past two decades has real interest in the issue of resource allocation emerged. In 1995 Adler and Blass published their first paper[40] (see also Adler and Blass 2003, 2009) on resource allocation, describing trends in inequalities among various Israeli groups since 1980, based on parameters pertaining to various social indicators. The research on resource allocation received a boost after publication of the Shoshani Report (Ministry of Education 2002), which recommended a major change in the funding of elementary education, advancing the concept of differential budget per student. Following this introduction of a new funding formula, a number of studies attempted to measure the impact of the change on the gaps in resource allocation between various sections in the educational system (Blass and Krauss 2010; Blass et al. 2010; Klinov 2010).

As long as the Israeli-Arab population was a small minority, it was easier to disregard its needs. Once it amounted to over 20% percent of the total student body,[41] while being over-represented among the low socioeconomic population, the gaps came to the fore, attracting the attention of both policymakers and academic investigations. As already pointed out one of the main tools for implementing affirmative action was the Nurture Index, used to identify disadvantaged students and the extent of their relative academic difficulties and resulting needs and allocating extra funding to affirmative action (Algerabli 1975; Adar 1978; Blass 1980; Yair 1991; Nesher 1996; Levi 1999). The discrimination of the Arab minority was clearly manifested in the fact that, until 1993, this sector was not included in the Nurture Index and hence not entitled to any extra budget apportioned for affirmative action. In 1993, a separate Nurture Index, still discriminatory, was devised for the Arab student population). It was not until 2004 that Arabs were included in one common Nurture Index with Jews. In fact, only since 2008 can the Nurture Index be described as "nationally neutral" (Blass 2015).

In Israel, educational resources are mainly allocated by the MoE, supplemented by the local authorities, parent payments[42] and donations from outside resources. The MoE is the most significant partner in the allocation process, currently distributing over 90% of the national expenditure for preschool, elementary school and middle school, and approximately 80% for secondary education (grades 10–12). Moreover, the MoE is the main organ

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[40] Appeared in English in 1997 see bibliography

[41] According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS various years), Arab students comprised 10% of Israeli first graders in 1960, 20% in 1980, 22% in 2000, and 29% in 2014.

[42] Education is free, but parents are supposed to pay a yearly sum to finance various extra-curricular activities or school improvement targets.

that provides credible data regarding resource allocation, and most of the research on gaps in resource allocations pertains to MoE funds and relies on their data. Thus, it seems appropriate that the focus of the following discussion will be on the role of the MoE in creating the existing gap in the allocation of resources between Jewish and Arab students.

Opinions are divided as to the role that local authorities play. Some researchers believe that this is a significant source of the inequitable resource distribution (Ben Bassat and Dahan 2009; Pollack 2012; Justman 2014). Others think that their role is marginal (Blass et al. 2010). In any event, the data for local authorities are partial, haphazard and not always reliable. Irrespective of the final judgement in this academic dispute, it is quite clear that the Arab localities and their population are, on the average, the poorest in Israel and unable to redress the inequality in allocations caused by the MoE. The data on household expenditures and other entities is even less accurate and reliable than that of local authorities.

Jewish–Arab Gaps in Resource Allocation

Examination of gaps in resource allocations are usually approached from four angles: (a) budget, mainly expressed as the amount of working hours of teachers per student or class; (b) quality of the teaching staff; (c) average class size; and (d) amount and quality of educational facilities. We now examine Jewish–Arab gaps for each of these aspects of resource allocation.

The Budget

The accumulated educational knowledge and research findings on the impact of financial investment in education in general and in affirmative action in particular on educational results, enable us to state the following:

- As there is usually a strong correlation between pupils' background and their learning and educational achievements, differential resource allocation of a considerable size (Blass 2007, 2009, 2010; Price Waterhouse-Cooper 2002, cited in Klinov 2010) is an essential, though insufficient condition for narrowing learning and educational gaps.
- A certain minimum number of hours of instruction and learning are essential. Learning cannot take place without professional instruction.
- The hours of instruction are particularly important and fruitful when the initial number of hours allocated to the classroom is low.

- The effectiveness of additional hours of instruction largely depends on the methods of instruction and the teacher's ability. Thus, it is often noted that "more of the same" is an inefficient and wasteful policy.

    With this very general knowledge in mind, the importance of affirmative action for the Arab student population is evident. Summing up the studies that describe the gap in financial, personnel and other resources between Arab and Jewish schools, we can state that, as a rule, since the establishment of Israel, Arab schools have been discriminated against in budgetary terms. This discrimination is evident in terms of both budget per student and budget per class at all grade levels (Adler and Blass 1997, 2003, 2009; Golan-Agnon 2005; Abu-Asbah 2007, 2013; Klinov 2010; Blass 2015). The extent of this discrimination is evident in a recent MoE publication (Ministry of Education 2016b, particularly with respect to the poorest sectors of the student body (see Table 16.2).

    It is clear that the poorer the student, the greater the per student allocation, yet at each educational level, Arab students receive less than their Jewish peers and the gap is larger for the poorer quintiles. The gap is also more accentuated at higher levels of education. Nonetheless, between 2004 and 2008, when the differential budget per student was introduced, the Israeli government pursued a policy of preferential treatment aimed at reducing gaps and this policy did have some positive results (Blass et al. 2010; Klinov 2010).

Quality of Teachers

There is a consensus in the professional literature that teachers constitute the most important school resource and have the strongest impact on learning and educational achievements (e.g., Barber and Mourshed 2007). How teachers are "allocated" between schools serving students from "weak" socioeconomic

Table 16.2 Average expenditure per student in elementary, middle and high school by socioeconomic quintiles, 2014 (in NIS)[a]

		Advantaged	Mildly advantaged	Middle	Mildly weak	Weak
Elementary school	Jewish	12,632	14,725	16,275	17,478	19,431
	Arab		13,792	14,145	15,137	15,715
Middle school	Jewish	15,795	17,535	19,784	21,539	24,852
	Arab		16,335	16,592	16,736
High school	Jewish	21,323	24,155	25,849	28,044	31,446
	Arab	18,680	16,024	19,176	19,528	18,757

Source: Ministry of Education (2016a)
[a]New Israeli Shekels. In the past recent decade, about 3.5–4.0 NIS= $1

backgrounds and those serving students from "strong" socioeconomic backgrounds is of paramount importance in any discussion of learning and educational gaps. The issue can be broken down into three main categories.

The first refers to teachers' availability in the schools – i.e., do schools that serve "weak" populations suffer more from a shortage of teachers? While this is generally the case in developed countries (e.g., OECD 2013), in Israel the reality in the Arab sector is quite the opposite. Due mostly to the difficulty of finding proper jobs in other fields, college-educated Arabs turn to teaching, and there is even a surplus of teachers in this sector. This is demonstrated in numerous debates in the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) on the difficulties Arab teachers have in finding jobs, as well as reports prepared by the research division of the Knesset (Vorgan 2007; Vininger 2013).

The second category is teacher turnover: do schools that serve weak populations experience a higher turnover of teachers? In general, the answer is also apparently "yes" because of the tendency of teachers to prefer working in schools that serve "stronger," well-to-do and successful students. Again, this is not the case in the Arab sector. Because teaching jobs for new teachers are scarce, turnover in the Arab sector is lower than among Jewish teachers. The chances of leaving the teaching profession in the first five years are 2.5 times higher for a Jewish teacher than for an Arab teacher (Arbiv-Elyashiv and Zimmerman 2013), although this gap is closing rather rapidly (Maagan 2016).

Finally, we need to consider the quality of the teachers themselves. As essential criteria for assessing teacher quality are lacking, research focuses on teachers' educational level and seniority as variables that are expected to express "quality." Here too, in most countries, pupils from wealthier backgrounds are taught by higher "quality" teachers, whereas in Israel, the characteristics of teachers working with students from "weak" backgrounds are not substantially different than those who work with "strong" populations (Blass et al. 2008). The situation is even more salient with respect to Israeli-Arab teachers: while until the early 2000s, the formal accreditations and seniority of Arab teachers were much lower than of Jewish teachers, today Arab teachers' educational levels and seniority equal and even surpass their Jewish colleagues (see Table 16.3).

Class Size

Opinions on the impact and efficiency of class size in raising student achievement are highly divided (see Angrist and Lavy 1999; Bohrnstedt and Stecher

Table 16.3 Teacher training and experience by school sector, 1990/91–2015/16

		1990/91	2015/16	Change (%)
Elementary school				
Jewish sector	Undergraduate degree (%)	21.1	86.7	65.6
	Graduate degree (%)	4.0	26.0	22.0
	Teaching experience (mean yrs)	13.3	15.6	2.3
Arab sector	Undergraduate degree (%)	11.3	92.0	80.7
	Graduate degree (%)	0.9	18.4	17.5
	Teaching experience (mean yrs)	14.0	14.2	0.20
Middle school				
Jewish sector	Undergraduate degree (%)	53.0	95.8	42.8
	Graduate degree (%)	9.5	44.7	35.2
	Teaching experience (mean yrs)	13.5	17.5	4.0
Arab sector	Undergraduate degree (%)	39.6	97.7	58.1
	Graduate degree (%)	2.6	27.6	25.0
	Teaching experience (mean yrs)	12.8	14.1	1.3
High school				
Jewish sector	Undergraduate degree (%)	66.7	90.5	23.8
	Graduate degree (%)	17.7	42.7	25.0
	Teaching experience (mean yrs)	16.2	18.7	2.5
Arab sector	Undergraduate degree (%)	71.9	91.3	19.4
	Graduate degree (%)	9.5	30.5	21.0
	Teaching experience (mean yrs)	11.2	13.4	2.2

Source: CBS (2016, Tables 8.7 and 8.18)

1999; Buckingham 2003; Hattie 2009). Yet, despite a lack of agreement on the effect of this variable on academic achievements in general, there is consensus that class size does affect learning achievements in the younger age groups, that this impact is cumulative, and that it is especially strong for students from a weak socioeconomic background.

The accumulated body of knowledge on class size differences in the Arab and Jewish sectors clearly points out that, for a very long period, classes in the former were significantly larger than in the latter, though this gap has been decreasing in the last decade (Blass 2008, 2015; Vorgan 2011; Swirski and Dagan-Buzaglo 2014; Asher 2014; Ministry of Education 2015). For details, see Table 16.4.

Buildings and Facilities

Nearly all researchers agree that buildings, facilities and equipment have only a minor impact on learning and educational achievements. Still, in many countries the physical facilities (particularly the equipment) available to wealthier students are superior to those available to students from a weak

Table 16.4 Average class size by school sector (2000, 2010, 2016)

	2000	2010	2016
Elementary school			
Jewish sector	29.3	28.2	28.2
Arab sector	32.1	27.3	27.3
Middle school			
Jewish sector	35.2	28.8	29.8
Arab sector	36.7	29.0	29.0
High school			
Jewish sector	26.3	26.0	26.0
Arab sector	28.1	27.1	27.1

Source: *Bemabat rachav* ("A wide view", MoE Internet site)

socioeconomic background. This is saliently expressed in the 2012 PISA data, where principals of schools serving "weak" populations report, significantly more than those serving privileged populations, that their school's physical conditions hinder them in providing a good education to their students (OECD 2013). This has also been the case in Israel regarding gaps between the Jewish and Arab sectors. It is expressed in a much higher prevalence of classes that learn in either prefabricated and rented classrooms in Arab schools, especially among the Bedouins (Belikoff 2014). In recent years, however, the rate of new schools built in the Arab sector is higher than in the Jewish sector (Blass 2006). This is the result of a historic lag in building educational facilities for the Arab sector, on the one hand, and its rapid enrollment growth due to higher fertility rates and rising rates of participation, especially in high school, on the other.

As a rule, the prevalent and long-lasting gap in educational facilities has also been documented in regard to other aspects of educational services and equipment, as attested to by two detailed surveys conducted by the CBS (CBS 1997, 1999; Belikoff 2014). For example, while in the Jewish public sector, there were nine students per computer station at school, in the Arab sector there were 20 students (Belikoff 2014). Furthermore, while all 15 local authorities with the lowest number of students per computer station at school were Jewish, 14 of the 15 local authorities with the largest number of students per computer station at school were Arab.

Jewish–Arab Gaps in Educational Achievement

As mentioned earlier, in the first two decades of Israeli statehood, the problems of Arab students did not draw much attention from the research community, which was mostly Jewish. Even the CBS did not relate to Arab students in

quite a few of the most basic tables in its annual statistical abstracts. The Jewish academic community in the social sciences focused in these first decades on "nation building" issues: processes of absorbing the huge and heterogeneous waves of new immigrants. The Arab community was rather small, secluded geographically, under military regime (until 1966), and far from the eyes and interests of Jewish academicians, and there were almost no Arab scholars in relevant fields who could tackle the problem with scientific methods.

Thus, research on Arab education in general, and on Jewish–Arab students' achievement gaps in particular, began only in the late 1970s with a pioneering large-scale investigation of Arab elementary education (Bashi and Davis 1981). This study followed the footsteps of earlier research on Jewish elementary education (Minkovich et al. 1977) that had been inspired by the Coleman report (Coleman et al. 1966). The findings clearly demonstrated the already well-known reality of wide educational gaps between students of the two sectors. Although some signs of research by Arab scholars dedicated to portraying the achievement gaps between Jews and Arabs can be detected in the 1980s and 1990s (Mar'i 1978, 1985[43]; Abu-Saad 1991; Al Haj 1993), the main body of studies has been carried out in the last twenty years by both Israeli-Arab and Jewish researchers.[44] This research is supported by a few NGOs dedicated to the goal of decreasing inequity between the two national groups.[45]

Academic interest in educational gaps between Jewish and Arab students centers around three main topics:

1. Gaps in academic achievements, based on national and international tests at various school levels and the psychometric exam, a pre-requisite for admittance to higher education.
2. Gaps in student dropout rates.
3. Gaps in rates of participation in higher education.

Gaps in Academic Achievements

Academic achievements in schools have been monitored in Israel through national testing for quite some time. Between 1955 and 1973, a national test

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[43] In describing the achievement gaps between Jewish and Arab students, Mar'i claimed that the situation of Arab students in Israel was no better than that of Palestinian students in the West Bank.

[44] Selected bibliography, published recently by the Arab Center for Law and Policy, testifies to this fact (Mustafa and Jabareen 2013).

[45] The most commonly known are Adva, Sikui, the Van Leer Institute and the Jerusalem Institute for Israeli Studies. Each publishes periodic reports describing existing gaps in various areas of life in Israel, monitoring change over time and suggesting ways for improvement.

known as the *Seker* was administered in eighth grade, serving as the high school gatekeeper. Since then, there have been a series of various national tests at the elementary school level. In the last ten years, the MoE has conducted national tests (*Meitzav*) in fifth and eighth grades. As mentioned, the matriculation (*Bagrut*) certificate is based on a set of exit tests at the end of high school. The international exams that Israel has participated in (PIRLS, TIMSS, PISA) and the psychometric exam have also been major sources for measuring achievement gaps. In all these exams, Arab-speaking students have been lagging behind Jewish students.[46]

Lavy (1998) investigated gaps in elementary school in regard to national exams carried out in 1991. Controlling for SES of the local community (rather than individual students' SES), he found that achievements of Arab students were about 20 points lower, and their chances to fail much higher (about 35%), than their Jewish peers. Dagan-Buzaglo (2007) pointed out to a gap of about 18% in 2005 in *Bagrut* exam passing rates between Jews and Arabs. Zuzovsky and Olshtain (2008) examined Arab–Jewish gaps in achievement in the 2006 PIRLS and showed that the Arab students lagged behind their Jewish colleagues considerably (score of 548 for the Jews and only 428 for the Arabs). Investigating gaps in total years of education and achievement in 2003 on national exams in the eighth grade, Abu-Asbah (2007) found a Jewish advantage of 20 points in mathematics and 18 points in English as a second language. Nachmias and Zuzovsky (2009) showed large gaps in achievements (close to 80 points) in the 2007 TIMSS. While the gaps differ in size and significance, they are consistent and significant and they narrow very slowly over time, if at all. A longitudinal follow-up of the educational trajectory of first graders from 2002/3 on the *Meitzav* tests (Maagan 2016) shows a lagging of Arab students in all subjects. However the gaps between Jews and Arabs were substantially smaller for the socially "advantaged" group.

An important report (Kennet-Cohen et al. 2005), summarizing findings of 49 national and international tests administered in elementary and secondary schools between 1991 and 2004, shows that, in most reported achievement indices, the average score in the Arab sector was lower than the Jewish sector by approximately one standard deviation. In matriculation tests, the gap between the two sectors was smaller. See Table 16.5 for details.

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[46] The gaps reported throughout this section relate to both Jews and Arabs as a whole. Especially in relation to the Arab sector, large differences exist between subgroups. Christian Arabs are the most advanced, and their achievement is mainly equivalent to that of the Jewish EA group. The Druze sector has vastly improved in recent decades, to the degree that they have caught up with Jews in high school achievement and *Bagrut* eligibility. The Bedouins are the poorest, most deprived group, and their achievements are far below those of the Jews and their Arab peers alike. Muslim Arabs are the vast majority, thereby affecting group means the most.

Table 16.5 Achievement gaps (in SD) between Arabs and Jews, for selected grades, subjects and years

Year	Grade	Subject	SD[a]
1991	4	Mathematics	1.2–1.5
1991	5	Mathematics	1.0–1.2
1996	4	Mathematics	1.3
1998	6	Science	1.1
2002	5	Mathematics	0.8
2003	5	Mathematics	1.3
2004	5	Mathematics	1.0
2002	5	Science	0.9
2002	5	Science	1.3
2002	5	Science	1.0
2002	5	English[b]	0.3
2002	5	English	0.6
2002	5	English	0.1
2001	PIRLS (5)	Reading	1.0–1.3
1996	8	Mathematics	0.9
1997	8	English	1.4
1999	8	Civics	0.5–0.6
2002	8	Mathematics	0.4
2003	8	Mathematics	0.9
2004	8	Mathematics	0.8
2002	8	Science	0.5
2003	8	Science	0.9
2004	8	Science	0.9
2002	8	English	0.8
2003	8	English	0.9
2004	8	English	0.9
1999	TIMSS (8)	Mathematics	0.8–1.0
1999	TIMSS (8)	Science	0.9–1.1
2002	PISA (10)	Reading	0.4–0.5
2002	PISA (10)	Mathematics	0.9–1.2
2003	PISA (10)	Science	0.7–0.8
1993–1998	12	Eligible for matriculation	0.2
1999–2003	12	Eligible for matriculation	0.1

Source: Based on Kennet-Cohen et al. (2005)
[a]Positive sign means better results for Jewish students
[b]English as a second language

The common explanation (some may say, excuse) for the existing gaps rests on the vast difference in socioeconomic background of the two populations. Addi-Raccah et al. (2015) suggest that a main reason for the educational gaps is that Arabs reside in separate localities that are generally poor and do not (or cannot) allocate additional resources to their educational systems. However, beyond discrimination in resource allocation (see above), there may be several additional contributing factors to the difficulties of Arab students.

1. Arab students are required to learn an additional language (Hebrew) intensively, whereas Jewish students are virtually exempt from such a requirement. No additional resources are allocated to Arab schools to cope with this task.
2. It is possible that reading and comprehension time required for Arabic texts is longer than the time needed to read a text of the same length in Hebrew (Eviatar et al. 2016).
3. There is a wide difference between literary and spoken Arabic that Arab students must cope with (e.g., Abu-Rabia 1998, 1999; Zuzovsky 2008, 2010).

Some researchers have given alternative explanations. Feniger (2015, in press) tested Ogbu's theory about minorities' attitudes toward learning and schooling. Based on 2006 PISA findings and comparing attitudes toward school and future aspirations of immigrants from the former Soviet Union and Arab students, the study found that Arabs' attitudes were more positive than their "Russian" peers, but their achievements were lower. The researcher's interpretation is that, although the Arab population is an involuntary minority, they still see the educational system as a main channel for economic and social advancement.

Zuzovsky (2010) list four additional explanations to the aforementioned reasons for the large gaps in reading skills demonstrated in the 2006 PIRLS. These are: lower self- esteem, lower participation rates in kindergarten, less time dedicated to learning reading and larger classes.

As in the case of EA–AA gaps within the Jewish sector, Jewish–Arab educational gaps are significantly reduced, and in some cases even disappear, when parents' education is taken into account (Dahan et al. 2003). Analyses of CBS data (Maagan 2016, 2017) reveal an interesting, though unsurprising, consistent finding: control of SES indicators reduces the raw gaps significantly, but the SES effect is differential for "strong" and "weak" groups. Arab and Jewish students born to mothers who have 16+ years of schooling attain very similar results, and in a few subjects Arabs do even better. However, the gaps grow the lower the mother's educational level. Similar results appear in analyses of *Bagrut* exams (see, e.g., CBS 2010, Table 8.24, 2016, Table 8.14).

Gaps in psychometric exam scores were checked comparing Jewish-Arab quartiles along the scale of achievement in Meitzav exams (Maagan 2017). The advantage of the Jews appears along all four quartiles. In the PISA international tests, the gap seems even to have increased over the years.

This, together with the above-mentioned findings, poses a serious question. Why do Arab students from higher socioeconomic groups have similar and

Table 16.6 Attendance rates (%), Jewish and Arab 14–17 year olds (1990, 2000, 2010, 2015)

		1990	2000	2010	2015
Jews	Total	90.5	95.7	96.2	97.0
	Boys	85.5	93.2	94.3	95.9
	Girls	95.7	98.4	98.3	98.1
Arabs	Total	62.8	79.4	89.4	93.0
	Boys	66.4	74.8	86.6	91.9
	Girls	58.9	84.2	92.4	94.3

Source: CBS (Organized by Blass from the relevant yearly statistics)

sometimes better achievements on the *Meitzav* and *Bagrut* exams than their Jewish counterparts, while Arabs in lower socioeconomic groups do considerably worse on these exams, yet on external exams, like the psychometric and international tests, Arab students' scores are significantly worse even when socioeconomic background is controlled? The answer to this question remains elusive.

Gaps in Rates of School Participation

In the early years of the State of Israel, there were large gaps in participation rates at every educational stage. However, by 1980, these gaps had virtually disappeared at the elementary level (ages 6–13), but were still quite large at the secondary level (ages 14–17): almost 80% of the Jews attended high school, compared to only about 50% of the Arabs. Today participation rates in secondary education are quite similar, with a small advantage for the Jewish sector in the twelfth grade. Table 16.6 shows changes at the high school level over time.[47] It is clear that the rate of dropouts in high school decreased, especially among the Arabs, but is still higher than among the Jews.

While high school dropout has become a non-issue, differences in track placement in secondary education are still acute. Until the beginning of 2000, most high schools in the Arab sector were academically oriented; hence, a very low rate of students studied in vocational tracks, while the rate of Jewish students in vocational tracks was quite high. The decision to expand vocational-technological education in the Arab sector changed this situation, and now vocational tracks are even more prevalent there (Table 16.7).

Swirski et al. (2015) claim that the growth in vocational track participation increases discrimination against Arabs. On the other hand, this rapid increase in vocational education in the Arab sector was a critical factor in the rise of

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[47] While gender is beyond the scope of this chapter, the table gives a glimpse of the dramatic change in Arab girls' educational participation.

Table 16.7 Jewish and Arab students in vocational tracks (%) (1960–2015)

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2015
Jewish sector	27.5	44.2	52.7	50.0	43.4	32.5	35.7
Arab sector	1.2	23.0	15.3	21.7	28.1	40.4	42.3

Source: Based on CBS (2016, Table 8.19)

participation rates in secondary education, which considerably decreased the gaps in high school attendance (as shown in Table 16.6). Moreover, Blank et al. (2015) pointed out that Arab representation in the more technological, engineering-oriented tracks of vocational education is much higher than those of Jewish students, suggesting that a considerable number of Arab students have made efficient use of these new opportunities.

The advancement of Arab students in participation at all formal schooling levels, the decrease in dropout rates and the increase in successful *Bagrut* exam completion is clear, although differential across Arab subgroups. It is also obvious that poverty and lower parents' educational level are major factors contributing to this sector's failure and to the considerable achievement gaps with the Jewish sector as a whole. At the same time, the progress of the Arab sector is often matched by a parallel progress of the Jewish sector, preventing gaps between the two groups from closing faster.

Gaps in Higher Education Participation

Earlier, we stated that research on higher education was beyond the scope of this chapter. However, when comparing Jewish and Arab educational outcomes, we shall shortly refer to the gaps that appear in the first stages of higher education participation, as this reflects what Bar-Haim et al. (2008) call the "up and down staircase", i.e., when gaps in participation at one level get close to saturation, gaps "move up the ladder" to the next level of education.

As can be seen in Table 16.8, Jewish–Arab gaps in educational attainment in the lower levels of schooling have decreased, on the whole, over the years. However, this progress is not reflected in higher educational levels, where gaps are actually widening.

Such gaps in higher education are apparent both in terms of general participation and in the differential rates of participation in prestigious departments. While 33% of Jews aged 25–34 have a college degree, the corresponding number among Arabs is only 13% (Bolotin-Chachashvili et al. 2002; Shavit et al. 2007; Dobrin 2015; Swirski et al. 2015).

Arab students face difficulties in the application process and in their ability to finish their studies successfully once they are accepted to institutions of

Table 16.8 Average years of schooling, Jewish and Arab sectors (1990–2015)[a]

	0–4 yrs of schooling	5–8 yrs of schooling	9–10 yrs of schooling	11–12 yrs of schooling	13–15 yrs of schooling	16+ yrs of schooling
Jews						
1990	6.6	13.7	13.5	38.0	16.0	12.2
2000	3.8	8.2	10.8	36.2	22.7	18.3
2010	2.4	5.2	8.3	35.0	24.8	24.3
2015	0.5	3.9	7.6	32.8	24.5	29.3
Arabs						
1990	19.5	30.8	17.4	23.2	6.1	3.0
2000	11.4	18.8	18.6	30.1	12.5	8.6
2010	8.7	16.5	16.5	36.5	11.0	10.8
2015	2.6	13.4	16.7	38.4	12.1	12.7
Gaps						
1990	−12.9	−17.1	−3.9	14.8	9.9	9.2
2000	−7.6	−10.6	−7.8	6.1	10.2	9.7
2010	−6.3	−11.3	−8.2	−1.5	13.8	13.5
2015	−2.1	−9.5	−9.1	−5.6	12.4	16.6

Source: CBS, (organized by Blass using various years and tables)
[a]Percentages of students in each cell, plus data on gaps. The table relates to the total
  population and serves as a proxy for the situation among youngsters

higher learning. Moustafa (2010) points out their difficulties on the psycho-
metric test. Dagan-Buzaglo (2007) depicts the high rate of dropout from
higher education, attributing it to lack of financial means. Feniger and Ayalon
(2016) suggest that one reason for the difficulties of Arabs on their path
toward higher education is their lower achievements in English, stemming
from the fact that they are required to study an additional language (Hebrew)
in school.

Whereas the vast majority of tertiary education offered in Israel in most of
the twentieth century was concentrated in a few universities, the late 1990s
saw a rapid expansion of higher education opportunities with the opening of
many public and private colleges. One of the questions regarding this devel-
opment is who the main beneficiaries have been. Yogev and Ayalon (2006)
claim that students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, including Arabs,
benefited from wider accessibility to higher education, but not in the more
prestigious fields of study. They also found that students' mean academic abil-
ity in the newly established colleges was lower.

Summary

All in all, it appears that the Israeli-Arab minority is the most deprived ethnic
group in Israel, both in terms of the input facet (resource allocation) and in its

educational output (and, within this minority, the Bedouin subgroup is the lowest by far). It is important, though, to emphasize that recent decades have witnessed certain progress in educational attainments, though differential among Arabic subgroups. It is also important to note that a great deal of the educational gaps are a result of socioeconomic differences between Jews and Arabs: lower parents' education, poverty, and poor local communities that are at least partly attributed to public policy.

Compared to the vast research on educational gaps in the Jewish population, investigation in the Arab educational sector, including regarding Jewish-Arab gaps, is relatively "young" and should be expanded in the coming years. It is interesting to note that in recent decade some schools, especially, but not only, in the Druz sub-sector, appear at the top list of high school achievement (rate of successful *Bagrut* accomplishment*)*. Investigating more carefully what factors explain such success (extra-financial investment, principal leadership, special intervention program etc.) may be an efficient rout for future research.

Conclusion

In international comparative testing in recent decades (PIRLS, TIMMS, PISA), Israel appears to be among the countries with the largest educational gaps. As a relatively young nation that began its way to statehood with a strong egalitarian ideology and a relatively egalitarian economic reality, this may be surprising. The reality of its fast growing population, comprised of highly heterogeneous, non-selective waves of immigrants, many of whom have traditionally large families (meaning a relatively high proportion of school-age children), may at least partly explain such large gaps, especially in the first decades of statehood. However, the persistence of large gaps in the 2000s, as reflected in recent international comparisons, calls for more complex interpretations.

Especially disturbing (though not surprising) are the recurring findings that educational gaps are ethnically and nationally colored. Investigations of these gaps and of their trends over time (widening or shrinking) were a major emphasis in both academic research at universities and statistical analyses at independent research centers and in the institutional state-level establishment (MoE, CBS).

Academic research was carried out as an integral part of university staff activities and on many occasions was supported by Israeli foundations (or directly by the chief scientist of the MoE). The focus of such investigations fluctuated periodically, in response to educational reforms, demographic

changes (immigration waves) and major trends in levels of educational participation – from elementary school to middle school to high school and onto higher education. Obviously, a central dimension in this fluctuation is the public and educational discourse that accompanied the changes. At the same time (but not in tandem), the academic community moved from individually-oriented, more psychological explanations of the gaps that centered on students' traits to more structural, environmental explanations that revolved around the organization of learning and effects of the community environment.

More specifically, in the first decades of statehood, a nation-building discourse reigned, and the first generation of sociologists and social psychologists studied "newcomers" (defined as "ascenders") versus "oldtimers" (Israeli–born), focusing on absorption processes and thus also educational gaps (e.g., Eisenstadt 1956). Within a few years this evolved into the major Jewish ethnic division between *Ashkenazim* (EA) and *Mizrachim* (AA) – two groups that were about equal in size, but unequal in economic and political power, reflected also in large educational gaps. While initially these gaps were attributed to cultural discontinuity (lack of language) and economic hardship of new immigrants, their persistence over time drew public, educational and academic attention and became a central focus of investigation.

At the same time, in the early years of Israeli statehood, educational gaps within subgroups of the Arab minority, and especially between it and the Jewish majority, were virtually a non-issue for reasons outlined above. Only in the 1990s did the national-ethnic (Jewish–Arab) gaps begin to be more salient in public discourse and academic research. This interest was accentuated as gaps in dropout rates and in higher education participation became evident. The results of various wide-scale national exams at the elementary and middle school levels, the continuous gaps in *Bagrut* exam scores, as well as the results in international testing (PIRLS, TIMMS, PISA) contributed to the factual basis for academic discourse on the subject.

The structural reform of 1968, which was accompanied by a school and class integration policy (mixing Jewish ethnic groups) drew much research attention, mainly in the 1970s and 1980s. The accompanying growth in high school participation rates and structural tracking became a central research issue and investigations moved from elementary to middle school levels and later to high school, studying ethnic gaps, the effect of academic/vocational tracking, and *Bagrut* acquisition as major indicators of trends in educational gaps. Finally, the rising rates of high school participation and *Bagrut* achievement was reflected in a significant growth in higher education aspirations and actual participation in universities and public and private colleges. This change

was accompanied by another research shift from studies of high school to investigations of higher education. This review did not cover higher education research, other than briefly mentioning growing participation rates in relation to each ethnic comparison.

In this context, three macro developments that affected the nature of academic research in Israel are worth noting:

- There was an impressive growth of both higher education institutions and academic human resources, which also opened channels for greater variety and differentiation of "voices."
- While in the first decades of statehood, Parsonian functional theory led the (relatively small) academic community, guided by Zionist nation-building ideology, in the late 1980s, more critical, conflictual theories penetrated, affecting researchers' approaches and interpretations of the Israeli educational scene.
- Globalization trends, accompanied by technological development, dramatically increased the exchange of knowledge, data and academic interests (topics of investigations), as well as enhancing regional and international comparative studies.

Summary of Findings

What can we summarize about research findings? First, findings suggest almost unanimously that ethnic educational gaps are intertwined with socio-economic gaps, which are not equally distributed along ethnic lines. Hence, in all statistical models, controlling for SES (especially parents' education and income) significantly reduced raw ethnic disparities, in some cases to a non-significant difference. This is especially salient in regard to national-ethnic (Jewish–Arab) gaps: division of each ethnic group, both on the individual and the aggregate school level, show an "empty cell" at the high SES level of the Arab group. A similar, though less extreme, picture emerges in the Jewish major ethnic division (AA–EA), when it was possible to clearly measure ethnic affiliation: the two lowest SES percentiles of the Jewish population were mostly AA and two highest percentiles were mostly EA, while the six percentiles in the middle were mixed AA and EA, although not equally distributed.[48]

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[48] Periodically, due to mass immigration, this picture changes somewhat. For example, in the first decade of immigration from the former Soviet Union (mostly EA), the lower SES percentiles were more heterogeneous (AA and EA).

Equality in education is tightly related to socioeconomic inequality in society at large. Growing social inequality in recent decades is thus reflected in findings about ethnic inequality in education. Moreover, accentuated processes of socioeconomic differentiation between communities, intertwined with national, political and regional factors, create concentrations of specific student populations (advantaged, disadvantaged) in schools, which in itself affects learning opportunities (Addi-Raccah et al. 2015). The conventional saying that "schools for the poor are poor schools" is basically true in Israel as well: schools with a high concentration of poor students, affiliated with the "weak" ethnic group, are located in poor neighborhoods or communities, where both the local authority and parents do not add significantly to MoE resource allocation.

Second, of the two major ethnic divisions – the Jewish AA–EA gap and the Jewish–Arab gap – the latter is considerably wider. Looking at resource allocation, it is clear that, for a long period, structural barriers – lack of access to central finances related to affirmative action, and unequal investments in infrastructure (buildings and equipment) – along with the poverty of Arab municipalities enhanced this disparity. While space limitations prevented us from providing a detailed analysis of gaps within subgroups in the Arab minority, such meaningful disparities do exist. The small Christian group is doing very well, in some cases surpassing Jewish EA achievement; and the Druze students, who lagged behind for years, have made considerable progress and are catching up to their Jewish peers. In contrast, the Bedouins are the weakest subgroup: about half of them in the southern region (over 100,000 people) continue to dwell in "unrecognized" villages, with no electricity, water or sewage infrastructure and very limited state services (health, welfare), in most cases at a large distance from available schools. Hence, they are the lowest in any educational attainment indicator.

Third, trends over time suggest that all the studied "minority" groups – AA, "Russians", Ethiopians and Arabs – have advanced considerably in recent decades, with increased educational participation and better educational outcomes. More are finishing high school and acquiring *Bagrut* certificates (including university-eligible *Bagrut*), and achievements in national and international testing, as well as participation rates in higher education institutes, are rising. However, this progress is differential and the rate of progress varies for each group.

Regarding the most important question in this context – What happened over time to the gaps? – the answer is more complex, depending on the gap indicator, the educational level and the specific measure of the gap. It seems that, as Bar-Haim et al. (2008) suggest, the move is "up the down staircase":

any progress at closing the gap at a lower level of the system moves it up to a higher educational level. When participation in elementary school level reached saturation, high school became the major arena for differentiation (tracks, final *Bagrut* test). Nowadays, participation in higher education, successful acquisition of a degree, type of academic institute and category of study in higher education are becoming the relevant indicators of gaps.

The Jewish ethnic gap – AA versus EA – seems to have been reduced considerably, and control over SES mostly nullifies it. As already mentioned, measuring it has become more complicated in recent decades as second- and third-generation Israeli-born students reach universities and sizeable numbers are offspring of "mixed ethnicity" parents. Hence, not only SES, but also "generation" and "mixed origin" have become relevant categories of control. In a very intriguing process, social and educational AA–EA disparities have recently become a central issue in the politics of identity discourse, reflected also in major political and power conflicts in Israeli society.

The large Russian group and the smaller Ethiopian group, who mostly immigrated in the 1990s, also already have second- (and third-) generation Israeli-born students. While educational gaps involving Russians have largely closed, accompanying considerable socioeconomic improvement, the educational gaps of Ethiopian students (vis-a-vis other Israeli Jewish students) remain significant, though national investments dedicated to this group have shown impressive enhancement: reduced dropout, increased high school achievement and rising rates of higher education participation.

The "up the down staircase" process is also evident with respect to the Arab minority. Significant advancement in the lower levels of education are still accompanied by significant gaps on national (*Meitzav*) and international tests (PIRLS), with considerably wider gaps at higher levels of education. Like most other ethnic gaps in Israel and other developed countries, ethnicity and SES are intertwined in a hard-to-disentangle vicious circle: low educational and economic capital in the parents' generation, accompanied by low social capital and poor environmental resources, result in perpetuated low educational opportunities of the younger generation. Thus, in all statistical analyses, control of SES significantly reduces the "raw" ethnic effect and in some cases (mainly, high parents' educational level) nullifies it.

The main onus of reducing achievement gaps lies on the shoulders of the political and economic establishment. But the educational system cannot be absolved from responsibility, and its contribution to persisting gaps between Jewish and Arab students should not be ignored. Continuous and long-standing discrimination in the allocation of financial and other resources, as well as a disregard of the imminent difficulties of this ethnic, cultural and

lingual minority, contributes its share to the creation of gaps in educational achievements between the two national-ethnic sectors. Apparently, these gaps will not be narrowed without a major change in the attitude of the higher echelons of MoE toward the Arab student population.

Future Research

Ethnic inequalities in education continue to be a problematic in Israel, a democracy that declares "equal opportunity" as one of its major social policy principles.

Our first general recommendation is to keep educational gaps as a major issue and central concern that guides academic investigations. Even more so in view of the deep gaps that placed Israel high on the scale of inequality in the various international tests. Even though gaps were assessed in these tests on the individual level, the strong correlation of ethnic affiliation with educational achievement is a very troubling phenomenon.

In this context, an overall historic analysis of the social processes and specific events that describes, interprets and explains the transition from a relatively egalitarian society at the outset to a society characterized by a high degree of educational and economic inequality, is strongly recommended.

Equally important are studies that will relate educational policy to academic research: How and who affect policy decisions, research topics and research financing? And what are the relations between policy making and research advancement, especially in regard to the role of ethnicity in educational processes? The recent development of ANT – Actor Network Theory – is one possible direction of investigation in this tradition of research.

Very important and hardly existing in the context of Israel are longitudinal investigations that follow through students' educational trajectories and 'from school to work' transition. This kind of research must rest on state (or major funds) support that allows for central data collection on a long-term basis, planned and handled by an academic board and freely available to investigators.[49] A second best, but lacking the rich information on, for instance, attitudes, expectation, future plans, concerns the consistent use of theoretically important administrative data available in the MoE and in the CBS. Few

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[49] The NELS: 88 – National Education Longitudinal Study – is one example where data was collected in a national sample among 8th grade students (the base year) and following them in 1990,1992,1994, 2000 already post-schooling into adult life. Karl Alexander and Doris Entwisle are an exception as individual investigators who followed a sample of students from first grade on until adulthood and came out with considerable introspections on causes and consequences in the process of schooling (e.g., Entwisle et al. 2005).

researchers have already studied inequities using these data and doing so should be encouraged.

Research that delves into processes of overt and hidden symbolic messages in the teacher-students relations, in teachers' pedagogical presentations and actual acts, in students' processing through tracks (especially in high school), and in the curriculum choices: what is being presented, to whom, and in what 'spirit'? These are all important issues that may help to better understand the ethnic rifts that affect students' chances to successfully go through their schooling and educational attainments. Studies in this, more interpretative and explorative tradition are more likely to use qualitative methods.

Finally, investigating 'successes', i.e., trying to understand "what works" constitutes another way to obtain a deeper understanding of how and why gaps shrink. The change in the Druze educational outcomes for example, are a case in point in the Israeli system. In this type of investigations, either qualitative or quantitative, findings may be specific to the studied group and one should be careful not to run the risk of making unfounded generalizations.

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Italy: Four Emerging Traditions in Immigrant Education Studies

Davide Azzolini, Debora Mantovani, and Mariagrazia Santagati

Introduction

Compared with other national contexts with a longer history of immigration, social scientists in Italy have only recently turned their attention to ethnic inequalities in education. In the past two decades, however, the number of studies has grown substantially in parallel with the increased presence of children with immigrant background in Italian schools.[1]

In this chapter, a systematic overview of the empirical literature on ethnicity and educational inequality in Italy is provided. The review includes over

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[1] Terms such as "immigrant-origin children", "children of immigrants", "children with an immigrant background", "foreign-origin students", "non-Italian students" and "foreign students" are considered equivalent in this chapter. These labels refer to students who have two foreign-born parents (or whose only known parent is foreign-born).

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one hundred studies coming from different disciplines (chiefly sociology) that have been published between 1990 and early 2017. The reviewed studies cover almost all educational levels, with the partial exception of tertiary education, where the presence of immigrant-origin students is still limited.

These studies have been classified into four research traditions: school inclusion and intercultural practices; political arithmetic; educational outcomes; and interethnic relationships. These traditions reflect the temporal evolution of the empirical studies on the topic in Italy and are characterized by distinct focuses, research designs, data and methods. For each of the four traditions, the main findings are summarized and the substantial contributions to the understanding of ethnic inequalities in education are critically appraised. In the conclusions, we provide a comparative look at the main contributions of each tradition as well as the points of weakness, and we make suggestions regarding how ethnic educational inequality research could be further developed in the country.

National Context

Organization of the Education System

The Italian education system is divided into different levels (Fig. 17.1): nursery schools (for babies and toddlers aged between 3 months to 3 years), pre-school education (3 to 5 years old), primary education (from 6 to 10), lower secondary education (from 11 to 14), upper secondary education (from 15 up to 19), and tertiary education. The first two levels are non-compulsory. Nursery school (or kindergarten, *asilo nido*) attendance rate is low: slightly more than 1 toddler out of 10 at the country level, whereas pre-school education (*scuola dell'infanzia*) attendance rate is very high: in 2014, 95.1% of children of the corresponding age were enrolled.

At the age of 6, every child in Italy has to enroll in primary education. This first level of compulsory education lasts five years. Upon its completion, students enroll in lower secondary education. This school level lasts three years and ends with a final exam (*esame di stato*). This exam is the first formal national assessment of students' achievement. It comprises three to four written tests (the subjects are Italian, mathematics and science, and one or two foreign languages) and a multidisciplinary oral test. Between the school years 2009/2010 and 2016/2017, a national standardized test on mathematics and Italian skills run by INVALSI (National Institute for the Evaluation of the Education System) also contributed to the overall mark of the exam. Passing

GRADE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION					AGE
	Master Degree (*Laurea Magistrale*) ISCED 5A				Non-compulsory	23
						22
	Bachelor degree (*Laurea*) ISCED 5A					21
						20
						19
13	+1 or 2 additional years of vocational training	Vocational schools (*Istituti professionali*) ISCED 3a/3b	Technical Schools (*Istituti tecnici*) ISCED 3a/3b	General schools (*Licei*) ISCED 3a/3b	Compulsory	18
12						17
11	Regional vocational training courses (*IeFP*) ISCED 3b/3c					16
10						15
9						14
8	Lower secondary schools (*Scuola secondaria di I grado*) ISCED 2a					13
7						12
6						11
5	Primary schools (*Scuola primaria*) ISCED 1					10
4						9
3						8
2						7
1						6
	Pre-schools (*Scuola dell'infanzia*) ISCED 0				Non-compulsory	5
						4
						3
	Nursery schools					2
						1
						3 months

Fig. 17.1   Organization of the Italian education system

this exam is a precondition to upper-secondary education enrolment, but the mark obtained does not limit access to any school.[2]

Given the relatively low number of private schools in Italy,[3] the major factor of stratification in the system is represented by "tracking". At the age of 14, students (and their families) are faced with three main options. The first option is represented by general schools (*licei*), which last five years and provide a general, academic-oriented education with further distinctions in humanities, natural sciences, foreign languages, pedagogical sciences, arts, music and dance. A second branch is technical schools, called *istituti tecnici*, which also last five years and are subdivided into different curricula within economic or technological sectors. Vocational schools, called *istituti professionali*, last five years and they are subdivided into several branches within two main sectors: services, and industry/handicraft. Upper secondary education ends with a final exam (*esame di maturità*). Until the 2016/2017 school year, the final exam consisted of two written government-set tests (the subjects are Italian and the most key-determinant subject within the track), a third written test set by the school, and a final oral examination.[4] Beside these three scholastic options, there is a further branch, represented by regional vocational training courses (*istruzione e formazione professionale*). These courses last three years, after which there is the possibility of one or two additional years as well as the option to enroll in a 5-year school afterwards.

A large majority of young people opt for one of the three main tracks in upper-secondary education. In the 2015/2016 school year, fewer than 1 out of 10 students chose a regional vocational training course. In the same school year, among those attending upper secondary education, 50% were enrolled in general schools, 31% in technical schools and 18% in vocational schools. These patterns show substantial variation among students, depending on

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[2] The 2017/2018 school year will usher in a major transformation of the Italian education system. The new educational reform – known as "Good School" (Legislative Decree 13 April 2017, no. 62) – will change the final, school-leaving exam at the end of lower secondary school as follows: it will comprise only three written exams (Italian, mathematics and a foreign language) and an oral one aiming to ascertain students' reasoning and problem-solving skills. Nationwide, standardized tests developed by INVALSI will no longer be part of the final examination; they will however be administered in April, and admission to the new final examination will be contingent on passing those tests (which will include a section devoted to English language competence).

[3] In the 2015/2016 school year, the share of students enrolled in private schools ranged from 6.3% in primary education to 3.6% in lower secondary, and 3.9% in upper secondary education (source: miur.it).

[4] The "Good School" reform will change this examination as well: the two ministerial tests will survive, whereas the written test set by the school will be abolished. Moreover, last-year upper secondary school students' access to the final exam will be conditional on: (*i*) participation to the INVALSI tests assessing their skills in Italian, mathematics and English; (*ii*) taking part in work-linked training activities promoted by school. The latter topic will be object of discussion during the oral exam along with questioning on "Citizenship and Constitution."

ascriptive characteristics such as social class and migration background: youths from poorer social backgrounds or with an immigrant background exhibit a higher likelihood to enroll in vocational education and training courses (Schizzerotto and Barone 2006). The distribution of foreign youths across upper-secondary education tracks is highly uneven: there is a significant lower concentration in academic track (28%) and a higher presence in technical (37%) and vocational institutes (33%).

A further important threshold in students' educational careers takes place when they turn 16, which is the minimum age at which dropping out of the formal education and training system is legally allowed. Early school leaving has always been a major concern in Italy and it afflicts foreign students to a greater extent. In 2016, the incidence rate of early school leavers among 18–24 was 13.8%, still far above the EU-28 average (10.7%), rising to 32.8% among foreign youths. Moreover, Italy has the highest number of NEETs in Europe, with 24.3% of young people aged 15–29 (34.9% among young people with a migrant background) not in employment, education or training.

As far as tertiary education is concerned, the Italian system is a sequential system comprising bachelor (three years) and master courses (two years). The upper graduate level, which comprises Ph.D. Programs, usually lasts between three and four years. Because children of immigrants in Italy are mostly at the primary and secondary education age, we will not go into details of the tertiary education level here. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the type of upper secondary degree obtained, even if not legally constraining access to higher education, is *de facto* strongly associated with students' chances of continuing to the tertiary level and also to the likelihood of transiting from the bachelor to the master level (Barone 2012). More precisely, among students who complete general school, those who enroll at the university make up around 90%, while only 40% and 20% of students with a technical or a vocational degree, respectively, continue their education at university (Vergolini and Vlach 2017). Hence, the educational choices taken at the age of 14 are highly consequential for students' careers (Checchi and Flabbi 2007).

Immigration to Italy

Italy has historically been a country of emigration, but over the past three decades it has progressively turned into a destination for international migrants. The 1981 Population Census confirmed this shift: for the first time, net migration showed positive sign (Istat 1987) and, since then, the number of "foreign citizens" has grown steadily, especially since the turn of

the century with the immigration inflows from Eastern European countries. According to the most recent official statistics, in 2016 more than 5 million foreigners (of 196 different nationalities) possessed a legal permit of stay in Italy (8.3% of the entire population). Except for Romanians – who comprise more than one-fifth of the entire foreign population – no other nationality individually accounted for more than 10%. Significant heterogeneity among immigrants is also evident with respect to gender: males prevail among Africans and Asians, whereas females are more numerous among Eastern Europeans. This gender gap is due to different models of migration: young unmarried men among Africans and Asians and unaccompanied wives/mothers – leaving their families behind in their country of origin – among Eastern Europeans. Even if several years have passed from their initial arrival and there has been a significant number of family reunifications – which promote gender balance and under-age population growth – gender differences are still in play today (Table 17.1). The foreign population is also distributed unevenly along the peninsula: higher concentrations of non-Italians are recorded in Northern regions, where labor demand is stronger.

Table 17.1 Foreign population in Italy in 2016 by geographic area of origin, main citizenship groups and percentage of females. (Absolute and percentage values)

Area of origin/citizenship	Absolute values	Percent	% Females
European Union – 15 (Italy not included)	*156,766*	*3.1*	*61.2*
Eastern Europe	*2,453,559*	*48.8*	*58.6*
Romania	1,151,395	22.9	57.2
Albania	467,687	9.3	48.4
Ukraine	230,728	4.6	78.8
Moldava	142,266	2.8	66.5
Africa	*1,036,653*	*20.6*	*40.6*
Morocco	437,485	8.7	46.0
Egypt	109,871	2.2	31.5
Senegal	98,176	2.0	27.1
Asia	*989,438*	*19.7*	*45.4*
China	271,330	5.4	49.4
Philippines	165,900	3.3	56.9
India	150,456	3.0	40.3
Bangladesh	118,790	2.4	29.2
Americas	*376,556*	*7.5*	*62.0*
Oceania	*2,104*	*0.0*	*59.6*
Other citizenships[a]	*11,077*	*0.2*	*55.8*
Total	5,026,153	100.0	52.6

Source: Authors' calculations on ISTAT data (demo.istat.it)
[a]This category includes: Switzerland, San Marino, Norway, Island, Monaco, Lichtenstein, Vatican City, Andorra and stateless people

The main formal criterion employed to identify foreigners is citizenship. Italian citizenship legislation (law no. 91/1992) is based on *ius sanguinis*, although this aspect is currently the subject of political debate[5]: children born in Italy to two foreign parents are considered foreigners, whereas children born to at least one Italian parent are Italians too, regardless of place of birth. Acquisition of citizenship is a tough path: foreigners born in Italy can claim Italian citizenship after uninterrupted legal residence in Italy up to the age of majority at 18; foreigners born abroad may become Italians after 10 years of legal residence in Italy.[6] Beyond the legal instability, immigrants in Italy also face quite severe labor market penalties. Immigrants exhibit high labor market participation rates, because having a job is one of the major preconditions to legally reside in the country. However, they experience a very pronounced devaluation of their educational credentials, are employed in the secondary segment of the labor market, and get hired in the so called "3D occupations" (dirty, dangerous and demanding) (Fullin and Reyneri 2011).

These aspects are particularly problematic when migration is experienced not as a temporary condition, but within a project of permanent settlement, as shown by the increasing number of second-generation individuals. At present, nearly one in seven children born in Italy (14.8%) has foreign-born parents, while at the turn of the 21st century the corresponding value was only 6.2%. The number of immigrant-origin youths enrolled at school, regardless of their level of education, continues to grow significantly in absolute and percentage terms (Fig. 17.2).

The higher (and increasing) incidence of foreign students in pre-, primary and lower secondary schools is easily explained: these institutions comprise the first and compulsory stages of the education system and promptly reflect changes in the composition of the population. Less obvious is the rapid and steady growth of foreign students attending upper secondary schools. This increase may be due to family reunifications involving the arrival of foreign-origin teenagers and to second generations' growing up. This trend suggests that immigrants plan not only to work in Italy, but also to live and raise their children there.

In terms of ethnic diversity, the Italian education system has also been facing other two relevant challenges. The first involves Romani students.

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[5] When this review was completed, the reform of the Italian citizenship law was being discussed in the Senate. The proposed new law would provide that children born in Italy from at least one parent with a regular, longstanding residency stay will automatically become Italian citizens at birth. Alternatively, for those children who have arrived in Italy before age 18, citizenship could be obtained only after the completion of an educational or training cycle.

[6] This requirement is reduced to 4 years for EU citizens.
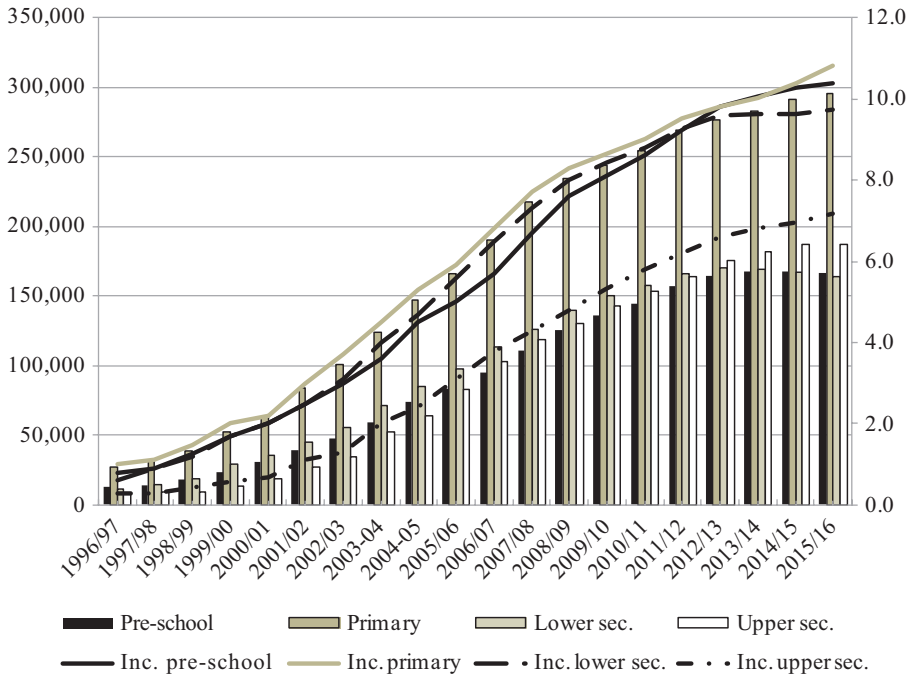
Fig. 17.2 Number of foreign students enrolled in Italian schools by educational level (vertical bars and absolute values along left-hand axis) and incidence of foreign students on total student population (curves and percentage values along right-hand axis). School years 1996/1997–2015/2016. (Source: Authors' calculations on MIUR data)

During the last ten years, approximately 12,000 Romani have been enrolled in Italian schools, and their distribution is more concentrated in primary (51.8%) and lower secondary schools (28.7%), whereas it is lower in pre-schools (17.5%) and marginal in upper secondary schools (2.0%). It is no coincidence school inclusion and dropping out are the most problematic issues afflicting this group (Tagliaventi 2014a, b). The second challenge concerns unaccompanied minors. The issue emerged in the 1990s but has become highly sensitive since 2013. Today, more than 11,000 unaccompanied minors live in Italy. They are predominantly males (95.4%) and aged between 15 and 17 (92.2%). These youths display specific needs, since they experienced dramatic events in their countries of origin, and the school may play an important role in promoting their social integration. Unfortunately, national statistical estimations concerning their presence in the Italian education system are not available – see section "Education Policy and Developments".

Education Policy and Developments

Since the 1990s, Italian legislation has paid considerable attention to the issue of the reception and integration of students with an immigrant background. Inspired by the constitutional right of "open and free education for all", the Italian law (Presidential Decree no. 394/1999) outlines an *inclusive model:* non-Italian students must attend compulsory education, regardless of their legal status, and schools should be given full access to mainstream education.

Although the principle of educational inclusion has been incorporated in the legislation for a long time, it has never been systematically implemented in practice and the ideal of universal access to education does not always translate into real equal opportunities (Niessen and Huddleston 2011). The inclusive model also appears as a *non-systematic* model of integration of immigrant children, in the sense that it is characterized by the lack of national-level policies, random variations in support provided, and fragmented measures (European Commission 2013). Schools have developed different practices aimed at promoting children of immigrants' educational inclusion, especially regarding the assessment of pupils' competences upon entry and their class allocation. Recent immigrant-origin students are often allocated to classes with younger peers. This practice is officially discouraged, but is quite widespread, motivated by schools' lack of resources (both financial and human) and the need to address the inadequate language proficiency of children of immigrants (Mantovani 2008a). This "lower class enrolment" practice might have important implications on pupils' subsequent educational career, such as school delay, the choice of shorter educational paths and early school leaving (Dalla Zuanna et al. 2009). This choice operated by schools has represented an attempt to face the rapid and exponential increase of foreign school population during the last two decades – see section "Immigration to Italy" – and, nowadays, represents a way to manage recent immigrant arrivals. Since the 2012/2013 school year, there has been a surge of new migrant pupils, which can be partly explained by the significant rise in the arrival of unaccompanied minors, asylum seekers and refugees. Although the Italian legal framework provides a high level of protection for these groups and the inclusion of these children into the education system, the right to education is not always guaranteed, especially for unaccompanied minors aged 15–17. The main problematic areas for their educational inclusion concern the effective implementation of the legal framework, the absence of a systematic monitoring process of the access to education, the lack of a coordinated approach at national level, the scarcity of attention to human resources (Grigt 2017).

Parallel to the inclusive model, Italy has also chosen an *intercultural approach* as the preferred way to manage cultural diversity in the educational system (Liddicoat and Diaz 2008). Since 1989, the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research (hereafter Miur) has issued several *memoranda* concerning intercultural education, which is meant to promote dialogue between pupils belonging to different cultures, openness to diversity and shared common values. Miur has defined an "Italian model" for the educational integration of non-Italian students, based on the correspondence between the integration of foreigners (from the phase of reception up to the phase of teaching Italian as second language and of support to the learning path) and the perspective of intercultural dialogue in school relations, knowledge and skills. With the 2007 Ministerial document, *The Italian Way for Intercultural Education and the Integration of Immigrant Pupils*, the Italian model of educational integration was further detailed, including both "actions for integration" – addressed to foreign students in order to promote their right to education – and "actions towards intercultural education" – which concern the promotion of intercultural dialogue. This model includes interventions aimed at improving interethnic relationships at school (both with teachers and with peers) that are to be carried out during curricular and extracurricular activities, and aim at combating discrimination and prejudice, and integrating intercultural perspectives in knowledge and competences (i.e. disciplinary or multidisciplinary teaching, intercultural teaching, revision of curricula).

Even in the presence of a very articulated legislation, this model has been differently implemented in the country. Experiences of quality and excellence coexist with emergency and improvisation approaches and inaction (Landri et al. 2012). Inconsistencies between legislation, official documents, school choices, and opinions of teaching staff are detectable (Santagati 2016b): schools still have a significant margin of choice in deciding whether and how to consider students' cultural diversity in their educational offer. Despite some positive experiences, in many Italian schools there is still a lack of awareness of the aims, actions and approaches to adopt in order to foster an inclusive and intercultural perspective (Besozzi 2005b). Furthermore, the most relevant activities to support children of immigrants originate in local contexts where their presence is more relevant, and are based on the voluntary initiatives of single schools or teachers, often operating in cooperation with local authorities and non-governmental organizations (Cnel-Censis 2008; Nesse Network 2008). On the one hand, such a situation could be valued positively for the autonomy of schools and communities to elaborate interventions tailored to the specific needs of each context; on the other hand, it increases the risk of a "regionalization of rights" in the country, and the scarcity of resources

undermines the prospects for financing projects. To sum up, the Italian education system has not always been able to provide equal opportunities and the right to education for students with an immigrant background and the intercultural option, as it has been defined in official documents, has turned out to be ambiguous when translated into practice.

Recently, the main issue of political and social debate has been linked to the increasing concentration of immigrant-origin students in schools and classes. As far as the former topic is concerned, primary and lower secondary schools are relatively less sensitive to foreign students' concentration, since schools are "territorial": they host (almost) all students living in a certain area, and higher concentrations of non-Italian students stem from higher levels of immigrants residing there (Barberis and Violante 2013a, b; Laino 2015). On the contrary, in upper secondary schools, higher proportions of non-Italian students are particularly evident in vocational and technical institutes – where students are more addressed to the labor market. In 2010, Miur issued a new regulation setting a cap of maximum 30% of foreign students in each class. The measure was justified with the alleged need to maintain a certain level of heterogeneity in classes, as an indispensable condition for preventing implicit intra-school segregation policies and promoting a good level of integration and intercultural dialogue as well. Even if the regulation contained neither concrete indications nor activated financial resources to enforce this reorganization in the class formation – and hence has remained a "symbolic policy" – the concentration of foreign students in class seems not to be problematic. At national level, in school year 2015/2016, the percentage of classes in which the 30% threshold is not respected varies from a minimum of 2.7% in upper secondary schools to a maximum of 8.1% in primary schools (Miur 2017).

In 2014, Miur issued "New Guidelines for the Reception and Integration of Foreign Pupils", which did not introduce relevant or innovative operative indications. Hence, the broad policy goals remain those of the universalistic reception of all students (especially the most disadvantaged), the creation of inclusive and positive learning environments, and the avoidance of "ghetto" schools. A recent note of the *National Observatory for the Integration of Foreign Students and Intercultural Education* highlights the need to mix the universalistic approach with the specificities of pupils with an immigrant background.

Finally, the schooling of Romani children needs to be specifically addressed. These students are a very unusual ethnic minority group – only 12,000 students, corresponding to 0.01% of the entire school population – since half of them are Italian citizens. Nonetheless, Romani students require special attention, since they display a dramatic rate of dropping out and higher

concentration in specific territories and schools. During the 1990s, in line with the advent of intercultural education, legislative acts confirming the right to education started to favor the generic category of "foreign students", which embraced the non-Italian Romanies as well. Nonetheless, Romani students' educational needs differ from those of non-Italian pupils. In 2013 the "National Project for the Inclusion and Integration of Romani Pupils" represents a specific initiative targeted to this group (Bianchi et al. 2015, 2016). Therefore, even if the intercultural paradigm has become increasingly important over the years, Romanies continue to be treated differently from other foreigners: teachers have often a propensity to over-represent their presence and tend to develop forms of separation because of the incompatibility of the differences involved (Armillei 2015).

Methodology of the Literature Review

Our literature review has focused on empirical studies published between 1990 and early 2017. In line with Stevens (2007), the process of identifying the research contributions has involved different steps.[7] First, bibliographical databases on Education and Social Sciences (i.e., Ibss, Eric, ProQuest, Scopus, etc.) have been searched using specific queries and keywords such as "foreign students", "children of immigrants", "second generation", "multicultural schools" and similar. Second, we have carried out a screening of the grey literature (i.e., reports, PhD thesis) through websites, search engines and online catalogues (i.e., Opac Sbn, Google Scholar). Third, catalogues of Italian special libraries focused on migration have been consulted for a full-text screening. Finally, the analysis of contributions that resulted from these search activities has allowed us to identify additional bibliographical references in this area of interest, which have then included in the review.

This search has lead us to identify nearly 120 studies (excluding official reports issued by governmental institutions and agencies). Our selection includes empirical works that were based on Italy as their main research context, meaning that comparative studies including many countries have not been considered. We have restricted our focus to sociological studies, by far the discipline that has paid most attention to the issue in the country so far. However, the most important contributions from other disciplines (e.g., anthropology, demography, economics, pedagogy and psychology) have also

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[7] The sampling process partially follows the one employed by Santagati (2015), updating and significantly broadening the number of studies.

been included. Then, only studies with an explicit and primary focus on immigrant background and education have been considered. Finally, the review has included studies on students, teachers and parents as well as the integration processes and practices taking place both in compulsory and non-compulsory education.

The Four Research Traditions

In our screening of the literature, no study covering the years prior to the early 1990s has been detected. This is not very surprising, considering that in the 1996/1997 school year foreign students still made up less than 1% of the total student population (Fig. 17.2). Perhaps because of its very recent development, Italian research is also characterized by a pronounced fragmentation. Most empirical studies – especially the first ones to be published – were: (*i*) local; (*ii*) carried out by single institutions and/or supported by local/regional governments; (*iii*) based on qualitative or mixed-method designs or convenience samples; (*iv*) written in Italian and published in Italian journals or books. During the 2000s – along with the increasing number of immigrant-origin students – national official statistics have progressively become available and systematically comparable. During the same period, Italy was included in international large-scale student assessment studies (such as Pisa, Timss, Pirls). All these developments made it possible for researchers to conduct quantitative analyses and launch *ad hoc* national surveys specifically focused on foreign-origin students. These studies not only contributed to improving the understanding of the migrant-native gaps in education, but also marked the start of research lines already well developed in traditional immigration countries.

Table 17.2 shows an overview of the four identified research traditions: school inclusion and intercultural practices; political arithmetic; educational outcomes; and interethnic relationships. Even though the boundaries between the four traditions are in some cases rather blurred – and indeed some studies fall into two or more traditions – they reveal some distinct features. The first tradition focuses on the early waves of immigrants who appeared in the Italian education system by investigating the school practices that were implemented to accommodate the newly arrived students, shedding light on the role of the key actors (such as teachers, principals and families) in the process of scholastic inclusion of these children. The second and the third traditions focus on the educational outcomes of children of immigrants: the former (i.e. political arithmetic tradition) is based on a systematic and quantitative description of

Table 17.2 Overview of research traditions on ethnic educational inequality in Italy

Tradition	Geographical scope	Time span	Methodological approach
1. School inclusion and intercultural practices	Mainly local, recently national	Since the 1990s	Primarily qualitative
2. Political arithmetic	National/Local institutional reports	Since the second half of the 1990s	Quantitative
3. Educational outcomes	Mainly local, recently national	Since the 2000s	Primarily quantitative
4. Interethnic relationships	Mainly local	Since the late 2000s	Mainly quantitative and mixed method

student outcomes, whereas the latter (i.e., educational outcomes tradition) investigates the cultural, socioeconomic and contextual factors lying behind migrant-native gaps. Finally, the fourth tradition is centered on the relational dimension of immigrant-origin children's school experiences, this being both an outcome *per se* as well one of the possible mechanisms driving the educational gaps between natives and children of immigrants.

The traditions are also marked by different temporal and spatial scopes as well as methodological approaches.

In the following sections, each tradition is described according to the same scheme: (*i*) short overview; (*ii*) summary of the main findings; *(iii)* brief discussion of its contribution to the literature.

School Inclusion and Intercultural Practices

This tradition primarily includes the pioneer studies carried out in Italy on the topic of schools facing the challenge of immigration. These studies focus on school practices oriented to promote, on the one hand, a dialogue with foreign families and, on the other, an interaction with their children as students. Italian legislative dispositions, school policies and sociological research classify these activities under the label "school inclusion and intercultural practices", since all initiatives endeavor to encourage a mutual understanding of rules, customs and traditions: a prerequisite to guarantee social and educational equality.

The studies included in the "school inclusion and intercultural practices" tradition may be gathered into two distinct sub-traditions: (*i*) school-family relationships; (*ii*) school-student relationships. The first one comprises research aimed at investigating school practices encouraging parental school-based involvement; the second one is, rather, centered on how teachers rethink

their role and activities in order to favor their interactions with foreign-origin students. Borders between these sub-traditions are sometimes blurred, since some research tackles both topics and, therefore, may be equally well classified into either group. Nonetheless, such a categorization reflects the theoretical specificities of the two groups of studies. Most of the studies related to this tradition adopt a qualitative (or mixed-methods) approach and focuses on local contexts (cities or regions).

School-Family Relationships

Considering the importance of school-based parental involvement for children's academic careers and personal growth, it is not surprising that the very first study on the topic of immigrants' children education in Italy is interested precisely in examining the relationships between teachers and foreign parents (Favaro 1990).[8] This study employs a qualitative approach and focuses on nursery schools and pre-schools. The interviews conducted with foreign parents and teachers point out factors that weaken and complicate the interactions between schools-teachers and parents. From the parents' point of view, two major groups of factors may be defined: (*i*) practical and organizational matters (i.e., lack of knowledge about the Italian language and school system that hamper interaction with schools); (*ii*) cultural aspects arising when foreign parents worry about their children's "Italianization". Learning the Italian language at a very early age and internalizing local customs are considered potentially responsible for the loss of children's "real" origins. Some of these fears seem to be confirmed by educators' statements: from their perspective, children are trouble-free, able to learn Italian promptly and to conform their attitudes to school rules. Parents, however, are defined as "troublesome", in that they do not abide by school rules, do not participate in school activities, do not understand Italian or, worse, pretend not to understand teachers' requests. This rift between school and family is attributed to parents' cultural distance and scant knowledge about nursery and pre-school services. The proposed conclusion is that schools and teachers must develop and assimilate

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[8] The importance of parental involvement in school activities is also recognized by Italian law. The Ministerial Circular no. 24/2006 – "Guidelines for Reception and Integration of Foreign Students" – states that: "parents are a crucial resource for the educational success [of foreign students]" and their involvement in school-related activities (e.g. contacts with teachers, participation in local school government, supporting school activities) is a reliable indicator of students' scholastic inclusion. In particular, the relationship between parents and teachers is one of the most common and widespread school-related activities fulfilled by parents in order to monitor and encourage their children's behavioral and scholastic conducts, and for this reason it is also a theme that is deeply investigated.

new educational skills in order to embrace, manage and conciliate different cultures.

With the growth of immigrant presence, the number of studies has also increased; further, studies have adopted more established methodological frameworks to investigate this topic. In consequence, greater attention has been paid to multiple variables potentially responsible for different types of interactions between non-Italian parents and schools-teachers, and rifts between these actors have been no longer explained only as a matter of cultural distance. For example, Favaro and Genovese (1996) focus again on nursery schools and pre-schools in Emilia-Romagna (a region in the North-East) and – drawing upon mixed methods (a questionnaire administered to schools in addition to both participant observation in schools and interviews with educators and parents) – find that foreign families' lower involvement in school activities and lower engagement in meeting educators seem to be more a matter of strict school time, incompatible with work, than a lack of interest in their children's educational activities. Moreover, lower levels of parental scholastic engagement are more common in nursery schools than in preschools. In fact, a concomitant analysis of multiple factors makes it possible to stress that enrollment in nursery schools is a need rather than a choice for many parents – a need dictated to a greater degree by their working conditions than by their citizenship – an obligation for families with two working parents. According to the authors, this also explains why Moroccan children – whose mothers are usually housewives – show low levels of attendance. The same research also shows that pre-school attendance is more common among foreign families' children regardless of the parents' position on the labor market. That is because pre-school is perceived by parents as an opportunity: children may learn the Italian language and rules, allowing them to succeed more easily in their subsequent school careers. Nonetheless, interviews with educators point out a persistent, widespread absence of foreign parents in school-based activities, but in this case other barriers – in addition to work-related time constraints – might be taken into account. High costs, distance from home and poor local transport are "general" barriers to pre-school services for both Italian and migrant families, even if among the latter their impact is amplified by lower socio-economic conditions and weak solidarity networks. Other barriers – such as a lack of language skills and unfamiliarity with the school system and its rules – are "specific" to migrant families, and others are also culturally oriented: e.g., Muslim parents need to cope with problems arising from school meals and the absence of places for prayer. Balsamo's (2003) study on migrant families stresses that teachers are accustomed to judging parents according to their engagement in school-related

activities and communication with teachers, thus not understanding that foreign parents' lower level of involvement might depend not only on their unfamiliarity with school rules, but also on their being reluctant to interfere with the school authority and/or their hostility towards school's meddling in parental authority. These "specific" barriers foster misunderstandings between teachers and families, rather than preventing them, and therefore immigrant parents may struggle to "cross the doorstep" (Besozzi 2005a).

The importance given to building and maintaining the dialogue between schools and immigrant families is also evident in research focused on intercultural mediators: qualified non-Italian professionals (originally regulated by D.P.R. no. 394/1999) hired by schools – especially those where students with an immigrant background are statistically relevant – and explicitly designated to facilitate communication between schools and parents. Even if this expert is formally defined, the presence of intercultural mediators in Italian schools is rather uneven (Lagomarsino and Torre 2009). Quantitative research conducted on Italian school leadership also emphasizes how controversial principals' opinions on intercultural mediators are: although one out of five considers this expert "essential", more than one quarter of interviewees believes him/her "unnecessary". The latter opinion might explain why schools invest very little in intercultural mediators, but a further and more exhaustive clarification might also be ascribed to the low budgets available to schools with which to hire these experts (Colombo 2012). Other research on this role also stresses that both teachers and foreign families complain about and oppose intercultural mediators, because of their excessive interference in – respectively – their pedagogical/cultural activities and lives (Tarozzi 2006a, b).

A positive exception is detectable in schools located in the autonomous province of Trento (Northern Italy), which enjoys a large degree of autonomy in education sector. The local legislation explicitly defines an intercultural mediator as a person completely fluent in L1 (the language of the foreign-origin student), who experienced migration personally, attained at least 12 years of schooling and achieved a diploma, as well as 150 hours course to get skills required by this position. A research conducted through interviews to principals and teachers (Mantovani 2011a) reveals that, since 2006, Trentino upper secondary schools have made great efforts in terms of human and financial resources for the promotion of interactions with foreign parents and, for this purpose, the role of intercultural mediators is usually appreciated by teachers and families.

Despite schools' organizational efforts, empirical studies in lower and upper secondary schools stress that interactions between schools and immigrant families remain difficult. Many parents still tend to entrust schools with the

task of their children's school inclusion due to cultural reasons or individual difficulties (lack of language skills and time to spend interacting with teachers). A crucial point is when students, along with their families, have to choose the upper secondary school track in which to continue their education. In taking this decision, foreign-origin students are often disadvantaged in comparison with their native schoolmates (i.e., they tend to enroll in shorter and vocational oriented schools, see sections "Political Arithmetic Tradition" and "Educational Outcomes Tradition"). One possible explanation for this disadvantage could stem from the role played by teachers' recommendations. A qualitative study carried out in Lombardy has highlighted that teachers are reluctant to suggest immigrant-origin students to opt for ambitious and university-oriented tracks, because of their beliefs concerning these children's lower chances of success, and tend to assume paternalistic behavior and orient children towards "safer" and "shorter" educational paths (Bonizzoni et al. 2014). In line with these findings, Bernardi and colleagues (2014) provide interesting evidence from a local project carried out in Turin (Northern Italy) according to which children of immigrants would take school choices more in line with their actual educational potential, if they received unbiased standardized counseling. Romito (2016) stresses that culturally disadvantaged families – including most foreign ones – are less likely to benefit from school counselling. According to the author, Italian teachers use a sophisticated linguistic code, which is less understandable to families with lower cultural capital and which takes for granted at least some knowledge of the educational and occupational implications connected with the different upper secondary school tracks. Finally, immigrant families' poorer knowledge of the Italian education system leads them to be less knowledgeable about the socioeconomic implications connected with the transition to upper secondary school and, more precisely, with the selection of a technical or a vocational track. For these reasons, immigrant families and students are more likely to accept teachers' advice, which usually encourages them to attend "safer", non-academic institutes, regardless of students' aspirations and scholastic performance (Cnel 2009; Luciano et al. 2009; Canino 2010; Conte 2012; Frigo et al. 2013; Perino and Allasino 2014; Bonizzoni et al. 2014).

School-Student Relationships

Although the growing presence of foreign-origin students is often defined as a constructive opportunity – since it promotes contacts with other cultures and, hence, reciprocal respect and tolerance – many studies also highlight the

multiplicity of challenges stemming from the presence of children with an immigrant background. One of the primary challenges concerns the strategies pursued by schools to achieve inclusion. Studies examining this topic are inclined to adopt theoretical approaches to explain the "Italian Way to Integration", revealing a broader awareness of different integration models that might be placed and dedicating many pages to concepts such as assimilation, multiculturalism, cultural pluralism, and pluralistic integration. Scholars' efforts intensify in analyzing teachers' attitudes and behaviors in facing the "new challenge" of migrant-origin pupils through those key concepts. Favaro and Genovese (1996) stress how schools' promotion of intercultural education – a pedagogical paradigm (see section "Education Policy and Developments") analyzed by many scholars within this research sub-tradition – is more stated than put into practice at non-compulsory level. Using interviews with school educators and participant observation, the authors note that the educational model implemented by teachers usually conforms more to the linear assimilation model than to other pluralistic-intercultural patterns: ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences are not so relevant and pedagogical actions aim to erase them. More precisely, educators recognize the "diversity" of non-Italian children, but the latter are judged to be so young that Italians and non-Italians can be considered "all the same"; dealing with "diversity" may easily be postponed until primary school.

Besozzi (2005a) reaches a similar conclusion, and also points out educators' lack of expertise in handling "diversity". The speed – especially in Northern regions – with which significant numbers of immigrant-origin students began to attend Italian schools took teachers by surprise. Many educators have to work in a state of emergency with no intercultural pedagogical tools at their disposal. Although intercultural education projects encouraging positive interactions among teachers, native and non-native students have arisen since the 1990s, the diffusion of formalized best practices for non-Italian children's inclusion and integration remains difficult, depending above all on educators' goodwill. Moreover, the principal challenge perceived by teachers at compulsory levels of education seems above all to be the promotion of learning the Italian language. Positive and constructive interaction with students remain a fundamental goal, but teachers also feel responsible for scholastic success – in terms of good marks, graduation rates, avoiding repetition of years and dropping out – of all students as well. Nonetheless, the acquisition of Italian skills is not only a prerequisite for learning, but also for integration and inclusion, since it facilitates communication and dialogue. Studies emphasize how important the figure of linguistic mediator in schools is – since he/she helps both students in Italian language acquisition and teachers in their interactions

with foreign-origin students – and examine projects jointly fostered (and financed) by schools and local authorities aimed at promoting Italian L2 courses (Giovannini 1996; Fravega 2003; Colombo 2004; Luatti 2006; Bulli and Pieraccioni 2008; Santerini 2010; Mantovani 2011a).

Italian language skills and competences are perceived by most teachers as the first problem to be tackled when seeking to achieve the integration of students, but in recent years intercultural education has (again) turned out to be a necessity in supporting equal opportunities, mutual respect for cultures, openness to diversity, and the rejection of any racial and xenophobic discrimination (see section "Education Policy and Developments"). Sociological research unanimously emphasizes the great pressure that teachers face: they must fulfill their traditional task (teaching) and be inclined to rethink their role and their teaching approaches. Interviews with teachers also reveal a gradual understanding of non-Italian students' complexity. The latter are no longer considered a homogenous group, but individuals with their own characteristics: socio-economic and cultural background, gender, citizenship, length of stay and schooling in Italy, and language proficiency are crucial factors determining scholastic inclusion and success.

Schools have begun to plan intercultural pedagogical projects and establish reception and assessment committees to facilitate non-native students' school integration and evaluation. Colombo (2012) stresses how relevant the role played by principals may be in this regard. These actors are defined as "crucial" for the promotion of inclusive policies, since they have a great responsibility with reference to: the acceptance of students with immigrant background during the school year (the great majority is positively disposed to accept them in their institute); the definition of criteria for their allocation in classroom (equal distribution is more prevalent than concentration in a single classroom, especially if foreign-origin students are in great numbers); the investment in second-language laboratories and simplified educational material necessary to facilitate learning; the importance assigned to teachers' education in intercultural matters. In a few cases, schools are forward-looking and address the challenge of non-Italian students' inclusion by stipulating framework agreements with third sector organizations and local institutions (Fravega 2003; Vardanega 2003; Besozzi 2005b; Lagomarsino and Torre 2009; Santagati 2013; Strozza et al. 2014).

Concluding Remarks

To sum up, this research tradition is typically composed of qualitative studies conducted locally – above all in cities and regions located in the North

of the country, where there are more immigrants. The descriptive evidence emerging from these studies shows that, in the very first phases of immigrant presence in Italian schools, teachers tried to interact with foreign families and addressed immigrant-origin students' challenges in an extemporary manner: new approaches to communicating and teaching were tied to spontaneous initiatives, and Italian language competence was the primary emergency. Later, educators and teachers acquired experience thanks to the help of experts (such as intercultural and linguistic mediators) and by adopting new teaching strategies, as well as by managing innovative pedagogical approaches aiming to enhance intercultural education. Nonetheless, over the years, studies have also shown that foreign families' school involvement and students' school inclusion have been pursued by resorting to the same (though improved) tools and strategies, denoting their effectiveness, but also a relative lack of ability to innovate. Indeed, we should bear in mind that the implementation of expert advice and intercultural teaching practices remains occasional within schools, and, for this reason, neither can be considered an adequate strategy to facilitate school-family relations and promoting student's inclusion. This impasse is particularly evident when researchers systematically reveal the fragmented collaboration between schools and local institutions, and the persisting local character of practices.

Political Arithmetic Tradition

This tradition has started thanks to the diffusion of nationwide figures on foreign students in the school system and has hitherto been based on yearly reports of aggregate data concerning school attainment. Among the principal sources of information are the reports by Miur (since 1997, yearly reports have been issued by Miur first, and then by the partnership Miur-Ismu). Most of the statistical reports and studies identify immigrant children on the basis of their citizenship and have a national scope. Given the novelty of immigration to Italy, this tradition assumes quite an important role as it provides a systematic statistical description of immigrants' educational outcomes at the national level for the first time. In the second half of the 2000s, the increased availability of microdata at both national and international level boosted the realization of new and more refined analyzes on the migrant-native educational gaps in Italy, which also led to the increased visibility of Italian research in international scientific journals.

Official Figures on Immigrant-Origin Students' School Outcomes

Miur data report the existence of large differences between Italian and non-Italian students regarding five relevant aspects of school attainment: school delay, grade retentions, school choice in upper secondary education, early school leaving and transition to higher education. In what follows, unless otherwise specified, we refer to the last edition of the Miur report, related to the 2014/2015 school year (Miur-Ismu 2016).

Foreign students have a higher risk of *school delay*: the overall difference between Italians and non-Italians is more than 20 percentage points. Three out of ten non-Italian students experience school delay, against only one out of ten Italians. Although the risk of school delay increases with age and school level for both groups, differences between foreigners and Italians increase as well, shifting from roughly 12 percentage points in primary education, to 32 and 41 points in lower and upper secondary schools respectively. Scholastic delay has two main causes: "lower class enrollment", especially for newly-arrived pupils (see section "Education Policy and Developments"), and grade retentions.

Non-Italian students display systematically higher rates of *grade retention* compared with their Italian counterparts. As with the case of school delay, differences in the risk of grade repetition are smaller in primary schools (1.4% against 0.2%) and larger in lower and upper secondary schools (7.5% against 2.7% and 12.8% against 7.1%, respectively). At the latter educational level, differences across school types are quite pronounced. In general, students attending vocational institutes are more likely to repeat one or more years, even if the gap is pretty small (15.8% and 13.0% respectively for foreign and Italian students). Migrant-native gaps in the risk of repeating a grade is particularly high in *licei* – the most academically oriented schools – where migrants are twice as likely as natives to repeat a grade.

Regarding *upper secondary school choice*, non-Italian students are disproportionately concentrated in shorter and more work-oriented tracks: 9.2% of the student population enrolled in the first year of upper secondary education (9th grade) has foreign origin. This share is 5.2% in the general track (*licei*), 10.7% in technical schools and much higher in vocational schools (14.7%) and even more so in the first three years of vocational training courses (16.9%). The share of Italian students enrolled in *licei* is double that of foreigners (48.2% against 24.5%), while the share of students enrolled in vocational schools is higher for immigrants (36.9%) than for natives (19.2%). More recent data stress an important difference in upper secondary school selection within the foreign population: second generation students are significantly

more likely to opt for a *liceo* (33.8%) than first generation immigrant students (25.0%) (Miur 2017). In other words, we might presume that the second generation of immigrants are assuming educational attitudes that are more similar to those of their Italian peers.

Early school leaving has historically affected a noticeable proportion of students in Italy, especially in the lower grades of upper secondary education. Even though the phenomenon affects Italian students as well (see section "National Context"), the incidence of early school leavers among 18–24 years old appears to be systematically higher for non-Italians: 33% against 14% for the total population.

Since the 2009/2010 school year, Invalsi has assessed student achievement via standardized tests in the linguistic (Italian) and mathematical domains (see section "Organization of the Education System"). Such tests have been administered to all students enrolled in different grades in primary, lower secondary and upper secondary education annually. Such data indicate the existence of a systematic and persisting gap between children of immigrants and natives (Miur-Ismu 2015, 2016). Evidence also suggests that the gap is larger in reading than in mathematics and that it is relatively smaller for the second generation. This gap has been stable in the past years (Barabanti 2016).

Finally, foreign youths exhibit lower *transition rates to university* (33% against 50% among Italians) and the differences seem to be larger for students coming from general schools, while differences among students completing vocational or technical schools seem to be much smaller and in some cases even positive. Miur data offer a general overview of the presence of third-country nationals at the university. In the 2014/15 academic year around 5,000 foreign students who completed upper secondary education in Italy were enrolled in an Italian university. Immigrant-origin university students are more likely to come from technical or vocational institutes and less likely to come from *licei*, reflecting the different school choices in upper secondary education. This evidence hints at the possible existence of more difficult academic paths for immigrants, as it is well known that upper secondary education school career is a strong predictor of university performance and success.

The Role Played by Immigrant Generation and National Origins

Since the second half of the 2000s, a number of quantitative studies on the topic of immigrant children's educational performance – based on nationally

representative microdata – have appeared. This stream of studies has allowed a closer inspection of the variability of educational outcomes according to both the immigration background and the country of origin of the pupils. The educational outcomes considered refer to two main categories: (*i*) educational achievement, which includes school performance, gauged either through marks or school test scores; (*ii*) educational attainment, which includes a set of indicators that relate to the "vertical progression" of students in the education system (e.g., completion of a given education level, dropout risk, transition to tertiary education), and their "horizontal distribution" across the different types of schools (e.g., different tracks in upper secondary education).

Concerning the *generational patterns*, most empirical studies show that the second generation outperforms the first generation, but the former still shows persisting gaps with respect to native students. For example, Mantovani (2008b), using Pisa data from 2006, finds that first-generation students achieve lower test scores than their second-generation peers, controlling for both parental occupation and education. This finding was confirmed by Di Bartolomeo (2011) and Azzolini and colleagues (2012), using subsequent waves of the same data source, and by Azzolini (2014) using Invalsi data. Several studies also report the existence of a systematic gap between children of immigrants and natives on marks obtained in lower secondary education (Barbagli 2006; Besozzi et al. 2013).

A migrant-native gap is also consistently documented with regard to the key transition from lower to upper secondary education. Children of immigrants are reportedly less likely to enroll in general schools (*licei*) and more likely to opt for vocational tracks (Canino 2010). In general, migrant-native differences in school participation are documented at all education levels using 2011 Census data (Strozza 2008). The children of immigrants face a higher risk of dropping out before completing secondary education, and this risk is higher for first-generation children (Canino 2010; Azzolini and Barone 2013). While dropping out is often a consequence of poor school performance and a higher incidence of grade retention (Casacchia et al. 2008; Mantovani 2008a), the practice of enrolling immigrant students in classes at a lower grade than that of their age group also plays a big role. Strozza (2008) also points out the lower participation in pre-school, which – even if not compulsory – has likely important implications for subsequent scholastic career.

Further support for the hypothesis that cultural adaptation among immigrants' children has positive effects comes from studies focusing on immigrants' age at arrival (or, alternatively, time spent in the country). These studies find that recently-arrived immigrants display lower mathematics test scores

(Schnell and Azzolini 2015), have a lower self-perception of school performance (Gabrielli et al. 2013), a lower probability of enrolling in *licei* and a higher probability of attending vocational schools compared with their native peers (Eve and Ricucci 2009; Barban and White 2011). Moreover, the practice of "lower class enrollment" disproportionately affects newly arrived immigrants (Mantovani 2011b; Mussino and Strozza 2012).

The overall picture coming from the empirical studies analyzed is also one of highly differentiated outcomes according to national origins. Although all groups tend to improve, or at least maintain, their educational achievements and attainments across generations, these studies reveal the existence of some non-negligible national-origin differences. The two most severely disadvantaged groups are Sub-Saharan African and North-African youths: second-generation members from these groups exhibit lower dropout risks and slightly higher chances of being enrolled in academically oriented schools as compared to the first-generation co-ethnics (Azzolini and Barone 2013), but nevertheless they do not improve marks in lower secondary education (Azzolini 2012). South-Eastern Europeans (mainly Romanians and Albanians) face a pronounced educational disadvantage, but mixed evidence exists regarding their progress across generations. Second-generation members of this group fare worse than their first-generation counterparts on the lower secondary education exit exam (Casacchia et al. 2008), whereas they show weak improvement with regard to dropout and school choice in upper secondary education (Azzolini and Barone 2013). Next, results highlight the fact that first-generation immigrants from Latin America encounter a small disadvantage (Gilardoni 2011), which disappears among the second generation (Azzolini and Barone 2013). Among the least disadvantaged immigrant groups, there are also children of Western and Eastern European ancestries. Finally, in an apparent contradiction of international research, immigrants from East-Asian countries (predominantly, China and India) are among the most severely disadvantaged groups in Italy when it comes to school participation in upper secondary education. This result is even more surprising when considering the outstanding performance of these students in lower secondary education (Casacchia et al. 2008; Barban and White 2011). However, this negative gap entirely disappears, and even becomes positive (with Chinese students outperforming natives) in both marks and educational attainment, once attention is turned to the second-generation members of this group – this latter result is fully in line with previous research (Heath et al. 2008).

Empirical evidence concerning the transition to higher education is relatively scarce, both because the presence of immigrants is still low and because

of the scarcity of data on the transition from upper secondary to tertiary education. Paba and Bertozzi (2017) rely on macro-geographical data collected at the provincial level on upper secondary education graduates and university enrollees. According to the authors' estimates, immigrants lag substantially behind natives with respect to transition rates: ranging from 26 to 28 according to the specifications against natives' 50%. Some internal heterogeneity exists among immigrants, with Eastern European and Russian students being more likely to continue their studies without the possibility to investigate generational status variations.

Concluding Remarks

The first group of studies reviewed in this section are based on administrative data and provide a systematic analysis of nation-wide indicators on educationally relevant outcomes. They provide, for the first time in the country, a systematic picture of the educational outcomes of children of immigrants, with details on their temporal and geographical variations. The indicators produced show that non-Italian students encounter higher risks of grade retention, delay, and dropout than the majority population. Moreover, in upper secondary education they appear to be disproportionately concentrated in vocational schools and underperform compared with natives with regard to grades and test scores. However, these data do not come without limitations. First, official statistics identify foreign students on the basis of their citizenship. Even if naturalizations are rare among foreign youths in Italy, this definition could have strong implications as citizenship status may itself be understood as an "outcome" of immigrants' integration. Second, the data are analyzed in an aggregated way, strongly limiting the potential for a closer inspection of the (individual-level) mechanisms that could account for the migrant-native gaps, as has been done in the "educational outcomes" tradition (see section "Educational Outcomes Tradition").

The second group of studies benefits from the increased availability of large research datasets, which made it possible to overcome the main limitations of the previously described traditions by providing national level estimates of the migrant-native educational gaps, using more precise classifications (e.g., information on place of birth, allowing the classification of foreign-origin children into different immigrant generations). All in all, rather than a clear generational pattern of either decline or progress, highly differentiated patterns are taking place in Italy. Examples of successful schooling co-exist with systematic cases of persisting educational drawbacks. In the following section

Table 17.3 Selected indicators of educational achievement and attainment in Italian compulsory education

Indicator	Natives	Immigrant-origin children
Reading skills in primary education 5th grade reading INVALSI score 　Mean: 200, std. dev. 100 　School year 2014/2015 　Source: Miur-Ismu 2016	201	1G: 182 2G: 183
Mathematics skills in primary education 5th grade math INVALSI score 　Mean: 200, std. dev. 100 　School year 2014/2015 　Source: Miur-Ismu 2016	201	1G: 184 2G: 186
Students experiencing school delay up to upper 　secondary education 　School year 2014/2015 　Source: Miur-Ismu 2016	10.9%	34.4%
Grade retention in upper secondary education 　School year 2014/2015 　Source: Miur-Ismu 2016	7.1%	12.8%
General school enrolment 　School year 2014/2015 　Source: Miur-Ismu 2016	48.2%	24.5%
Reading competence at the age of 15 　Mean: 484.78, std. dev. 93.8 　School year 2014/2015 　Source: Authors' calculation on PISA 2015 data	490.5	1G: 426.3 2G: 463.9
Mathematics competence at the age of 15 　Mean: 489.7, std. dev. 93.6 　School year 2014/2015 　Source: Authors' calculation on PISA 2015 data	494.4	1G: 450.6 2G: 471.8
Early school leavers (18–24 years old) 　Year 2016 　Source: Eurostat	13.8%	32.8%

("Educational Outcomes Tradition"), the research aimed at disentangling the possible mechanisms behind these observed empirical regularities is reviewed.

Summing up the empirical evidence exposed so far, Table 17.3 presents an overview of the size of the migrant-native differentials on a series of relevant indicators of educational success in the country.

Educational Outcomes Tradition

The educational outcomes tradition has existed since the late 2000s and has so far sought to provide insights into the mechanisms underlying the

educational performance of children of immigrants in relation to their native peers. Studies in this tradition have been developed following the increased availability of large datasets at the national or sub-national level and are mostly based on quantitative techniques.

Within this tradition, three sub-traditions can be identified. The first and the second sub-traditions focus on the role of family. The "cultural resources" tradition pays special attention to family background characteristics that often distinguish immigrant families from the native ones in the Italian context, such as linguistic resources, family structures and the role of parents. The "social background" tradition, in contrast, is primarily focused on assessing the role played by socio-economic disparities. The latter sub-tradition brings in the theoretical framework of inequality in educational opportunity and aims to assess the role played by the traditional explanations of social inequality (i.e., social class and parental education) in accounting for the migrant-native educational gaps. Finally, a more recent stream of studies ("immigrant concentration in schools") has studied whether the presence of immigrant peers at school is linked with natives' and children of immigrants' learning achievement, over and beyond the role played by family background.

Cultural Resources

A few scholars in Italy have focused their attention on the *knowledge of the Italian language*. This factor is not only important for school performance but also enhances immigrants' children's ability to understand the Italian education system and make more informed choices (Mantovani 2008a). Because language acquisition is a long-term process, it is positively correlated with time spent in the host country; however, differences according to gender and country of origin also exist (Barbagli 2006). Indeed, it is often found that females tend to perform systematically better than males (Giovannini and Queirolo Palmas 2002; Casacchia et al. 2008) and that children of Chinese origin also show particularly low language proficiency (Campani et al. 1994; Ceccagno 2004; Barbagli 2006).

Some authors have also drawn attention to the shortage of *family support* that children of immigrants receive in comparison with their native classmates (Casacchia et al. 2008; Dalla Zuanna et al. 2009). However, the authors also find that this lack of family support is only weakly correlated with time spent in the country, suggesting that other factors may be at play beyond language skills (e.g., strict work-related constraints, higher incidence of shift work,

shortage of leisure time and/or comfortable spaces to do homework – see section "School-Family Relationships").

In addition to this, Giovannini and Queirolo Palmas (2002) point out that differences in school performance could also be a consequence of the higher instability in immigrant *family composition* (for example, the absence of a parent), which might also affect the quantity and quality of time dedicated by the family to parent-teacher conferences and, more generally, reduce family involvement in school activities. Family instability might be the cause of the checkered scholastic outcomes of children of Latin American origins and children of mixed-couples, who seem to receive less support and perform worse on the final exam of lower secondary education relative to children whose parents are both Italian (Casacchia et al. 2008).

Research evidence seems to support the argument that the *educational aspirations* of immigrants' children are narrowed by the expectations of lower returns to education. Dalla Zuanna and colleagues (2009) show that foreign students declare lower intentions to enroll in *licei* and university compared with natives. On the other hand, the authors point out substantial differences across national-origin groups, which could account for the national-origin variations described above. Minello and Barban (2012) state that Chinese, Albanians, Moroccans, and more generally, Sub-Saharan and Northern Africans declare particularly low educational aspirations.

Other studies suggest that "successful migrants" (i.e., those managing to finish upper secondary education) show as high an interest in higher education as natives (Santero 2013). The author, using a local survey on upper secondary school graduates in Piedmont, also suggests that children of immigrants may even have more assets than natives – they know more languages and are more prone to move abroad for work purposes. In some cases, children of immigrants do seem to be somewhat more ambitious than their Italian classmates. However, their ambitions are constrained by the fact that they often choose less academic tracks. Eve (2015) stresses the existence of an "unorthodox route" to university, since the Italian school system offers alternative and often longer pathways to higher education (through technical and vocational education). This is possible, since all high school diplomas give access to university, but it is not the "standard" or "expected" way. It is rather an unorthodox route which is not really foreseen from teachers and requires extra efforts of immigrant students' in order to outperform people of native descent and climb the corporate ladder to the same extent.

The panorama of studies relating to the transition to university is – as already stated – still underdeveloped. Lagomarsino and Ravecca (2014), in their qualitative research on university students in the city of Genoa, discuss

the importance of family (chiefly, access to social networks) and secondary-school resources (emphasizing the role of teachers and guidance) to facilitate the access of children of immigrants to tertiary education.

Social Background

A number of studies have focused on the role played by "structural" factors of educational inequality, such as parental education and social class, in accounting for the gaps. This topic is clearly crucial as it makes it possible to assess the so called "ethnic gap", i.e. the migrant-native gap that persists after accounting for socio-economic family characteristics (Heath et al. 2008). This question is salient in the Italian case as immigrants attain poor labor market outcomes and also face a strong devaluation of their education (Fullin and Reyneri 2011). This question also has important implications for education policy. If the observed migrant-native gaps were entirely accounted for by a different distribution of migrants and natives in the "social structure" of the host society, universalistic measures to address education inequality would have to be preferred over interventions specifically targeting migrant-origin children.

A number of studies carried out primarily at the local level have pointed out the key importance of families' socio-economic background as an explanatory factor of the immigrant-native differentials on school choice (Giovannini and Queirolo Palmas 2002; Bertozzi 2004; Besozzi and Colombo 2007; Mantovani 2008a; Besozzi et al. 2009), dropout risk (Strozza 2008; Canino 2010) and learning achievement (Mantovani 2008b; Barban and White 2011; Di Bartolomeo 2011; Besozzi et al. 2013). A quantification of the contribution of social origins to the observed migrant-native educational gaps is produced by Azzolini and Barone (2013). The authors use Italian Labor Force Survey data and estimate that social class accounts for nearly half of the gap for the first generation and over 70% for the second generation. Hence, the educational disadvantage of immigrants' children results not only from a weak acculturation process but, to a great extent, also from the difficult socio-economic integration of their parents. However, the contribution of social class is stronger for the least disadvantaged groups, suggesting that the particularly high drawbacks of the most severely underprivileged groups may be rooted in linguistic and cultural factors. Even after accounting for socio-economic background, a residual disadvantage persists, especially for some national origin groups (i.e., first-generation migrants from North and sub-Saharan Africa, and East Asia). Schnell and Azzolini (2015), focusing on

fifteen-year-old students' mathematics competence test scores, confirm that socio-economic factors play a noticeable role in accounting for migrant-native gaps, while parental education seems negligible. This stands in contrast to most evidence coming from more traditional immigration countries, and is likely explained by the already-mentioned devaluation of migrants' educational credentials in the host country.

Following the theoretical model developed by Boudon (1974) to explain social-origin educational inequality, a number of recent contributions have tried to evaluate to what extent the less demanding educational choices of children of immigrants observed can be ascribed to their poorer school performance (primary effects) rather than to different decision models of migrant and native families, net of performance and social background (secondary effects). Azzolini and Ress (2015) and Contini and Azzolini (2016) analyze transitions to upper secondary education, exploiting unique administrative data from the province of Trento and find that, consistent with most empirical studies carried out in other Western countries, primary effects play a major role in determining immigrant-native differences in educational transitions. Immigrant-native differences in academic track enrolment are largely accounted for by differences in prior performance. In relation to vocational track transition, immigrant-background secondary effects are detected, with first-generation immigrants still displaying a significantly higher risk of enrolling in the vocational track, even controlling for prior performance and social background.

Immigrant Concentration in Schools

School educational outcomes may be affected when immigrant concentration in schools is high. Some quantitative studies explore whether, and to what extent, school immigrant composition has an impact on students' educational expectations and achievement. Minello's multilevel analysis (2014) of eighth-grade students shows that attending a school with a high proportion of children of immigrants has no impact on expectations about secondary education. In addition, these students have higher educational expectations. Contini's (2013) analysis of primary schools identifies negative effects of the concentration of foreign-origin students on peer performance. Nonetheless, these effects are small and heterogeneous: the share of first-generation students seems to influence foreign-students to a greater degree than natives, whereas, in some cases, natives from higher socio-economic background benefit from the presence of non-Italians. Qualitatively similar conclusions are reached in

other studies. Barbieri and Scherer (2012) and Azzolini (2014) analyze Timss and Invalsi data and conclude that the negative consequences of immigrant concentration are negligible and slightly more pronounced for immigrants' children themselves. In contrast to these findings, a study carried out by Ballatore and colleagues (2014) – based on a statistical exercise consisting in "replacing" a foreign-origin student with a native one in a classroom – finds that a higher immigrant concentration in the classroom is detrimental for native performance on language and mathematics Invalsi test scores.

These studies are still in their early days and they are not conclusive regarding the actual existence of a real causal effect between immigrant classroom concentration and educational outcomes. Qualitative evidence suggests "stigmatization" and "marginalization" are detectable in schools with high concentrations of foreign-origin students: Italian families tend to enroll their children in "white schools", and school administrators may adopt policies that reproduce ethnically homogeneous classes. At the same time, these "schools of foreigners" display unexpected resources and can take advantage of their situation of marginality. Some schools rethink their role in social integration by reaching out to the entire local community in order to promote the encounter of natives and non-natives (Cognetti 2014; Versino 2014). More efforts are required to better comprehend the educational implications associated with the concentration of foreign-origin students in schools and classrooms. Recent studies on the relationship between school climate, friendship and achievement are moving in this direction (see section "Interethnic Relationships").

Concluding Remarks

The 'educational outcomes' tradition has developed in Italy only recently, thanks to the increased availability of large research datasets. The most important contribution of these studies is the attempt to test some potential explanatory mechanisms driving the migrant-native gaps. The focus has been primarily placed on family cultural and socioeconomic resources. The emerging picture is one in which social background accounts for substantial part of the migrant-native educational gap, even if a residual disadvantage persists for the most disadvantaged groups and seems to be explained by cultural factors. The existence of national and generational heterogeneous adaptation paths in terms of educational outcomes has led some authors to argue about the existence of downward assimilation models (Portes and Zhou 1993) also in Italy (Minello and Dalla Zuanna 2014). Despite the improvements over previous studies in terms of geographical scope and richness of the data,

empirical research still faces some data limitations that have prevented the gathering of systematic evidence concerning the different educational outcomes. For example, longitudinal data – that would allow to follow students throughout their careers and provide more accurate insights into the adaption paths of the different national-origin groups – are non-existent at the national level.

Interethnic Relationships

This tradition includes studies that aim to analyze the quality and the intensity of interethnic relationships among peers, focusing on immigrant children's relational experiences, considered not only as a possible mechanism to explain the migrant-native educational gaps, but also as an outcome *per se*, an important asset of immigrants' well-being, and a crucial dimension of school integration. In Italy, this research tradition is more recent and less consolidated in comparison with the others reviewed so far. Most studies use quantitative methods; are carried out in local contexts, especially in Northern Regions; and involve mainly students attending secondary schools. The studies concern the following topics: (*i*) social capital of immigrant students; (*ii*) relational distress and well-being experienced in multicultural classrooms; (*iii*) ethnic discrimination, interethnic contacts and conflicts.

The Social Capital of Students with an Immigrant Background

The majority of the studies in this tradition describe and investigate immigrant students' relational systems. Casacchia and colleagues (2008) use data from the first survey carried out at the national level on the educational integration of children of immigrants (ITAGEN2) to show that the breadth and heterogeneity of the relational networks of immigrant pupils enrolled in lower secondary schools depend on the time they have spent in Italy. Migration weakens students' social capital: isolation is more evident for students who have been in Italy for less than 5 years, whereas, as their stay lengthens, there is an increase in the number of friends and in friendships with natives. The length of stay is again the key variable in a recent longitudinal survey among students from upper secondary schools in Trento, a factor which is associated both with having heterogeneous personal networks and with identification with Italy (Cvajner 2011). Otherwise, isolation, segregation and relational poverty are concentrated among young teenagers who have very recently arrived in Italy (Cvajner 2015).

The erosion of social capital deriving from migration is also confirmed by the "partialized" relational integration of immigrant students (Gilardoni 2008, 2011): interethnic exchange that takes place at school is not extended outside. However, schools remain the crucial context in which to increase the social capital of children of immigrants and their families (Pattaro 2010; Contini 2012; Onorati 2012).

In continuity with previous considerations, qualitative studies conducted in upper secondary schools – for example those carried out in Lombardy and based on adolescents' life histories (Favaro and Napoli 2004; Caneva 2011) – also stress that newcomers have lower social capital and are more isolated at school. The research carried out by Eve and Ricucci (2009) in Piedmont confirms that migration has long-term consequences. Migration creates a restricted sociality that derives from territorial mobility, and causes disadvantages that are hard to compensate and overcome (Eve 2014).

Rivellini and Terzera (2009) and Martini (2011) – relying respectively on the ITAGEN2 study and on a survey on upper secondary schools in Trentino – find that recently-arrived children benefit more than Italians and second-generation students from having many relationships with classmates. In their longitudinal research carried out in Trentino, Azzolini and colleagues (2013) stress that Italians prefer each other to non-Italians, and also stress the stronger effect of gender preferences over ethnic preferences. Ethnic and cultural memberships tend to be reproduced within friendship networks, among both natives and non-natives (Barbagli 2006): choosing friends among co-ethnics, however, is not always synonymous of integration, but can depend on the different structure of opportunities available to young people (classroom composition, area of residence, distance between home and school, etc.).[9]

Rivellini and colleagues (2012), using ITAGEN2 data, argue that the greater relational difficulties in multicultural classrooms are more often due to cultural factors among Asians, or a longer socialization outside of Italy for Latin Americans, or unfavorable attitudes towards Northern Africans, as shown by their more limited likelihood of being chosen as confidants among classmates. Moreover, Gabrielli et al. (2013) show that relational integration is more rapid for girls, younger students, children living in families with greater social and human capital, and children who perform well in schools.

Finally, three network analysis studies conducted at different educational levels are worth mentioning. A survey of pupils (and their families) attending

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[9] However, a lot of immigrant-origin students attending upper secondary schools (Colombo et al. 2011; Mantovani 2014, 2015), especially among foreign-born students, show a "segregated" identity (according to Berry's definition, 1980), identifying themselves mainly with their parents' country of origin: migration seems to be the experience that creates and strengthens the belonging/reference to the origins.

primary schools in Trentino points out that non-natives have fewer reciprocity and expressive ties than natives (Colozzi and Tronca 2015; Monteduro 2015). Another study, conducted by Recchi and colleagues (2008) in lower secondary schools in Tuscany, confirms that immigrants are significantly less "popular" compared with their Italian classmates – pupil popularity is calculated on the basis of the number of friends in the class and being chosen as best friend. Mantovani and Martini's study (2008) of upper secondary school students in Trento reports that the intensity of relationships within classes is smaller for foreigners, though it tends to increase with time spent in the host country. However, they also highlight the influence of gender, even more than citizenship, on adolescents' ability to build relationships in the classroom.[10]

School Well-Being and Relational Distress

Only a few studies investigate immigrant students' attitudes towards the relational dimension in their schooling experience. On the one hand, some qualitative analyzes emphasize a good degree of relational satisfaction, especially in contexts that stimulate the development of collaboration and cooperation through practical experiences, lab and group work (Besozzi and Colombo 2009; Santagati 2011, 2016a). In general, students with an immigrant background place greater importance on the cognitive dimension of educational institutions (Mantovani 2008a), whereas they are less concerned with schools as an arena for socialization; for this reason, they often do not declare relational difficulties within the classroom (Besozzi et al. 2009).

On the other hand, other studies pinpoint some critical areas. Colombo and Santagati (2010) identify different forms of distress among foreign students attending upper secondary schools in Lombardy. Particularly, the authors detect (*i*) a "positional distress" of low-profile students characterized by limited socio-economic and cultural resources, educational failure, low social capital and a high-risk of downward integration; (*ii*) a distress among good students with many socio-economic and cultural resources, who tend to expect a lot from themselves, developing a performance anxiety and a fear of negative outcomes; (*iii*) students who appear to be very supported but also controlled by demanding families.

Recently, a study based on a survey conducted in lower secondary schools in Lombardy, through a cluster analysis, identifies other student profiles with

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[10]Ravecca (2009, 2010) underlines that immigrant girls have at their disposal better relations of familial proximity and intimacy and greater resources of social capital, which are expressed in the form of high supervision by their parents and by the co-ethnic community.

reference to the degree of relational well-being (Colombo and Santagati 2014). Anyone who may boast a high level of educational success, language proficiency and social capital, finds him/herself in the same cluster group characterized by "full integration" (including a significant percentage of Italians and female students who have the ability to develop positive relationships and perceive a climate of school well-being). Those with low levels of academic success and poor relationships are aggregated in a group of individuals classified as "poorly integrated", including many pupils who have a non-Italian citizenship and are born abroad, characterized by relational difficulties and conflict with peers.

Ethnic Discrimination, Interethnic Contacts and Conflicts

Few explorative studies deal directly with racial and ethnic discrimination experienced by students with an immigrant background. Some qualitative studies carried out in primary schools located in Central Italy (Pinelli et al. 2004; Maggioni and Vincenti 2007) observe the presence of prejudice and other forms of discrimination and marginalization that affect children of immigrants, often perceived as invisibles or treated with indifference. The risk of racism is highlighted in some disadvantaged schools of Naples: however, in these areas, teachers tend not to recognize racist episodes, giving more relevance to the unequal distribution of resources among groups in order to explain interethnic conflicts (Serpieri and Grimaldi 2013). This interpretation can be linked to the "conflict perspective" (Blumer 1958; Blalock 1967), which states that increased ethnic diversity exacerbates in-group/out-group distinctions and fosters conflict, especially when resources are limited.

The effects of discrimination and interethnic violence emerge in a couple of studies conducted in schools in Northern Italy (Delli Zotti and Urpis 2012; Delli Zotti 2014). The results show that, although peer violence is a fairly common problem, pupils see schools as safe places, since violence mostly happens outside school grounds. The comparison between teachers and students' perceptions of violence reveals the underestimation, on the adults' part, of the ethnic-racial motivations for bullying and other acts of prevarication, as well as the role of gender (males) and (low) social class as catalysts for episodes of school violence. Barberis (2015) investigates native students' attitudes towards immigrants in some lower secondary schools in Central Italy and finds that about one student in eight expresses closure towards cultural diversity. Evidence of this relational closure is stronger among young males and pupils who are placed at the extremes of the social hierarchy (with high or low status),

more isolated and with relational difficulties, or less satisfied of their school environment.

Some psychological studies on upper secondary school students (Vezzali et al. 2010) find that the quantity of contacts improves intergroup attitudes for both majority and minority students, whereas the quality of contacts has reliable effects only for the majority group. Immigrant children display positive social relationships within the Italian school context (Dimitrova 2011): there are no significant differences in prosocial and aggressive behaviors between immigrant and native students. In this perspective, the highly multicultural institutes can also be interpreted as social contamination labs, multipliers of inter-ethnic social capital, and spaces defining a mixed model of inter-ethnic coexistence, in an atmosphere based on openness to diversity.

A recent set of studies attempts to shed light on how interactions among students might affect school climate, analyzing classes with high percentages of immigrant pupils (Besozzi and Colombo 2012; Besozzi et al. 2013; Colombo and Santagati 2014). These studies, based on an exploratory qualitative study and on a survey conducted in lower secondary schools in Lombardy, show that tensions among peers are more frequent in classes with a higher degree of individual problems and where there are low levels of peer exchange (little reciprocal help, little contact outside of school, etc.). Specific measures of highly conflictual climates have been generated by observing the offensive language used during instances of peer conflict, the development of negative attitudes towards diversity, and the presence of aggressive and violent behavior. The same set of studies also identifies "best school experiences", in which positive class climates seem to be characterized by the development of interethnic relationships, interracial couples, and mixed friendship groups. Positive relationships among peers with different cultural background are mainly a result of school actions, which foster the development of a sense of belonging to the peer group, as well as to the educational institution more broadly. A positive climate is also favored by the presence of particularly charismatic young immigrants, who are identified by teachers and peers as leaders. The attribution of this role seems to improve students' level of integration significantly, since it promotes a positive representation of students usually belonging to a stigmatized or disadvantaged minority.

Finally, school climate appears to be strongly correlated to the quality of teacher-pupil relations. Integration is generated as a result of teachers' agency and the support they offer to pupils with an immigrant background, which is able to compensate for the negative impact of schools' ethnic composition. Moreover, the quality of the relationships between teachers and students is relevant not only for the educational experience in the present, but also for the

transmission of civic knowledge and competences, which are preconditions for their future as citizens and active members of the wider social community (Azzolini 2016).

Concluding Remarks

The studies concerning interethnic relationships face some theoretical and methodological issues. Most of these studies lack an explicit theoretical framework: in some cases, Italian scholars refer to different theories in a simplifying way (contact or conflict theory, for example, to confirm or disconfirm the analysis); in other studies, there is only an attempt to define single concepts and categories useful for empirical investigation. Moreover, compared with academic achievement, a relational system is more difficult to observe, describe and measure, yet it remains crucial in that its horizontal (peer relations) and vertical (student-teacher relations) dimensions help define students' integration level at school. Studies use indices of well-being/distress and other indicators of classroom climate, that are constructed in different ways and are sometimes difficult to compare. On this topic, Italian studies are still far from being considered a consolidated research tradition, even though the conclusions reached in Italy are the same as elsewhere (Goldsmith 2004; Burgess et al. 2005; Colombo and Santagati 2017): immigrant pupils suffer from limited social relations, especially if they are males, belong to lower status families, have recently arrived in the host country, or have an insufficient knowledge of the native language. Despite these limitations to social interactions, in the classroom immigrants show a greater openness towards interethnic contacts compared with natives. This attitude, however, does not seem always to correspond to real integration, defined as significant interactions for the individuals involved and not merely as an opportunity for contact and coexistence. Moreover, this interethnic socialization sometimes remains confined within the school boundaries and does not generate an improvement of interethnic relations in the society. Ethnicity, however, is not the only criteria that explains how (power) dynamics operate and it is necessary to go beyond the main effects of ethnic differences, combining them with other factors that intervene at the relational level.

Conclusions

Although a few pioneering studies on ethnic inequalities in education in Italy appeared in the early/mid 1990s, research on this topic has started flourishing only in the second half of the 2000s, in parallel with the increased presence of

immigrant children in Italian schools. For this reason, Italian research on ethnic inequalities in education remains underdeveloped in comparison with other national contexts characterized by longer immigration histories.

Today, around 120 studies directly addressing the topic of the scholastic integration of immigrant-origin students can be counted. These studies cover several dimensions and issues: some of them have a clear connection with the theoretical frameworks adopted at the international level, whereas others are ascribable to specific categories, tailored to the peculiarities of the Italian case. In this chapter, the studies have been classified into four main traditions: school inclusion and intercultural practices; political arithmetic; educational outcomes; and interethnic relationships. The first tradition identifies a common approach encompassing studies that, starting from the first qualitative inquiries carried out in the early 1990s, place a special focus on foreign families' involvement with schools and schools' inclusion of their children, and aims to investigate school practices and the different perspectives of the actors involved (teachers, principals and parents). The main contribution of this tradition reflects a raising academic and political attention to the school-level practices that may either facilitate or hamper foreign families and students' scholastic participation and involvement. However, the local character of these studies is a limitation in terms of its informative contribution. Moreover, an educational inequality perspective is not very present.

In contrast to the first tradition – focused on actors, processes and practices – the "political arithmetic" tradition is aimed instead at monitoring and measuring the educational attainment and achievement of children of immigrants and comparing them with their native counterparts. The studies are either official reports, based on aggregate figures, or scientific contributions, based on micro data. These studies document – with different levels of accuracy – the magnitude and evolution of immigrant children's educational disadvantage and its variation across national groups and immigrant generations. The emerging picture is that, rather than a clear generational pattern of decline or progress, highly differentiated patterns are taking place in Italy. Examples of successful schooling – which would reinforce an optimistic view about the chances of immigrant adaptation to the receiving society if they were born in the country of destination or have arrived early – co-exist with systematic cases of persisting educational drawbacks.

The "educational outcomes" tradition entails studies aimed at investigating the explanatory mechanisms that could account for immigrants' children's educational disadvantage. Most of the research belonging to this tradition is made of quantitative studies based on nation-wide micro datasets. Social background seems to play a major role in shaping migrant-native gaps, but it

does not tell the whole story: linguistic and other cultural resources seem to play an important role as well, especially for the most disadvantaged groups. While there is consensus in finding that language is a barrier – especially for recently arrived immigrants – research has not produced conclusive results on the role played by specific cultural or institutional factors in accounting for the diverging educational outcomes across the different immigrant groups. Some studies have sought to shed light on the link between immigrant concentration and student achievement (Pacchi and Ranci 2017), but currently no clear-cut, conclusive evidence is available.

Finally, the fourth tradition is centered on the relational dimension of immigrants' school experiences, as both an outcome *per se* as well one of the possible explanatory mechanisms of the migrant-native educational gaps. On the one hand, these studies highlight a condition of relational disadvantage for immigrant students. The loss of social capital due to recent migration may produce distress and tension among peers, and interethnic conflicts. On the other hand, research shows that students with an immigrant background also experience good-quality relationships with classmates and teachers and this condition represents an important asset for immigrants' well-being. However, a deep understanding of the interconnection between school climate and school integration has not yet been fully achieved.

The literature reviewed in these pages reveals the recent and great efforts carried out by researchers in the field of ethnic educational inequalities. Nonetheless, the room for improvement is evident. A satisfactory empirical basis on which to assess the actual educational outcomes of children of immigrants as compared to natives, and to evaluate variations by ethnic origins and generational status, is lacking. Partly, this is because there has not been sufficient investment in data infrastructures to both monitor the phenomenon and inform policy-makers, leaving behind a constellation of small-scale, local, and uncoordinated research projects. This has led to a low international visibility of the scientific production and poor support for evidence-based policy making. Recently, thanks to the diffusion of large-scale datasets on student assessments, the local character of the studies has been partly overcome and nation-wide research projects have started appearing on the Italian scene. Such a process has also been accompanied by a progressive shift from qualitative case studies to more standardized and quantitative research.

Nonetheless, further research – based on more consolidated theoretical definitions, higher quality data and more rigorous methods – is in order to better understand the link between migration and educational inequality in Italy. Some areas appear to be particularly under-researched and call for further effort. We draw attention to four aspects: (*i*) school and

school-to-work transitions; (*ii*) non-cognitive skill development; (*iii*) racism and discrimination; (*iv*) policy evaluation studies.

School (and School-to-Work) Transitions One of the main shortcomings in the Italian context is the absence of rich and nationally-representative longitudinal data that allow an investigation of youths' school careers and key transitions. The transition from lower to upper secondary education calls for attention. This passage is crucial, since the selection of a vocational track instead of an academic one is a strong predictor of individuals' future educational and professional success. The different routes to early school leaving and dropout should also be the subjects of investigation, in order to gain a better understanding of the roles played by individual, family and contextual factors. Finally, transition to university and the labor market at the end of compulsory education are two additional issues that require more attention, considering the increased number of children of immigrants reaching the age of majority in Italy. Some studies on post-secondary education transitions have very recently started to appear, signaling the emerging character of this topic among Italian scholars (Bozzetti 2017; Ceravolo 2016; Eve 2017; Gasperoni et al. 2017; Paba and Bertozzi 2017).

Non-Cognitive Skill Development While studies focusing on migrant-native gaps in cognitive skills have been flourishing since the late 2000s, evidence is still scant with respect to competence domains and non-cognitive skills that are traditionally less covered by empirical research but that are increasingly recognized as relevant determinants of educational success and other life outcomes, over and beyond cognitive ones (Ceravolo 2016; Santagati 2018). Beyond personality traits and non-cognitive skills (such as study engagement, effort, perseverance, conscientiousness, interpersonal skills, etc.), openness (e.g., ability to adapt to multicultural environments, cosmopolitan attitudes, propensity to international mobility, etc.) and new skillsets valued in modern societies (e.g., digital skills and information skills) should be complementary objects of investigation.

Racism and Discrimination Until now, racism and discrimination have been little investigated by Italian sociologists. These phenomena are often minimized and underestimated in educational environments and ascribed to variables such as social class or gender, but rarely explained in ethnic and cultural terms. Hence, it is necessary not only to further investigate this topic, but also to adopt new perspectives that are able to comprehend better when, how and why these attitudes take shape and develop. An example is given by religion:

education is one of the most sensitive spheres engaged with religion, which is a crucial resource for many immigrants, but also a source of conflict and a threat to social cohesion and identity. Scholars are thus required to examine the role of religion in multicultural schools, in producing conflicts or fostering dialogue, in affecting educational achievement and relational well-being of students, in influencing or preventing violent radicalism in the school environment, and some research activities are working on this (Meuret 2015; Ricucci 2017; Santagati 2017; Santagati et al. 2017).

Policy Evaluation Studies Finally, more efforts are required in the field of evaluating the effectiveness of policies and school practices: education policymakers and professionals would greatly benefit from studies focused on whether, and to what extent, actions that have been implemented are actually able to promote the scholastic and social integration of foreign-origin students and their educational performance. Experiences of this kind already exist in other countries, while, in Italy, education policy evaluation studies are still limited in number (Carlana et al. 2017). This is an unfortunate situation, which leaves policy makers with very poor policy advice. To redress this situation, investments in high-quality data infrastructures and the realization of policy experimentations with the active engagement of school actors and policy makers are in order.

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18

Japan: The Localization Approach and an Emerging Trend Toward the Study of Poverty Within Ethnicity and Inequality

Kaori H. Okano

Introduction

In contrast to North America, race and ethnicity have not been at the forefront of discussion about social inequality in Japan, but this does not mean that race/ethnic-related social inequality is absent in Japanese society. Meritocracy in education has been assumed since the middle of the nineteenth century when Japan began its modernization. In order to transform a pre-modern feudal Japan into a competitive modern nation state, it was believed that merit-based selection of young people would best allocate the most talented to 'important' positions. The government created a competitive external examination system and advocated the equality of educational opportunity. Under the post-World War II democratic system of education, it was a concern for human rights that drove merit-based selection through equal educational opportunities. The government and scholarly community have maintained a keen interest in the relationship between educational achievement and family background. This led to the institution of the large-scale Social Stratification and Mobility Survey that has been conducted every ten years since 1955. But even the most recent 2015 survey does not include ethnicity and race as variables, a point that I will elaborate on later.

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This chapter examines how sociological studies have examined the relationship between ethnicity/race and educational equality in Japan between 1980 and 2016, and identifies three research 'traditions'. They are: (1) quantitative descriptions of minority students' educational achievements; (2) schooling processes in relation to discrimination, school interventions and identity formation; and (3) home cultures. One of the distinctive characteristics of these studies is 'localization', whereby the relationship is examined in selected localities with a focus on a single ethnic group, rather than as a national phenomenon. Even the government's frequent Social Stratification and Mobility Surveys have not included ethnicity/race as a variable. The dominant research tradition has been to study the schooling process through a large number of small-scale observational studies which explore the schooling experiences of both minority and non-minority students.

I begin with a brief description of Japan's present education system, minority groups, and social policies, and then turn to the methodology of selecting the literature for review. The ensuing section identifies three approaches in the research on the relation between race/ethnicity and educational inequality. Japan offers an interesting case as one of the few non-Western post-industrial states with a liberal democracy and a level of wealth distribution comparable to the first-world West. It is also the only non-Western country which had colonies (with the consequence of colonial subjects becoming ethnic minorities). Racial and ethnic discrimination in this context does not involve the West versus the others, and Whites versus non-Whites.

Education, Ethnic (and Cultural) Minorities, and Policy Developments in Japan

The System of Education

Japan's post-war system of education was introduced under the U.S. occupation. It was modeled on the American system of six years of primary school, three years of middle school, and three years of senior high school, with four-year undergraduate university courses. All children aged six start schooling in April, and receive nine years of compulsory education via a nationally guided curriculum. The vast majority of students attend local government schools, where ability-based tracking has been rare. Entry into senior high school requires an academic entrance examination; and over 98% of the age cohort enter senior high school. It is at this point (the end of compulsory education) that major differentiation takes place amongst students, based on academic achievement.

There are four types of senior high schools: elite academic high schools, non-elite academic high schools, vocational high schools, comprehensive high schools (which offer both non-elite academic and vocational courses), and evening high schools. Each of these types of schools has distinct school missions, and offers a curriculum to achieve that mission following the national curriculum guidelines. The majority of students are in non-elite academic high schools or in academic courses in comprehensive high schools. The vast majority of senior high school students proceed to graduation, and over half of all graduates then go to universities through entrance examinations (Okano and Tsuchiya 1999).

Buddhist and Christian schools operate as mainstream government-sanctioned institutions, since they conform to the Ministry of Education regulations in terms of such aspects as curriculum, teaching staff, and facilities, in order to receive government funding. Some schools publicize the academic performance of their students via the internet, but this is not a government requirement. The public is able to gain a reasonable idea of where an individual school stands from the destination schools of its graduates. Academic high schools where almost all students proceed to universities provide information about the number of their students who gained entry to higher ranked universities, while vocationally oriented high schools list the names of prestigious companies where their graduates gained permanent non-graduate track positions.

Japan, like other East Asian nations, is often portrayed as a highly competitive, academic credentialist society, with university entrance examinations typifying this characterization. It needs to be remembered, however, that only a quarter (at most) participate in the highly competitive examinations to enter prestigious universities with the remainder gaining university places through their school's recommendation. Under this system students can gain a place at a participating university (not all universities offer this option) based on the school's report on his or her overall performance (e.g. academic, leadership, sports) and favorable references from teachers. With the declining birth rate and a large number of private universities, there are now more university places than there are applicants (Fig. 18.1).

Minority Students in Japan

The ethnic minorities that this chapter addresses comprise two distinct groups. One is the long-existing minorities whose origin pre-dates the end of World War II, and the other is so-called 'newcomers' who started arriving in the 1980s. The former includes indigenous Ainu and Okinawans, ethnic Koreans
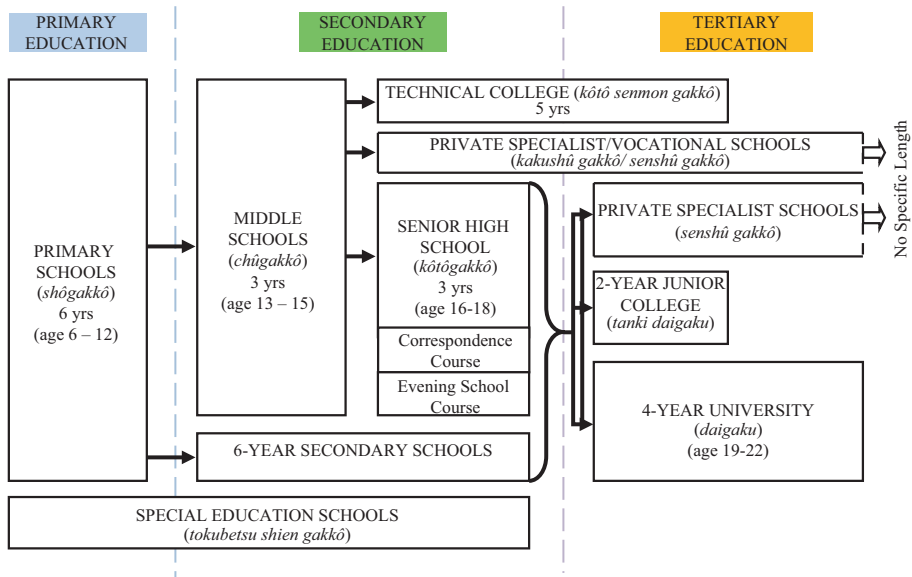
Fig. 18.1 The Japanese school system

and Chinese (descendants of former colonial subjects), and *buraku* people (descendants of feudal outcaste population). While it is still debated whether or not *buraku* constitutes an ethnic group, I consider that they are on the grounds that *buraku* people maintain a separate 'culture' (Okano 2011, p. 36; henceforth 'buraku'). The group is definitely a minority group in the sociological sense, in that it conforms to all the widely accepted conditions defining a minority group (Dworkin and Dworkin 1999). Newcomer minority groups include Amerasians (children of American soldiers and local women in Okinawa), refugees, immigrants and guest workers, and returnees from China (women and orphans of Japanese families who left north-eastern China at the end of the war and their descendants).

It is not possible to arrive at accurate figures for the size of these groups. This is because of the national government's failure to document information on the descent of its citizens. Once a Korean takes up Japanese citizenship by naturalization or marriage, he or she becomes simply a 'Japanese citizen'. Indigenous Ainu and Okinawans are born into the category of 'Japanese'. There is no record of the number of children of mixed descent who have at least one Japanese national parent and therefore have automatically gained Japanese citizenship at birth. The estimated total minority population is between 6.24 million and 8 million, approximately between 5% and 6% of the total population (Okano and Tsuneyoshi 2011, p. 6) (Table 18.1).

Table 18.1 The estimated populations of minority groups

Minority groups	Japanese citizens	Non-Japanese citizens living in Japan (2016)
Ainu (indigenous)	Exact number unknown (24,000 self-categorized in Hokkaido; 300,000 in Japan)	
Okinawan	Exact number unknown (1.37 million in Okinawa-prefecture; 300,000 in other parts of Japan)	
Amerasians in Okinawa	Exact number unknown	
People of *buraku* descent	Exact number unknown (estimated 1.5–3 million)	
Ethnic Chinese	Exact number unknown (88,123 naturalized 1972–2003; 55,708 children of Chinese-Japanese marriages 1986–2005)	677,571 (2016)
Ethnic Koreans	Exact number unknown (320,232 naturalized 1952–2008; 263,996 Korean-Japanese marriages 1955–2007; 133,253 children of Korean-Japanese marriages 1985–2007)	490,190 (2016)
Registered foreigners, excluding Chinese and Koreans		1,139,627 (2016) (including 176,284 Brazilians and 237,103 Filipinos)
Naturalized Japanese citizens	Exact number unknown (133,684 in 1952–2008, excluding ethnic Chinese and Koreans)	
Children of mixed descent where one parent is a Japanese citizen	Exact number unknown	
Japanese returnees	Exact number unknown (12,000 returned in 2008)	
Sub-totals	Exact number unknown (3.95–5.70 million or more)	2,307,388 (2016)
Estimated total	**6.24–8.00 million or more**	

Source: Okano and Tsuneyoshi (2011), p. 6
Hômu-shô (2017) Heisei-28nen 6gatsumatsu genzai niokeru zairyûgaikokujin ni tsuite. http://www.moj.go.jp/nyuukokukanri/kouhou/nyuukokukanri04_00060.html

The indigenous peoples, Ainu and the Okinawans, were incorporated into modern Japan in the late nineteenth century and now reside in their respective regions of origin (the northernmost island, Hokkaidô, and southern Ryûkû Islands) and as a diaspora in metropolitan cities. Okinawa was occupied by the U.S. after World War II until 1972, which created another minority, the children of U.S. servicemen and local women popularly called

Amerasians. The buraku people descended from the outcastes of the feudal class system. While the institutional class system was discontinued in the late nineteenth century, buraku people have suffered from poverty and marginalization in employment and marriage ever since.

'Oldtimer' ethnic Koreans and Chinese are descendants of former colonial subjects who came to Japan (either by force or voluntarily) during Japan's colonial occupation of those territories, and hold special permanent resident status. They are popularly called '*zainichi*' Koreans and '*zainichi*' Chinese. *Zainichi* Koreans are diverse in terms of political affiliation (Seoul or Pyongyang regimes), age, and place of residence. In Osaka and Kawasaki cities, there are large Korean communities. One-quarter of the students in many government primary schools in one Osaka ward are *zainichi* Koreans. Both Korean and Chinese communities maintain fulltime ethnic schools, which run independently of the mainstream schools. Across the country about 10% of Korean and Chinese children attend them.

Newcomers have come to Japan voluntarily since the 1980s. Returnees from China (war-displaced Japanese and their families from North East China) and Indo-Chinese refugees started arriving in the 1980s. Then Japan's economic boom attracted foreign labor from Asia and South America. The 1990 revision of immigration law, which allowed South Americans of Japanese descent to work legally as unskilled labor, accelerated the process. The South American *nikkeijin* are descended from Japanese who migrated to South America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While most originally planned for a short-term stay, many ended up becoming long-term residents or remained permanently. In contrast to the Japan-born long-existing minorities, newcomers do not speak Japanese and are less familiar with cultural mores.

The categories that the national government employs to indicate student diversity are: (1) citizenship/nationality, and (2) any requirement for assistance in terms of Japanese language instruction. Figures 18.2 and 18.3 respectively show the number of registered foreigners, and the number of foreign children in government schools. The number of children who require JSL (Japanese as a Second Language) increased from 26,221 in 2006 to 37,095 in 2014 (Monbukagaku-shô 2015).

Social Policy Development

The national Ministry of Education has to date not articulated a comprehensive national policy to address the cultural and ethnic diversity of the student
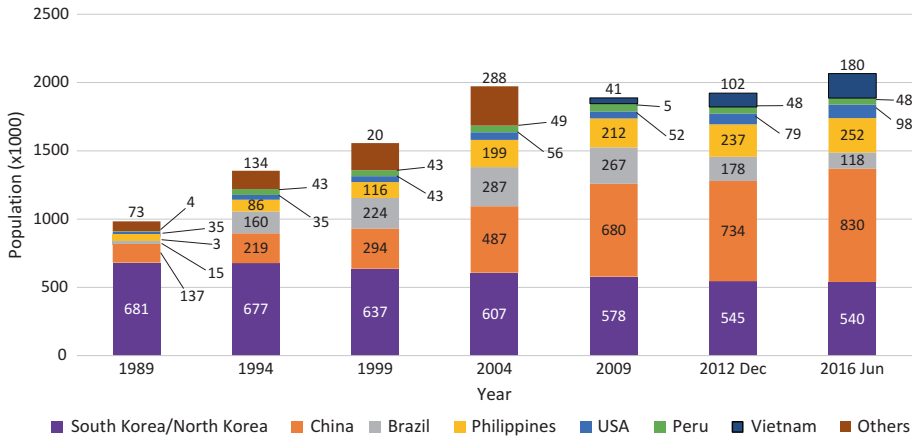
Fig. 18.2 Population of registered foreigners in Japan according to the nationality 1989–2016. (Sources: Immigration Bureau of Japan 2000–2016)
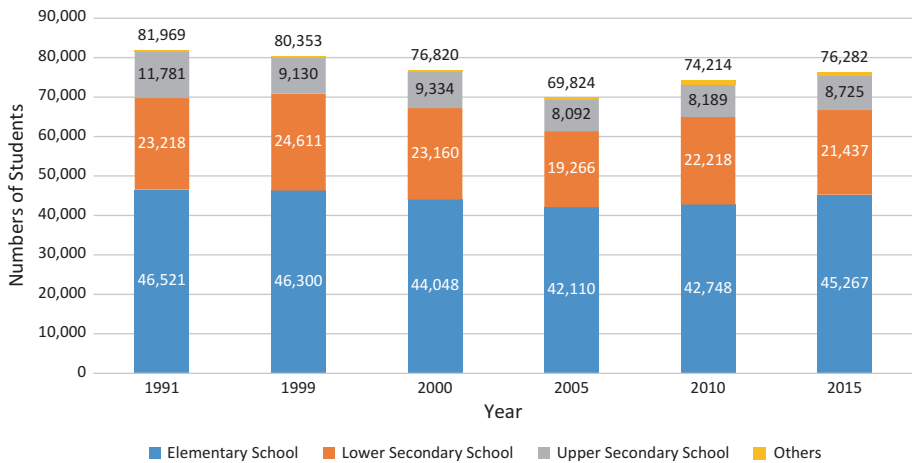
Fig. 18.3 Foreign students in Japanese government schools 1991–2015. (Source: Monbukagaku-shô 2015)

population as a whole. Instead, it has separate policies for different groups as described below.

The government's main social policies on the education of indigenous and buraku students has been to increase their school retention rates, by improving their living conditions and employment, and by providing scholarships. The Buraku Liberation League (BLL) initiated a civil rights

movement challenging discriminatory employment practices, and lobbied governments, which in 1969 resulted in a ten-year program, Special Measures for Regional Improvement. It was renewed in 1979 and again in 1989 continuing until 2002 when it was discontinued on the grounds that sufficient improvements had been made. The program also put '*dôwa* education' (a human rights education program taught across the curriculum to all students) on the national agenda, securing national government funding. Similarly, with respect to the Ainu, the First Hokkaido Utari Welfare Measures (Hokkaidô Utari fukushi seisaku) were implemented, at a cost of 12 billion yen over the period 1971–1980, and then renewed four times up to 2001 (1981–1987, 1988–1994, 1995–2001). This initiative was replaced by the Ainu Welfare Promotion Measures (Ainu no hitotachi no seikatsu kôjô ni kansuru suishin seisaku), which have been renewed three times (2002–2008, 2009–2015, 2016–2020) (Hokkaidô-chô-kankyôseisaku-bu 2007, 2010; Hokkaidô-Ainu-seisaku-suishin-shitsu 2017). The Okinawa local government has received funding from Tokyo to improve the education of its local students. As seen later, these measures have worked to the extent that the gap in retention to Year 12 is now almost negligible.

Regarding the treatment of foreign nationals (including third- and fourth-generation Koreans), the government only issued a range of ad-hoc 'notices'. The current basic position is that all Japanese citizens are required to attend mainstream schools; and that non-citizens are expected to do the same, although this is not compulsory. The national policy has a complex history (Okano 2011), but suffice to say here that the Ministry of Education's 1953 notice set the basic post-war 'principle of simple equality' (i.e., treating everyone in the same way). It stated that Korean permanent residents were to be treated in the same way as Japanese students, and all public schools were to accept them with the provision that the Korean students follow Japanese laws. However the Korean students were initially required to pay school fees, which did not apply to Japanese nationals (*Chôsenjin no gimukyôiku shôgakkô eno shûgaku ni tsuite*, 11/2/1953). Free compulsory schooling for Koreans came in 1965.

The next 25 years did not see any change in this passive policy. Then since 1991 the Ministry has gradually 'softened' the simple equality principle. For example, it retrospectively approved the operation of 'ethnic classes' (*minzoku gakkyû*) for Koreans (where students learn about their language, culture, and colonial history) at government schools under local government discretion, stating that 'ethnic classes during extra-curricular hours are exempt from the 'no special treatment' clause in the 1965 circular'. In the same year, 1991, with a sudden increase in the numbers of students from South America, the

Ministry started collecting data on the demand for instruction in Japanese as a Second Language (JSL), in order to plan appropriate programs. The Ministry created a detailed JSL curriculum for primary schools in 2003, and for middle schools for 2007; and a guidebook for parents of foreign children ('Guidebook for Starting School') in several languages in 2005 (Monbukagaku-shô 2003c, 2005, 2007). In March 2011 the Ministry issued a 68-page guidebook for schools and teachers about accepting 'foreign children' (Monbukagaku-shô 2011), a belated addition to the large number of existing books of this kind produced by commercial publishers. The latest version was published in 2014 (Monbukagaku-shô 2014a). The Ministry provides a homepage devoted to 'children living abroad and returnees' (*Kaigaishijo kyôiku kikoku-gaikokujin jidôseito kyôiku nado ni kansuru hômu pêj*i, CLARINET)[1]; and only in March 2011 published another homepage which provides information for 'students with a special connection to foreign countries' (*gaikoku ni tsunagari no aru jidô seito no gakushû o shiensuru jôhô kensaku saito*, CASTANET).[2] The latter homepage provides links to school textbooks in several languages that have been developed by education boards of localities where specific ethnic groups concentrate.

In the current national curriculum guidelines (*gakushidô yôryô*, officially translated as 'course of study'), we see a departure from the simple equality principle. They advocate the need for special treatment for 'Japanese returnees and those in similar situations', including a clause under 'points to be considered when designing a teaching plan', that 'schools should promote their cultural adaptation to the Japanese school environment, and provide education that would effectively build on their prior overseas experience' (Monbukagaku-shô 1998 and 2003a, 1998 and 2003b). The latest national curriculum guidelines (issued in 2008 with implementation from April 2011) for the first time acknowledged that the experiences and perceptions brought by foreign students can benefit their Japanese peers, and that schools consider providing foreign students opportunities to learn their own languages and cultures (Monbukagaku-shô 2008a, b). While these documents still adopt the category of 'foreigners'; the term is arbitrarily interpreted at the local and school levels. In 2014 a revision to the School Education Law enabled (and encouraged) individual schools to develop and provide special curricula for new migrant children with limited Japanese language proficiency (Monbukagaku-shô 2014b).

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[1] CLARINET URL Kaigaishijo kyôiku kikoku gaikokujin jidôseito kyôiku nado ni kansurue homepage. http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/clarinet/main7_a2.htm

[2] Casta-Net Gaikokuni tsunagarinoaru jidôseito no gakushû o shiensuru jôhô kensaku saito. http://www.casta-net.jp

It is local governments whose constituents include a large number of ethnic minorities that have more actively initiated policies to address the diverse student population, independently of the central government. In 2007 approximately 80 local governments maintained 'policies for the education of foreign nationals in Japan' (*zainichi gaikokujin kyôiku hôshin or shishin*) (Okano 2006). Individual schools design and implement programs which support the policies, for example, bilingual Japanese as a Second Language programs in order to maintain students' home languages. Schools in localities with such policies are more readily able to run programs to assist ethnic minorities in response to emerging needs, since these programs gained more legitimacy in the eyes of local education boards and communities.

One of the most significant social policy implementations of recent times is the 2013 establishment of the national government legislation of the Act to Counter Child Poverty (Kodomo no hinkon taisaku hô). This national legislation resulted from the recognition that child poverty exists in a seemingly affluent Japan, and aims to ensure that children's healthy development and futures are not impaired by disadvantaged family backgrounds. It requires the national government to investigate and report annually on child poverty, providing specific data, and to guide and fund local governments in devising measures to reduce the level of child poverty. One measure that the report would have to include is a relative child poverty ratio, defined as the percentage of children who live in a household whose income is a half of the country's median household income or less. In Japan this ratio was 16.3 per cent in 2012 (Naikaku-fu 2016). The Act calls for local governments to implement initiatives to ensure equal educational opportunities for all children regardless of their family background.

While the Act itself makes no specific reference to poverty amongst racial and ethnic minority children, ensuing debates, investigations and initiatives at local levels have revealed that a disproportionate number of migrant children suffer family poverty (e.g., Abe 2014). I believe that this legislation has encouraged child poverty discussion to include migrant children, as well as other groups with special needs, despite not being referred to in the Act.

In sum, there are two main characteristics of Japan's social policies regarding ethnic minorities and education. They have been driven not by the national government, but by affected local governments and individual schools; and secondly, have targeted the education of specific ethnic/cultural minority groups, rather than all minority groups as a whole.

Methods

Consistent with the other chapters in the volume, I adopted the following criteria in selecting the literature to be reviewed: (1) studying the relationship between ethnicity/race and educational inequality, but not necessarily exclusively on this since the number of such studies is limited; (2) focusing squarely on Japan; (3) adopting sociological and anthropological approach; and (4) studying primary and secondary schooling. Tertiary education and non-formal and informal education are not included. Furthermore, my examination is restricted to peer-reviewed journal articles, books, book chapters, and reports by national and local governments.

The process of selecting the literature started with a search of relevant databases, in both English and Japanese, starting with my existing knowledge of literature from my prior research on minorities and education in Japan (Okano 1997, 2004, 2006, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2016, 2017a, b; Okano and Tsuchiya 1999; Okano and Tsuneyoshi 2011). The English-language databases used were Sociological Abstracts, ERIC, and Bibliography of Asian Studies. Since the number of relevant studies from these databases was limited, the majority of literature came from Japanese-language sources. I searched in the Japanese-language database *Nichigai Zasshi Kiji Sakuin*, as well as focusing on the 1980–2016 issues of the three most esteemed Japanese journals in the field: *Shagaigaku Hyôron* (the journal of the Japan Sociological Association), *Kyôiku Shakaigaku Kenkyû* (the journal of the Educational Sociology Association of Japan), and *Soshioroji*. I also examined those that I found in the process of reading. The vast majority of the literature reviewed here is published only in Japanese. One of the contributions of this review is to make this research accessible to a non-Japanese-speaking readership.

Three Traditions in Research on Race/Ethnicity and Educational Inequality

I have identified three research traditions in the studies on ethnicity and educational inequality in Japan. By traditions, I refer to the notion defined in this volume, namely, 'a set of studies developed over a certain period of time, which explore the relationship between educational inequality and race/ethnicity in a similar way by focusing on similar research questions, units of analysis, or social processes and use a similar set of research methods to achieve this goal' (Stevens & Dworkin, in Chap. 1 of this volume).

They are: (1) quantitative descriptions of educational outcomes; (2) case-studies of schooling processes with particular attention to discrimination, interventions, and identity formation; and (3) home culture.

Quantitative Descriptions of Ethnicity/Race and Educational Inequality

One of the most striking features of quantitative descriptions of ethnicity/race and educational achievement in Japan is that each of them illustrates a specific ethnic group in a particular locality, and that it is almost impossible to gain a comparative picture of trends relating to these groups. Often the goals of these studies are to demonstrate the extent of the particular group's disadvantage (in terms of retention rate) and argue for continued funding from local governments.

Japan has not produced the kind of nation-wide quantitative survey that examines the relationship between 'ethnicity' and educational inequality, as described in this volume in relation to, for example, Australia and the Netherlands. This is despite the fact that sociologists in Japan have, since the 1950s, maintained a keen interest in social stratification, and the relationship between family background and educational achievement and employment success.

The nation-wide, large-scale Japan Social Stratification and Social Mobility surveys (SSM) started in 1955, following similar surveys conducted in industrialized countries at the time. It has been administered every decade since (1955, 1965, 1975, 1985, 1995, 2005, 2015). They have been funded by the government and designed by groups of sociologists, with the aim of informing the development of social policies; and have produced a large number of research papers and books. Their focus is how family social class background (as defined by occupation and education level) affects children's educational achievement and career trajectories. Up until the 1995 survey the participants were exclusively male.

To date none of race, ethnicity and languages spoken at home has been a variable for these surveys. This is surprising when we consider that Blau and Duncan's work (1967), which illuminated the impact of race on occupational status achievement in the U.S., influenced Japanese sociologists in designing the subsequent Japanese survey in 1975. Kim and Inazuki (2000, p. 182) suspect that this is due to the relatively small proportion of 'foreign nationals' living in Japan compared with other industrialized countries, but foreign nationals represent only a part of ethnic diversity in Japan. To equate foreign

nationals with ethnic groups is to exclude Japanese nationals of diverse ethnic descent, including indigenous peoples and those who have taken up Japanese citizenship. I would suggest that many sociologists might have uncritically accepted the myth of homogeneous Japan in the public discourse, or considered that the absence of reliable data on Japanese nationals of varying ethnic heritage made the task impossible. In later years, the failure to include race/ethnicity in these surveys has been considered highly problematic by some (e.g., Kawai 1991; Shimizu 2004; Sonoda 2000). While studies of ethnicities appear in the urban sociology literature, ethnicity has never made it into the SSM. The latest 2015 SSM still includes only Japanese nationals (Shakaikaisô-to-shakaiidô-chôsa-kenkyûkai 2016).

In the six volumes of research papers covering the 1995 survey results, there is only one paper on ethnicity in a locality, by Kim and Inazuki (2000). It presents the findings of their own survey on *zainichi* Koreans which was based on the same questions as the 1995 SSM. Sonoda (2000) in the same volume proposes that ethnicity be included as an important variable for future research. No papers in the third volume, on education and inequality (Kondo 2000), mention ethnicity.

Given the absence of nation-wide quantitative descriptive studies on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality, I examine those conducted at the local level. All of these focus on a single ethnic minority group residing at a specific locality, rather than examining multiple groups.

Buraku

Amongst studies of quantitative description tradition, those on buraku children's educational achievement are by far the most numerous. They are conducted by local governments with buraku communities and a commitment to the human rights of minorities (e.g., Osakafu-kyôiku-iinkai 1986, 1991, 1997; Fukuokaken-kyôikuiinkai-dôwakyôiku-jittai-chôsa-jikkô-iinkai 1992; Hiroshimashi-Kyôikuiinkai-Dôwakyôikushidôka 1996; Mieken-Kyôkuiinkai 1996; Minôshi-kyôikuiinkai 1990; Sen'nan-shi-Kyôikuiinkai 1993). For example, Osaka prefectural education board surveys have examined educational achievement in the form of levels of literacy and numeracy, retention to post-compulsory schooling and tertiary education, school incompletion; and indicators of a suitable home environment for study (e.g. availability of study space and books, parental assistance with homework). They compared buraku children and non-buraku children in the same localities. These surveys reveal that the level of literacy and numeracy amongst buraku children have

improved significantly. The gap in retention rate to post-compulsory education is almost minimal; but a significant difference remains in retention to higher education.

Ainu

The Hokkaidô prefectural government has conducted surveys on the indigenous Ainu population about every seven years, in 1972, 1979, 1986, 1993, 1999, 2007 and 2013 (Hokkaidô-chô-kankyôseisaku-bu 2013), along with Hokkaido University's Centre for Ainu and Indigenous Studies (Sanai 2010). They reveal that educational participation by Ainu children has increased over the years, helped by the Utari Welfare Measures that had been operative since 1971 in order to improve living conditions. The post-compulsory retention rate of Ainu children (i.e. into upper secondary school) has almost caught up to that of their non-Ainu counterparts, with a 6% gap remaining in 2013 (see Table 18.2). Of Ainu under 30 years of age, 95% completed 12 years of schooling; the figure falls with age, however (87% of those 30–40 years old and 24% of those over 70) (Nozaki 2010). However, there remains a significant difference in tertiary entry rates: in 2013, 25.8% of Ainu students went on to university (an increase from 17.4% in 2006) while nearly 43% of non-Ainu students took up tertiary study (see Table 18.3). The older generations of Ainu have achieved much lower levels of education.

Should they succeed in the competitive entrance examinations and gain a place in senior high school or university, Ainu children are still more likely to

Table 18.2 Retention of Ainu children to upper secondary school compared with non-Ainu cohort, 1972–2013

Year	1972	1979	1986	1993	1999	2006	2013
Ainu (%)	41.5	69.3	78.4	87.4	95.2	93.5	92.6
Non-Ainu in the same township (%)	78.2	90.6	94.0	96.3	97.0	98.3	98.6

Source: Hokkaidō-chō, Kankyōseikatsu-bu (2013). *Heisei 25-nendo Hokkaidō Ainu seikatsu jittai chōsa hōkokusho*. Sapporo: Hokkaidō-chō

Table 18.3 Retention of Ainu children to university compared with non-Ainu cohort, 1979–2013

Year	1979	1986	1993	1999	2006	2013
Ainu (%)	3.8	8.1	11.8	16.1	17.4	25.8
Non-Ainu in the same township (%)	31.1	27.4	27.5	34.5	38.5	43.0

Source: Hokkaidō-chō, Kankyōseikatsu-bu (2013). *Heisei 25-nendo Hokkaidō Ainu seikatsu jittai chōsa hōkokusho*. Sapporo: Hokkaidō-chō

leave school before graduating. In 2009 survey (Nozaki 2010), of those (of all age groups) who entered senior high school, 13% left before graduation in 2009; and this percentage is again higher amongst the older generations. Of those who entered university, one in five left before gaining a degree. The figure for those under 30 years old was 11%, while for those aged 60–70 it was 59% (Nozaki 2010). It is not that Ainu people lack educational and career aspirations. Amongst those who already left school, 32% said that they had wanted to proceed to the next level of schooling, while 56% of those under 30 wanted to go to university (Nozaki 2010, p. 63). The most frequently stated reasons for giving up a desire for further education were financial (78%), the need to obtain employment (25%), low academic achievement (14%), and mainly in the case of girls, parents' opposition (11%).

Parents' aspirations for their children's education are high: 64% want their children to attend university (i.e., post-secondary) and only 21% hope for upper secondary school (Nozaki 2010). Those parents who had to abandon their own desire for further education display a higher level of aspiration for their own children (Nozaki 2010). As is the case with the national trend, Ainu in metropolitan Sapporo (Hokkaido's capital city) reach a higher level of schooling and have higher parental aspirations for their children's schooling (Nozaki 2010). The gap between parental aspirations and their children's achievements may be due to the children's negative experiences of schooling, such as bullying and discrimination, which not only affect academic performance but also lead to alienation from school (Ueno 2004). It may also be due to a relative lack of middle-class role-model adults who have built their careers on success at school, and also to the fact that parents are less informed regarding the workings of the school system and how to assist their children's school work.

Okinawans

Children in Okinawa have fallen behind the national benchmark in every aspect of educational participation. Okinawa prefecture has long had the worst retention rate to post-compulsory education and higher education, and the highest rate of non-graduation from high school (Nishimoto 1999, 2001). It is also characterized by the highest unemployment and the lowest average incomes in the country. While the dominant explanation for this has been Okinawa's historical legacy, a limited employment market (due to reliance on the U.S. military bases), and the peripheral geographical location, Nishimoto (1999) argues that the Okinawan preference for collaborative work is also an additional factor in discouraging individual competition based on merit.

Zainichi Koreans

In comparison with buraku and Ainu research, academic achievement has not been such a focus of studies of oldtimer Koreans ('*zainichi*', henceforth in roman type). The dominant approach in studying educational inequality of oldtimer Koreans have been ethnic education (*minziku kyôiku*) which enables Korean children to maintain their 'ethnic culture' and cultivate ethnic pride (Taiei Kim 1994), institutional discrimination (which derives from the fact they are 'foreign nationals') and interpersonal discrimination in classes.

Small-scale surveys conducted by individual researchers and local governments suggest that Korean young people have performed less well compared with their Japanese counterparts, but that the gap has decreased considerably. For example, 84.9% of Korean students (in comparison with the same city average of 92.5%) went beyond compulsory schooling in 1978, but in 1990 the respective figures were 89.7% and 95.3% (Nakajima 1994, p. 33). A 1993 survey on zainichi South Koreans (aged 18–30) revealed that the education level of those surveyed was not significantly different from the Japanese average; but that the gap between high and low achievers had increased (Fukuoka and Kim 1997, p. 20).

A survey of about 900 oldtimer South Korean males (using the same methods as the 1995 SSM) provided data most compatible with the SSM. It shows that there was no significant difference between ethnic Korean males surveyed and their Japanese counterparts, in terms of average years of schooling (12.35 and 12.01), and annual income (494 million yen and 531 million yen) (Kim and Inazuki 2000, p. 189). Koreans in fact earned more. But the same survey showed that a much larger percentage of Koreans were self-employed (52% Koreans and 23% Japanese), indicating the discrimination they faced in the dominant Japanese labor market.

Newcomers

Research of this tradition on new immigrants is almost non-existent even at the local level. This is partly because new immigrants are assumed to perform poorly due to a lack of adequate Japanese language proficiency, at least in the short term. At local level researchers examined the consistently poor retention rate to post-compulsory education among new immigrants (Shimizu 2008).

In sum, the tradition of quantitative description has asked how minority groups' achievements compared with those of non-minority students, by focusing on quantifiable survey data such as retention rate to post-compulsory

schooling and academic performance. The studies found that the gap has substantially declined for all minority groups over the last several decades, but that it still exists for the entry into universities. The findings are however limited in that single-group focused studies have not enabled a comparative picture of these groups, a point that also applies to the other traditions.

Schooling Process: Discrimination, the Effects of School Intervention, and Identity Formation

The most dominant research tradition in the literature on ethnicity/race and educational inequality has been the study of schooling processes, by means of observations and interviews. There are three aspects to this approach: (1) discrimination, (2) school intervention, and (3) identity formation of the minority students. Since most studies examine two or three of these aspects simultaneously, I will discuss them together under the broad heading of schooling processes. Chronologically, the initial emphasis was on the experience of discrimination, but studies since 1980 have added both school intervention and identity formation.

'Discrimination' ('*sabetsu*', the most frequently used term in discussions on minority education) refers to the marginalization that minority children experience in interacting with school peers and, to a lesser degree, teachers. The core of discrimination centers on the 'difference' that minority children bring to mainstream schools; but the nature of discrimination varies depending on the particular minority group. Interventions include a wide range of school-based programs to counter disadvantage, with the aim of making school a more comfortable place for minority students, assisting them to perform academically, and offering guidance for future education. The effect of these interventions is studied both in terms of advances that minority students have made in academic achievement and their educational decisions, as well as of the interactions' impact on the majority students' understanding of human rights issues. Both discrimination and school intervention affect minority students' identity formation, which in turn influences their educational achievement. This is because ethnic minority students' identity formation has a significant impact on the ways in which they appropriate what schools offer (Okano 1995).

The focus in this tradition is on the lived experiences of students. Overt institutional discrimination exists only on the grounds of nationality (lack of Japanese citizenship) for oldtimer ethnic Koreans with special permanent resident status and new immigrants with or without such status. These studies

examine interpersonal relationships, such as bullying, low expectations of academic achievement, exclusion, and marginalization, while adopting qualitative and/or ethnographic methods and examining a particular school or an ethnic community. They explore how the experiences of discrimination affect children's self-esteem, learning behaviors, expectations of themselves, educational achievement, and decisions about future academic careers and employment.

A key contribution to this research tradition is an Osaka University ethnographic study of buraku children in a rural fishing town in the 1980s (Ikeda 1985, 1987; Nishida 1990). It revealed home and school lives of buraku children that were not conducive to fostering educational attainment (as shall be discussed in the section on home culture), and the marginalization experienced in interacting with peers at school. This included bullying and stereotyping of buraku families. Teachers also held low expectations for buraku children's academic achievement. With large numbers of buraku children in the area, primary and middle schools suffered from 'flight' of non-buraku children. Sociologists explored factors contributing to buraku students' poor academic performance, in light of Ogbu's involuntary minority thesis (Nabeshima 1991, 1993) and various reproduction theories including those proposed by Bowls, Bernstein, Bourdieu, and Willis (Kamihara 2000). In contrast, buraku students in some urban schools no longer experience such overt discrimination, according to Nabeshima's interviews with buraku students and teachers, which might have contributed to many achieving well (Nabeshima 2003). Nabeshima (2003) then explored how some schools with many buraku children manage to produce high-achieving students, in reference to the anglophone literature on effective schools. Regardless of geographical location, studies reveal that buraku children appreciate their teachers' support, who they saw as 'patient protectors' (e.g., Nishida 1992).

I suspect that the apparent absence of overt discrimination from peers and teachers results at least partially from intervention programs that have been instituted in districts with large buraku population since the late 1960s. These interventions have included extra teachers for schools with substantial numbers of buraku children, scholarships for post-compulsory education, financial assistance (for books, school excursion, etc.), and supplementary classes to assist Year 9 students to prepare for entrance examinations to senior high schools (Harada 1999). Another notable intervention has been the initiation of '*dôwa* education' (literally 'egalitarian education') across the curriculum, whereby students learn about the history of buraku people and the unjust nature of discrimination (Hawkins 1983; Shimahara 1984). Schools with a substantial number of buraku children are designated as 'schools to promote

dôwa education' (*dôwa kyôiku suishinkô*) and receive extra funding from their local education boards; they also provide professional development workshops for teachers in other schools. More recent ethnographic studies reveal subtle forms of discrimination still occur in Japanese schools (Bondy 2015; Gordon 2008).

A similar trend is observable in studies of zainichi Koreans. As Japan-born Koreans became less distinguishable from the majority Japanese by acquiring material resources, 'cultural mores', and Japanese language fluency over the decades, teachers, zainichi students and their parents state that overt discrimination is much less observable in classrooms than decades ago (Fukuoka and Kim 1997; Okano 1993). Over 90% of zainichi Korean students adopt Japanese names. The academic achievement of zainichi Korean students is not significantly different from their Japanese peers. Given this, research has turned to how intervention programs affect the school culture in ways that may be uncomfortable to zainichi Korean. These programs include scholarships for zainichi students, after-school ethnic education classes, extracurricular high school clubs for the study of Korean culture (where zainichi students study their language and culture), and human rights education.

After-school ethnic education classes for Koreans (such as those in Osaka government schools) have been the major focus of studies on intervention programs. The effectiveness of these classes is influenced by the institutional status of specialist teachers (Usui 1998) and by the relationship between ethnic class specialist teachers and regular teachers (Kishida 1997). Zainichi students at schools which conduct human rights education across the curriculum tend to have higher levels of self-esteem and a positive outlook for their futures and therefore achieve better academically (Takenouchi 1999). Okano's study (1993, 1997) examined how career teachers directed zainichi Korean students' decision-making about post-school destinations toward 'desirable' positions in the mainstream Japanese employment market, by discouraging them from taking up jobs in Korean business, and by providing preferential treatment in allocating jobs through the school-based job referral system on the grounds that zainichi Koreans face discrimination.

Studies on new migrants reveal more overt processes which marginalize them. This is because these students display features overtly different from the majority Japanese – they do not speak the Japanese language, are unfamiliar with the cultural mores of the school, and maintain distinctive behavioral patterns. Their parents are unable to assist them with their school work. They are initially placed in a special 'international class' (*kokusai gakkyû*) which caters for students who receive JSL (Japanese as a Second Language); as well as being members of mainstream homeroom classes. Unlike oldtimer

minority students, immigrant students do not have the option of concealing their minority identity. Under these conditions, the process of marginalization for new migrants fundamentally differs from that for oldtimer minorities, in that their differences and assimilation are more emphasized (e.g., K. Shimizu 2000; Shimizu and Shimizu 2001; Miura 2015; Sakuma 2015; Castro-Vazquez 2013).

Guidance for 'cultural adaption' and JSL teaching are the two most prominent intervention programs that schools provide for new immigrant children. The main concern of the early research in the 1980s and 1990s on these programs was to 'assist' smooth integration into schooling in the 1980s and 1990s. In later years these programs have attracted critics who questioned the nature of the programs themselves. For example, based on observations, Oota (2000) argues that these programs represent Japanese schools' attempts to preserve long-existing practice for the majority Japanese, by refusing to make changes that are required to accommodate newcomers. Nakajima (2007) and Kojima (2001) question whether 'assistance' for migrant children is indeed helpful for them, noting that some teachers also raise these questions.

Later studies pay attention to a two-way process of 'cultural adaptation' and JSL teaching at school, illuminating the sense of agency that newcomer children display. Kojima's ethnography of primary schools (2006) argues that newcomer children do not simply accept what is given and suffer discrimination but selectively resist what is given and devise strategies to have more control over their lives. Yamanouchi's ethnography (1999) revealed that Brazilian middle school girls were aware of their marginalized positions in mainstream schools, and displayed their resistance by deviating from the mainstream Japanese norms (e.g. overt display of sexuality), and in so doing develop their own identity.

One of the major alienating factors for immigrant children is the uncertainty of their schooling in the future. Immigrant children's academic performance relative to the majority Japanese remains poor. Teachers initially attributed this to their lack of Japanese language skills and less than satisfactory progress in language development in the ensuing years. Studies suggest that immigrant children's language development is hindered by inadequate instruction on the part of schools, and by inadequate support at home (Miyajima and Oota 2005; Sakuma 2006; Kojima 2006). Immigrant children normally acquire the fluency required for daily communication, almost indistinguishable to an untrained ear, in a few years of residence in Japan. At that point they cease to receive special JSL instruction; and the children's desire to conform to the majority accelerates this process. However linguistic studies reveal that they do not have sufficient academic language competence to

achieve academically. Given the entry to post-compulsory senior high schools require competitive examinations, limited academic language competence restricts immigrant students' chances considerably.

In an effort to provide a pathway for such students some local education boards have instituted special entry examination schemes for immigrant children in respect of designated high schools (Shimizu 2008; Okano 2012). However, such institutional provisions alone are insufficient without immigrant-specific assistance and guidance provided by local middle schools and communities (Shimizu 2008). Hirosaki's ethnography (2007) reveals how such assistance has influenced migrant children's decisions for post-school destinations and promoted immigrants' entry to senior high schools. An Osaka community provided a vertical network of teachers in local primary schools, middle schools, and senior high schools in order to facilitate immigrants' progression through schooling (Enoi 2007).

The ultimate form of marginalization and exclusion of ethnic minority students is their withdrawal from school. This occurred to oldtimer minorities 50 years ago when they suffered from poverty and intolerable discrimination (resulting in now elderly oldtimers with limited literacy); but this rarely happens nowadays. Rather, we now see newcomers' school non-attendance (*futôkô*, in the Ministry of Education's terminology), resulting from difficulty in keeping up with school work and feelings of isolation, in particular when study requires a more advanced level of academic language in middle school and beyond. Withdrawal can also be due to practical conditions of their parents' employment, which frequently requires moving on in search of employment, denying the family opportunities to form long-term relationships with community members. The process leading to these children's non-attendance and its consequences have been addressed in ethnographic studies by Miyajima and Oota (2005), Sakuma (2006) and Sanai (2003).

In view of this, Latin American communities established fulltime ethnic schools to provide education in their language for those who have opted out of mainstream Japanese schools. Ethnographic studies of these schools reveal that they offer a place of belonging for these young people (Sekiguchi 2001; Haino 2010), and that attendance in Brazilian ethnic schools is a deliberate transnational strategy which would enable the students to continue their education once returning to Brazil. But it is also true that Latin Americans without Japanese schooling (and what it entails) will find it difficult to secure permanent employment if they decide to remain in Japan in the long term.

Regional variations in the nature and extent of discrimination against ethnic minority groups are significant, depending on local demography and local government involvement in human rights/multiculturalism issues. In the case

of new immigrants, in areas with high percentages of foreign nationals the Japanese residents tend to hold more negative feelings toward immigrants than other Japanese (Nakazawa 2007). In the case of oldtimer buraku and ethnic Koreans, the opposite is true, at least partly because Japanese residents have long interacted with these communities and also because these minority localities have long been involved in human rights education.

Only a limited number of the existing studies of ethnic identity discuss educational inequality. This is at least partially because improvement of material conditions was seen as a more effective means to advance educational achievement. The studies on identity have undergone changes, as their material circumstances have significantly improved. Earlier studies emphasized that buraku children formed a negative group identity through the experience of poor material conditions and social conditions (e.g., poverty, low status, low payment occupations, poor levels of parental education and overt discrimination from the wider community), as will be seen in discussion on 'home culture'. They also internalized the majority Japanese negative perception of buraku and developed an inferior view of themselves, hiding their buraku background by 'passing' as Japanese (Wagatsuma 1964; Hirasawa 1983). Activists tried to develop positive buraku identity, by challenging such negative perceptions as unjust (Noguchi 1987), or questioning the structural reasons for discrimination (a pre-modern class system) (Mori 1990). This is precisely what *dôwa* education has pursued with some positive consequences (Shimahara 1991). As material circumstances have improved and tangible differences became increasingly invisible by the 1990s, the group identity weakened (Harada 1999; Nishida 1992). This was in part due to the increasing awareness of human rights issues, which made overt discrimination in daily interactions less frequent. Nishida (1992) and Harada (1999) explored how buraku high school students form their identities under such circumstances and how developing a positive identity affected their academic performance and planning for their futures.

Indigenous Ainu and zainichi Koreans share a similar trajectory in shifting to a more positive identity, resulting from gradual improvement of material circumstances and less frequent discrimination. The 1997 Ainu Culture Promotion Act assisted an Ainu cultural revival to some degree. Zainichi Koreans, on the other hand, started to develop a hybrid 'zainichi Korean' identity, independent of the 'traditional' cultural features of the Korean peninsula (Taiei Kim 1999). Studies on life stories also reveal varying types of zainichi identities amongst young people, and illuminate the plurality of zainichi identities which influence their educational decision making (Fukuoka and Kim 1997; Kuraishi 1996).

Studies on after-school 'Korean ethnic classes' (*minzoku gakkyû*) almost exclusively examine identity issues. These classes, held in government primary and middle schools, were started by concerned parents and teachers in the late 1940s, and later gained financial support from local governments in the Osaka region. For example, 103 Osaka metropolitan primary and middle schools ran ethnic classes in 2006, a quarter of all schools (Kouon Kim 2009). Zainichi Korean students in schools offering ethnic classes tend to have a stronger identity as Koreans (e.g. Taiei Kim 1994). These classes originally focused on essentialist knowledge about Korea's culture and the zainichi history in Japan (emphasizing their unfair treatment), but were not as effective in assisting zainichi students to formulate a positive zainichi identity as was discussing their experiences with, and gaining understanding from their majority peers at school (Takenouchi 1999). In more recent years many of the classes have become spaces for interaction amongst zainichi Koreans, empathetic majority Japanese students, buraku students, and newcomer immigrants (Kouon Kim 2009).

Identities of new immigrants have been formed in ways that differ significantly from the experience of oldtimer ethnic minorities. These differences are overtly visible in terms of physical features, language use, mannerisms, and behavioral patterns. Newcomer minorities are diverse in their ethnic backgrounds, the largest number being ethnic Chinese and Latin Americans. The majority of the latter are of Japanese or mixed decent. Because of these tangible ethnic differences, the majority defines new immigrants in terms of what they see as essentialized and often 'traditional' cultural features (language, samba and other Latin dance styles, music and songs), and relegates these features to the periphery. Immigrant children learn that their 'culture' and language are not valued at school, are unable to perform well academically, and develop 'problematic' behavioral patterns at school (e.g., inability to focus for any length of time, early interest in the opposite sex, late homework completion, etc.) (Sekiguchi 2001; Yamanouchi 1999).

In sum, this tradition of studying the schooling processes has explored three themes: (1) how minority students have experienced discrimination, (2) how schools' intervention programs have impacted the process, and (3) how minority students have formed ethnic identities. These studies have adopted ethnographic methods whereby a selected school is intensively researched and provides vivid descriptions of lived experiences of a single ethnic minority group. They found that the students face less overt discrimination than their parents' generation, due to improved living standards and the impact of school intervention programs.

Home Culture Approach

This tradition examines the lifestyles of ethnic minorities at home and in their communities, in order to explain their students' relatively poor academic performance. Surveys on home lives (*seikatsu jittai chôsa*) have been conducted by local governments and NGOs in order to identify aspects of ethnic minority groups' daily lives so that the findings can assist in formulation of effective social policies. This tradition has declined in recent years.

Several local governments in the Kansai and Kinki regions conducted such surveys in buraku communities and compared the results with those for non-buraku people (Osakafu-kyôiku-iinkai 1991; Minôshi-kyôikuiinkai 1990; Moriguchishi-zainichi-gaikokujin-kyôikukenkyû-kyôgikai 1994; Sen'nan-shi-Kyôikuiinkai 1993). Aspects relating to children's education and child rearing practices include the number of books, individual study desks, attendance of cram schools, parental occupation and education levels, the parents' aspiration for their children's schooling, and whether a child has a personal television and other entertainment devices. These surveys revealed that buraku families provide fewer cultural resources, and more entertainment devices for their children, resulting in shorter time spent on studying at home.

These findings are consistent with qualitative studies, such as one of a rural buraku community by an Osaka University team (Ikeda 1985, 1987; Nishida 1990). The ethnographic study of buraku children in a rural fishing town in the 1980s revealed aspects of the daily routine of buraku children's lives that are not conducive to children's study. For example, many of the parents received welfare payments, were engaged in dangerous or difficult physical work that were vulnerable to external factors such as weather, which resulted in a particular form of sub-culture and language use. These features included a glorification of men characterized by physical labor and strength, manliness, roughness and laughter, distinctive language use, a sense of close-knit community, and a lack of role models of adults who had built careers on the basis of a solid education.

Other studies also identified personal traits of buraku children that hinder their educational achievement, for example, limited capacity to focus over a period of time, to persevere, and be disciplined restricts the children's learning at school (e.g. Ikeda 1987, p. 65). More recent changes in buraku families' child rearing practices and life-styles may have a less negative impact on their children's academic performance (Nishida 2001; Nabeshima 1994). Others argue that buraku children are now well-equipped with academic writing skills and understanding of abstract concepts (Osakafu-kyôiku-iinkai 1986). While attributing buraku children's failure to perform academically to culture

clash between the buraku home culture and the school culture, the Osaka team also identified a limited number of buraku children who succeed against the odds.

More recent case-studies by Harada (2003) and Kamihara (2000), both on buraku communities in urban areas, reveal a somewhat different picture. In light of improved material conditions, they argue that the lack of appropriate cultural capital at home is the most significant contributor to the gap between buraku students and their non-buraku peers, although the daily experiences (*seikatsu jittai*) (as measured by, for example, low income level, instability of employment, poor quality housing), 'student sub-culture' (*seito bunka*), and self-esteem continue to influence. Buraku children are engaged in a 'recreational consumer culture' to a greater extent than non-buraku children, as seen in a greater ownership of personal televisions and computer games.

Surveys on the home lives of zainichi Koreans include questions about their participation in Korean community activities, interaction with Korean relatives and language use rather than poverty (Osaka-jinken-kenkyûkai 1991; Tsujimoto and Kim 1994; Taieo Kim 1994). Studies on new migrants reveal that they tend to share a distinctive home culture. This is a result of parental absence at home (parents typically work long hours in peripheral employment market), parental inability to communicate with teachers (due to language problems), and their future plans for eventual return to their home countries (Sekiguchi 2001; Haino 2010).

An emerging trend in research on new migrants is to discuss their educational experience in the context of child poverty. There has been an increasing amount of research produced on child poverty, since before the establishment of the Act to Address Child Poverty 2013. The heightened level of public interest is demonstrated by a special series on child poverty in one of the major broadsheet papers, Asahi Shimbun.[3] We see an increase in academic papers on the topic in the Japanese research database, Nichigai (e.g., Hasegawa 2015). More than twenty books have been published on the topic, many based on observations of, and interviews with, children in poverty. Many of these observation-based studies include case studies of children with migrant backgrounds (e.g., Abe 2008, 2014). For example, Nomoto (2009) looked at particular cases of children of foreign workers who suffer from family poverty and its consequences. A special issue of *Kaihôkyôiku* (a human right education journal) on minority children included several articles that discuss how new initiatives to counter the negative effects of family poverty can be applied to migrant children (Takada 2015; Takahashi 2015).

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[3] Asahi Shimbun. Forum on child poverty. http://digital.asahi.com/articles/DA3S12826359.html

While the national government policy and its implementation plan do not make specific reference to migrant children in the same way as children with disabilities, those from solo-parent families, those at child protection institutions, local practitioners and teachers are aware that migrant children suffer from poverty, and their discussions and workshops include them. One of the most active professional networks, called the National Network for the Fight against Child Poverty (Nakusô kodomo no hinkon zenkoku nettowâku), regularly publicises workshops and events focusing on migrant children and poverty.[4]

I see major shifts of research traditions in the research developments on migrant children such as this, in that it illuminates the nexus between migrant ethnic diversity and social inequality. This is a new trend since much of the research on new migrant children until then had focused on ethnic identities and cultural differences, rather than poverty. A review article on minorities and education (Shimizu et al. 2014) argues for integration of studies on three groups of minorities (i.e., buraku people, the disabled and foreign residents in Japan). I would suggest that poverty be added to this proposal.

In sum, this tradition has studied the culture of long-existing minority students' homes and communities in order to identify what contributes to the students' limited educational achievement. It adopts both quantitative surveys (e.g. the number of books in the home) and qualitative interviews (e.g. visits to homes). Studies reveal that poverty is a shared feature although substantial diversity exists in the home culture, depending on parental occupations and regions. In recent years there has been a renewed interest in studying poverty and its effect on migrant children's education.

Conclusions

I began this paper by stating that race and ethnicity have not featured significantly in Japanese discussion about social inequality. I have examined how sociologists have studied the relationships between ethnicity/race and educational inequality in Japan during the period 1980 to the present, and identified three research 'traditions'. They are: (1) quantitative description, (2) schooling processes in relation to discrimination, school interventions and identity formation; and (3) home cultures. Quantitative descriptions drew on questionnaire surveys by local governments and university teams. Studies of

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[4] The National Network for the Fight against Child Poverty (Nakusô kodomo no hinkon zenkoku nettowâku). http://end-childpoverty.jp

the schooling process adopt observation and interviews with teachers, and minority students and teachers, often conducted by university-based scholars individually or in a team. Studies of home cultures uses both quantitative and qualitative methods. The most dominant trend is research on schooling processes in relation to discrimination and school interventions.

One of the distinctive characteristics of these studies is 'localization'. No study has examined the relationship as a national phenomenon: and even the repeated social mobility surveys have not included ethnicity/race as a variable. Studies are based on selected localities, often with a focus on a single ethnic group. For example, Hokkaidô prefectural government has conducted surveys on indigenous Ainu (although Ainu also reside outside Hokkaidô, often in metropolitan cities), while the Okinawa prefectural government has focused on Okinawan residents. Local governments and NGOs have conducted surveys on numerous minorities in their own areas, such as Osaka authority's research on zainichi Koreans.

Given this, the dominant research tradition has been to study the schooling processes through a large number of small-scale observational studies. These studies examine three aspects in combination: discrimination, school interventions, and identity formations. Concerns include: how minority students experience discrimination from peers and teachers; how school intervention programs have assisted (or otherwise) minority students in improving academic achievement and affecting important educational decisions; how the home culture(s) of minority students have affected their school performance; and how these students develop ethnic identities in this process.

These studies reveal that in terms of retention to post-compulsory schooling the gap between ethnic minority and non-minority students had been minimized by 1990s. The gap in retention to higher education has also narrowed but still remains. The exception is the gap displayed by the new immigrants and their descendants, who started arriving in 1990s. Studies suggest that intervention programs have been effective to a degree. While minority students tended to form negative images of themselves by internalizing the majority perception of the minority groups in the schooling process, this has changed considerably due to both changing society perceptions of minorities and the success of school intervention programs on human rights.

All of these studies were intended to affect social policies regarding minority education in one way or another; but it is quantitative surveys that have provided the most immediate information for guiding social policies from early post-war years. Numerous surveys on buraku children by local governments, and repeated surveys on Ainu by Hokkaidô local governments are examples. These two groups received most attention since they are products of

past institutional policies (i.e., the feudal system and internal colonization), and because they are Japanese citizens. These surveys are used to argue for the continuation of social policies for buraku and Ainu people. Quantitative surveys on zainichi Koreans (i.e., most are non-citizens) were conducted by their own organizations, who then used the results for lobbying governments.

Initiatives of qualitative studies, on the other hand, came from anthropologists and scholars of education, who were interested in the process leading to the relatively low educational achievement of minority groups that the quantitative surveys described. Teachers involved in human rights education and teachers' unions also collaborated with these scholars. This coincided with an emergence of interest in ethnography as a methodology amongst mainstream sociologists in Japan.

The dominant 'localization' trend in the Japanese research on the relationship between ethnicity/race and educational inequality is likely to continue. The potential to study the relationship as a national phenomenon (which covers all minority groups together) would be enhanced by inclusion of ethnicity/race as a variable in the regular Social Stratification and Mobility Surveys. As mentioned earlier, there are already calls for this from some sociologists in Japan. Growing interest in this research direction is also signaled by two recent publications: *Ethnicity and Education* (Shimizu ed. 2008), a collection of previously published Japanese language papers; and *Minorities and Education in Multicultural Japan* (Tsuneyoshi et al. 2011), a collection of newly published English-language papers.

It seems that an opportunity to move beyond the 'localization' research tradition in studying race/ethnicity and social inequality is being provided by the recent national interest in child poverty. We have seen child poverty emerging as a hotly debated topic publicly and in the media, in particular after the institution of the Act to Counter Child Poverty in 2013. In this debate, there has been some acknowledgement that a disproportionate number of newcomer migrant children suffer from family poverty, characterized by parent unstable employment, limited family resources and their negative impact on their educational careers. It is likely that we will see more research examining ethnic minority groups in the context of discussion on child poverty as a nation-wide, rather than a localized, phenomenon. This may in turn change a long existing tendency in sociological research in Japan whereby race and ethnicity have not featured significantly in discussions about social inequality, in contrast to the North American counterpart.

Given the absence of national level policy to address ethnic and cultural diversity in education, further research can explore Japan's normative discourse on the issue, by closely analyzing local government social policy

documents, the Course of Study (the national curriculum guidelines for individual subjects), and school textbooks (produced by commercial publishers and authorized by the Ministry of Education). For example, a 2005 civic studies textbook by Tokyo Shoseki Publishing House[5] more extensively discussed ethnic minorities (e.g. buraku, zainichi-Korean, Ainu, Okinawan, and new migrants) in relation to human rights and cultural diversity, than two decades ago. It will be interesting to examine variations in the description of cultural diversity across civic studies textbooks, and changes within a particular textbook over time.

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[5] This is one of over 20 civic studies textbooks authorized by the Ministry of Education. Gomi, F., Takahashi, S., & Saitô, I. (2006). *Atarashii shakai: kômin*. Tokyo: Tokyo shoseiki.

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19

The Netherlands: From Diversity Celebration to a Colorblind Approach

Peter A. J. Stevens, Maurice Crul, Marieke W. Slootman, Noel Clycq, and Christiane Timmerman

Introduction

This chapter builds on earlier reviews of race/ethnicity research in the Netherlands (Stevens et al. 2011, 2014), by including recent studies that have been published during the years 2010–2017. Whilst the original 1980–2008 review compared the research traditions in the Netherlands with those in England, the updated 2014 review and this current review only focus on the Dutch context.

The chapter is divided into four main parts. First, this chapter describes the main characteristics of the Dutch educational system and immigration

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history and the main developments in terms of social policy between 1980 and 2017. Secondly, the process of conducting this literature review is described, with particular focus on the employed search strategies and related criteria for inclusion. Thirdly, research conducted in the Netherlands on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality is analyzed in terms of the major focus, methods, findings, and debates characteristic of specific research traditions that developed between 1980 and 2017. Finally, the conclusion and discussion section summarizes and critically analyzes the main findings of this study.

Education, Migration and Social Policy Developments in the Netherlands

This section offers a brief overview of the main characteristics of the Dutch educational system, the multicultural nature of the Netherlands, and the key developments in terms of social policy between 1980 and 2017.

Educational System

In the Netherlands full-time education is compulsory from the age of five until the age of 16 (Driessen 2000b; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005; UNESCO 2006). Primary education is the same for all pupils and takes eight years. Dutch children enter secondary education at the age of 12. Depending on the advice[1] of the elementary school and the score of the Cito test,[2] pupils are assigned to either VMBO (pre-vocational or junior general secondary education), HAVO (senior general education) or VWO (pre-university education).

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[1] At the end of primary education in the Netherlands, children are given advice regarding the educational programs or tracks they are allowed to follow in secondary education. This advice is administered by the head teacher of the child's primary school and based on their Cito (*Centraal Instituut voor Toetsontwikkeling*) test scores and an evaluation of their motivation, effort, and capacities by the pupil's teacher. On the basis of their school advice, children are oriented to either vocational or general education tracks leading to higher education within the Dutch school system. Research suggests that very few ethnic minority pupils criticize and successfully challenge their specific school-advice (Veenman 1996a).

[2] Cito is the National Institute for Educational Testing which develops and validates the official exam, known as the Cito test, in the (final) eighth year of primary school. The test uses multiple-choice questions to assess the ability of a child in the areas of language, calculation, mathematics, history, geography, biology, learning skills and world orientation. A certain score on the CITO test at the end of primary education corresponds with a specific advice for the program that the student should follow in secondary education (*schooladvies*). For instance, while a score of 501–520 corresponds with an advice to enroll in the vocational track, a score of 545–550 corresponds with an advice to enroll in a general education (higher status) track in secondary school (UNESCO 2006).
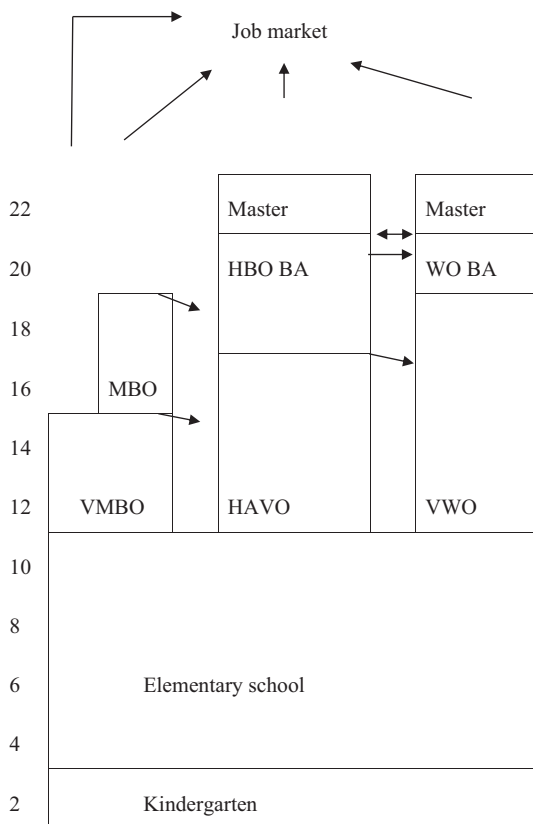
Fig. 19.1 The Dutch educational system

It is possible for pupils who have attained the VMBO diploma to attend two years of HAVO-level education and sit the HAVO exam, and for pupils with a HAVO diploma to attend two years of VWO-level education and then sit the VWO exam (see Fig. 19.1). However, in practice there is a divide between pre-vocational secondary education on the one hand and general secondary education on the other. In each of these tracks students are taught a core curriculum during the first three years, after which they prepare for their exam (which takes one year for VMBO, two years for HAVO and three years for VWO). Stratification occurs not only through enrollment in particular tracks but also through the difficulty level of the curriculum taught (Level 1–4). Each track and level has consequences for admission to vocational and higher education and the Dutch government considers obtaining a VWO, HAVO or MBO (at least Level 2) as the 'minimum level of education required to stand a serious chance of obtaining long-term, schooled employed in the Netherlands'

(UNESCO 2006).[3] Students who do not manage to obtain such a 'start-diploma' (*startkwalificatie*) are officially considered as 'early school leavers' (*vroegtijdige schoolverlaters*) (Driessen 2000b; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005; UNESCO 2006). The most recent and fundamental change in the Dutch educational system concerns the abolishment in 2015 of 'study loans' for students enrolling in HE. Previously, HE students in the Netherlands were given a 'state loan' to help them in financing their participation in HE; a loan which they did not have to pay back if they managed to obtain their HE degree within 10 years. In the current system, students will be required to pay back the entire loan (unless they come from certain low-income categories). Considering the recent nature of this legal change, it is difficult to assess the impact of this law on the development of race/ethnic (and social class) inequalities in education in the Netherlands.

In sum, the school system in the Netherlands is more stratified than for instance in the UK or Sweden and characterized by a more rigid curriculum and early selection system. Furthermore, the transition from primary to secondary education appears to be a defining moment in a young person's educational career. In addition, obtaining a VWO, HAVO or MBO (Level 2 or higher) diploma is considered a key benchmark of success in the Dutch educational system. However, in the light of the recent abolishment of financial support to students participating in HE, the Dutch educational system seems to develop more towards education systems that are more selective and directed by market principles of competition, like the UK and the USA.

Immigration to the Netherlands

Like many Western European countries the Netherlands became increasingly more multicultural after World War II. Particularly during the 1960s and 1970s the Netherlands attracted immigrants, mainly from Mediterranean countries like Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and Morocco, and (former) Dutch colonies, such as Surinam, the East Indies, the Moluccas and the Dutch Antilles. Most of these immigrants shared a lower educational background and immigrated mainly for economic and or (in particular East Indies and Moluccas immigrants) political motivations. Immigrants from the former Dutch colonies were usually more familiar with the Dutch system and language and as a group showed a greater variability in terms of social class. During the last three decades the Netherlands attracted refugees from Eastern

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[3] All quotes from literature sources written in Dutch are translated in English. Readers who want to access the original quotes are encouraged to consult the cited references.

Table 19.1 Composition of population in the Netherlands in 2016 by country of origin

	Number of people (× 1000)	Proportion of the population (%)	Proportion 2nd generation (%)
Turks	397	2.3	52
Moroccans	386	2.3	56
Surinamese	349	2.1	49
Antilleans	151	0.9	45
Other non-Western background	813	4.8	35
Other Western background	1656	9.8	53
Native Dutch	13,227	77.9	n. a.

Source: CBS (2016)

Europe, Africa and the Middle East, in particular refugees from former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Somalia (Driessen 2000b; Guirodon et al. 2004; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005) and more recently (from 2014 onwards), from Syria, Iraq and Eritrea (CBS 2016). With the accession of Eastern European countries to the EU, The Netherlands started receiving immigrants from particularly Poland and Bulgaria from 1996 onwards. Recent statistics show that in 2016 the Netherlands counted over 2 million non-Western immigrants, of which the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean immigrants constitute the largest groups of non-Western immigrants (see: Table 19.1). Most research in the Netherlands focuses on the second and 'in-between' generation. In 2016 the second generation made up almost half of the total population of non-Western immigrants; a group that is relatively young (average age of 18 years old) (CBS 2016).

These migration processes impact on the social composition of schools, and statistics suggest that in 2007 15% of the students in primary and secondary school in the Netherlands are from a non-Western background (Gijsberts and Herweijer 2007). However, due to processes of school choice (which is free in the Netherlands), residential segregation, and 'white flight' (see section "School Choice") ethnic minorities[4] are not distributed equally between Dutch schools but are more likely to enroll in urban schools with a high percentage of ethnic-minority students; data from 2005/2006 show that almost 10% of all primary and secondary schools in the Netherlands are described as

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[4] In the Netherlands 'ethnic minority' is used to refer to immigrant groups for whose presence the government feels a special responsibility (because of the colonial past or because they have been required by the Dutch authorities to work in the Netherlands) and who find themselves in a lower socio-economic position compared to Dutch majority population (Driessen 2000b; Eldering 1989; Gibson 1997; Guirodon et al. 2004). This illustrates the problematic notion of the concept 'ethnic minority' (Sealey and Carter 2001) and how its meaning and usage are locally constructed and reflect differences in national systems and the ideals embedded within them (Gibson 1997).

'black schools', or schools with 70% or more ethnic-minority students. This concentration is much more pronounced in the four largest cities of the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Haag, and Utrecht), in which almost half of the schools can be described as 'black schools' (Gijsberts and Herweijer 2007).

Social Policy Developments

In reviewing how policy on ethnic minorities developed in the Netherlands between 1970 and 2005, Rijkschroeff et al. (2005) identify two key goals: (1) realizing equal positions for ethnic minority and native Dutch students in education, and (2) emphasizing the value of cultural diversity and related collective identities. The authors conclude that over the last 30 years Dutch social policy has always emphasized the importance of educational equality. While socio-cultural goals were initially considered equally important, Dutch social policy reduced the importance of the socio-cultural goals over time and eventually considered such goals as problematic in realizing educational equality.

During the 1970s it was assumed that ethnic minorities (particularly those arriving from Mediterranean countries as 'guest workers') would return to their country of origins and policies focused on maintaining ethnic minorities' group identities (through mother tongue instruction or MTI) and realize a certain level of integration in Dutch society (through Dutch language instruction or DLI) (Driessen 2000b; Eldering 1989; OC&W 1974; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005).

From the 1980s onwards, when it became clear that ethnic minority groups would settle permanently in the Netherlands, social policy focused on reducing socio-economic inequalities. Schools with ethnic minority and working class children were given more resources and given the opportunity to organize DLI, intensify contacts between schools and families and organize MTI and intercultural teaching (IT) (OC&W 1981). Although all initiatives were perceived to have a positive impact on ethnic minorities' socio-economic position, MTI and IT were also organized to help develop a positive (ethnic) identity, reduce racism, and promote multiculturalism (Driessen 2000b; Eldering 1989). The importance attached to fighting ethnic discrimination and promoting multiculturalism is illustrated by the government's Minority Note (*Minderhedennota*) developed in 1983, which considered these two goals as equally important to improving minorities' social and economic situation. These (and future) policy developments in the Netherlands were inspired and often based on recommendations or criticism by sociologists

who were actively involved in drafting and evaluating policy measures related to ethnicity and education (Guirodon et al. 2004). This close relationship between social research and policy is characteristic of the Netherlands and will be further illustrated in reviewing research traditions.

However, while initially educational policies promoted the expression and maintenance of cultural diversity and related group identities as a valuable goal in itself and a means to realize socio-economic equality and social cohesion, from 1985 onwards social policy-makers started to reverse this relationship by arguing that socio-economic integration might help to realize socio-cultural integration and social cohesion (Rijkschroeff et al. 2005). The Educational Priority Policy (EPP) developed in 1985 (OC&W 1985) integrated earlier initiatives directed to working-class or ethnic minorities into a single framework and emphasized the importance of ethnic minority children's lower socio-economic background over their cultural differences in explaining their lower position in education (Driessen 2000b; Eldering 1989; Phalet 1998).

Over the next twenty years, Dutch social policy considered the promotion and celebration of cultural diversity and group identities increasingly more as having a negative impact on socio-economic integration and social cohesion and instead emphasized the importance of socio-cultural integration of ethnic minority groups in Dutch society (OC&W 1997; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005). For instance from the early 1990s onwards, the government considered MTI and IT increasingly more as a tool to facilitate Dutch language learning and learning of other subjects in school rather than a strategy to promote multiculturalism (Driessen 2000b) and ultimately decided to cease funding of MTI related initiatives from 2004 onwards (Bronnenman-Helmers and Turkenburg 2003).[5,6] Similarly, while the EPP in 1985 provided primary schools with additional teachers for each ethnic minority pupil (at a factor 1.9) and native working class pupil (at a factor 1.25), the allocation of additional teachers to

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[5] The increased emphasis in Dutch social policy on the cultural integration of ethnic minorities is also illustrated by the implementation of the Citizenship Law (*Wet Inburgering*) which came into effect in 2006. According to this law, ethnic minorities in the Netherlands who do not have the Dutch nationality are obliged to follow and pass a citizenship course (*inburgeringsexamen*) within five years. Furthermore, ethnic minorities who want to immigrate to the Netherlands have to pass a test measuring their basic knowledge of the Dutch language and society prior to moving to the Netherlands. If successful, these immigrants are required to follow and pass the prescribed citizenship course in the Netherlands (Klaver and Ode 2007).

[6] In contrast to the previous two reviews, the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) now also includes the Dutch journal *Pedagogische Studiën*, which was therefore not systematically reviewed separately. The inclusion of additional Dutch language sources due to snowball sampling and the sampling of key Research Reports written in Dutch, results in an overall sample of literature that contains many Dutch language references. As a result, reviewing this particular sample of studies helps in making this body of research more accessible to a non-Dutch speaking audience.

primary schools based on their number of ethnic minority pupils disappeared in 2004 and from then onwards only depended on the level of parental education (Driessen 2012b).

The shift from multicultural policies to policies that emphasize cultural assimilation as a means to realize socio-economic equality between ethnic groups was motivated by the government through the outcome of evaluation reports, which suggested that policies like ICE MTI and IT were generally ineffective (Driessens 2012b). However, it should be noted that the implementation of these policies was generally left to the school, with little central control in terms of how this should be realized (e.g. by not providing particular curricula goals and targets to be achieved by schools). As a result, there was little consistency in how schools implemented these policies. Schools neglected the implementation of such policies or implemented them only in a basic, more superficial format. This trend towards increasing decentralization of policy implementation characterizes the Dutch educational system and can in part explain the overall ineffectiveness of central government plans to reduce inequalities (Driessen 2012b).

The continued underachievement of ethnic minorities in education, the increasing segregation of ethnic majority and majority groups in society (and in schools) and the polarization of inter-ethnic attitudes, stimulated the Dutch government in 2004 to promote citizenship education and social integration through the policy document 'Education, Integration an Citizenship'. The key goals of this policy document remain vague, but ultimately seem to aim at developing knowledge and skills with young people to help them understand about, learn from and appreciate (cultural, ethnic, religious) diversity in society and accept this as the norm. However, evaluations of the effectiveness if these policies suggest similar outcomes and underlying problems as with previous policies (related to the freedom of schools to implement these as they see fit: Driessen 2012b).

Five main conclusions can be drawn from reviewing how social policy in relationship to ethnic minorities and education developed in the Netherlands. First, there has been a consistent and strong emphasis on realizing socio-economic and particularly educational equality between different ethnic groups over time. Second, a compensatory 'capital' or 'resource' model is employed to explain educational inequalities and policies aim to develop various forms of (social, cultural, financial) capital or resources in those social groups (or schools with such groups) to increase their educational position. Third, while the Netherlands has a strong tradition of anti-discrimination and the promotion of cultural diversity and related group identities, such goals are considered subordinate to the goal of realizing socio-economic equality and

evaluated according to the perceived role they can play in realizing this. Fourth, the decentralization of policy implementation means that schools have considerable freedom to implement policies, which seems to increase the diversity of programs developed by schools and decrease the effectiveness of these programs. Finally, research and social policy on ethnicity and educational inequality are strongly related to each other in the Netherlands, with social policy-makers funding large research projects aimed at evaluating, monitoring and preparing policy initiatives and concerns and researchers in turn focusing on and influencing social policy initiatives and agendas through their research activities.

Methods

A particular protocol with specific selection criteria was used to draw up the sample on which this review is based. First, it was decided to include only literature that focuses on the Netherlands as a research context. Secondly, the literature review is restricted to contributions that employ a sociological approach in researching the relationship between educational inequality and race/ethnicity between 1980 and 2010. Thirdly, this review focuses on both primary and secondary education as considerable research has been carried out in the Netherlands on the transition from primary to secondary schooling. However, as a result studies that investigate other forms of education, such as family, higher, or adult education were not included. Finally, only peer-reviewed journal articles, (edited) books, and official reports were considered for analysis. While these four criteria of inclusion strongly guided the review process, sometimes studies were considered that did not fulfill at least one of these criteria, as they were perceived as good or important examples of a specific research tradition.

In order to update the previous review (for more information on employed methods for these reviews: see Stevens et al. 2011, 2014) with literature published between 2010 and 2017, we first searched for relevant references in the Social Science Citation Index, by using (combinations) of search terms like 'Netherlands', 'education', 'ethnicity', 'ethnic' in the field Descriptor. This resulted in 188 hits, which were further reduced to 66 by refining the search to include only references from the scientific disciplines of 'educational research', 'sociology', 'ethnic studies', 'social psychology' en 'demography'. These 66 references were categorized and analyzed and additional references were added to the sample through snowballing. Finally, key authors within this field were invited to send any relevant contributions they might have on our review topic for the period 2010–2017.

Ethnicity and Educational Inequality in the Netherlands

The following sections describe and critically analyze the different research traditions between 1980 and 2017 that focus on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality in the Netherlands. Six major research traditions are identified: those of (1) political arithmetic, (2) racism and ethnic discrimination, (3) school characteristics, (4) school choice, (5) family background and (6) an institutional approach.

Political Arithmetic Tradition

During the 1960s UK sociologists developed the political arithmetic (PA) tradition which set out from a positivistic epistemology and relies mainly on quantitative research strategies in analyzing the relationship between family background and educational success (Heath 2000; Stevens 2007b).

In the early 1990s, also the Dutch government started funding large-scale cohort studies in the Netherlands (such as the PRIMA, VOCL and COOL studies).[7] These datasets are used to inform and evaluate social policy initiatives by offering descriptive analyses of the 'integration' of ethnic minority citizens. They form important bases for the bi-annual integration-reports that are produced by the Netherlands' Institute for Social Research (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau) and Statistics Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek: Dagevos and Gijsberts 2007; Dagevos et al. 2003; Huijnk et al. 2014; Ooijevaar and Bloemendal 2016; Schnabel et al. 2005; Tesser and Iedema 2001; Tesser et al. 1998, 1999; Van der Vliet et al. 2012, 2014). These reports contain a wealth of statistical analyses, including the achievement and progress of ethnic-minority students in education over time, controlling for relevant background and school characteristics where possible (e.g. Ooijevaar and Bloemendal 2016; Huijnk and Andriessen 2016). The reports primarily focus on (first- and second-generation) citizens of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean

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[7] PRIMA (*Cohortonderzoek Primair Onderwijs*) is a panel study set up since 1994 to biennially evaluate national educational priority policies for pupils from socially disadvantaged and/or ethnic minority families. Each wave involves about 57,000 primary school pupils selected from a sample of 600–650 schools (Gijsberts 2003; Guirodon et al. 2004). The VOCL (*Voortgezet Onderwijs Cohort Leerlingen*) is another panel study, set up in 1989 to follow students' progress through secondary education and involves around 20,000 students in each wave selected from a representative sample of secondary schools in the Netherlands (Guirodon et al. 2004; Herweijer 2003). These studies have been continued since 2007 under the name COOL[5–18] (*Cohort Onderzoek Onderwijs Loopbanen*) for pupils between 5 and 18 years old, which is extended with a cohort study for children aged 2 till 5, Pre-COOL (Roeleveld et al. 2011).

descent, as these are the largest groups with a non-Western background in the Netherlands.

The integration reports chart the achievements and progress of ethnic minority groups from kindergarten, over primary and secondary education to higher education and employment. They offer analyses on related topics in education such as Dutch language use and proficiency amongst ethnic minority families and the occurrence and importance of ethnic segregation in schools. In addition, using a broad range of population survey instruments, these reports explore issues beyond education such as: experiences with discrimination, attitudes of native Dutch citizens towards ethnic minorities, involvement of ethnic minorities in crime, development of social policy, ethnic minorities' housing and settlement patterns, and sociocultural characteristics, including social networks, norms, religiosity and identifications. In line with the PA tradition these reports are 'relatively modest in their theoretical ambition' (Heath 2000, p. 314) and prefer 'description to explanation, and hard evidence to theoretical speculation' (ibid., p. 314).

This section is based on the analyses of the most recent SCP/CBS reports that investigate the achievement and progress of ethnic-minority students in the Dutch educational system (Ooijevaar and Bloemendal 2016; Herweijer et al. 2016). Generally, these reports conclude that ethnic minority pupils of the four ethnic minority groups on average show lower levels of educational outcomes than ethnic Dutch students. They also conclude that the gap is slowly closing. We illustrate this with some examples from primary, secondary and tertiary education.

At the end of primary education, ethnic minority pupils lag behind their native Dutch peers (see also Driessen 2010; Driessen et al. 2012, 2015). These levels are reflected in the Cito test, which is administered at the end of primary schools and can be seen as an indicator of the kind of education students will follow in secondary schools (Table 19.2). The language tests are particularly difficult for pupils of Moroccan descent, and even more so for those of Turkish descent, who relatively often speak Turkish at home. However, as the table shows, the gaps have been closing over the years, and additional analyses show that the current achievement gap can partially be explained by parental education level. Nevertheless, for every parental education level, ethnic Dutch pupils perform better than ethnic minority pupils (Roeleveld et al. 2011). When other family background characteristics and school characteristics are taken into account, the current achievement gap can be completely explained. Besides the education level of the parents, these characteristics include Dutch language skills of the parents, employment of the parents, single/double parenthood, and the ethnic and class composition of the schools.

Table 19.2 Average total scores on the Cito test at the end of primary education according to ethnicity for cohorts 1994/5–2014/15

Cohort	Turkey	Morocco	Suriname	Antillean[a]	Dutch
1994/5	524.0	525.1	527.3		535.4
1996/7	525.3	526.3	528.2		535.1
1998/9	527.0	527.0	529.2	525.8	534.9
2000/1	527.5	527.4	529.9	525.1	535.2
2002/3	527.5	528.4	528.6	526.3	535.6
2004/5	527.0	527.9	528.4	525.8	534.6
2007/8	527.9	529.2	530.0	527.4	534.9
2010/11	529.4	530.3	531.0	529.9	535.9
2013/14	528.3	531.0	531.4	527.7	534.9

Source: ITS/Kohnstamm Instituut/NWO (Prima'94/'95-'04; COOL '07/'08-'13/'14), presented by SCP (Herweijer et al. 2016, p. 42)
[a]No scores for Antillean-Dutch children in 1994/95 and 1996/97, because of small numbers

Apart from household and school characteristics, also immigrant generation influences the primary school achievements. A comparison between generations, in which also a 'third generation' of ethnic minority pupils is included as a separate ethnic minority category, reveals that the existing gap in Cito test score becomes smaller for each subsequent generation (see also Driessen 2010; Driessen and Merry 2011; Kooiman et al. 2012). In general, the second generation has slightly better achievements than the first, and the third generation has the smallest arrear; although this effect differs per ethnic group.

At secondary school, the gap is closing at a much slower pace, particularly for pupils of Moroccan and Turkish descent. In 2015/2016, at the end of the third year in secondary education, almost 50% of the pupils of Dutch descent were enrolled in the higher educational tracks (HAVO/VWO), compared to roughly 30% of the Surinamese Dutch pupils and 25% of the Turkish, Moroccan and Antillean Dutch pupils. Only about 10% of the ethnic Dutch pupils attended the lowest secondary school levels (VMBO basis/praktijk-onderwijs), against around 30% of the pupils of Antillean, Turkish and Moroccan descent. Ethnic minority pupils, in particular those of Turkish descent, also have lower chances of passing their final secondary school exams. Furthermore, pupils of the four ethnic minority groups are more likely than ethnic Dutch pupils to repeat their school year or drop out of education, although this gap is reducing as well. Like in primary education, the achievement gap in secondary education can be explained by the education level of the parents and their parents' Dutch language skills. Among ethnic minority pupils, just like among ethnic Dutch pupils, female pupils perform better than male pupils (see also Fleischmann et al. 2014). Nevertheless, this arrear

in educational achievement is not present among all non-Western ethnic minority groups. Pupils with Iranian and Chinese backgrounds for instance more often attend high education levels than ethnic Dutch pupils.

While these findings suggest that the four largest non-Western ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands experience considerable problems and challenges throughout primary and secondary education, the data show that once ethnic minorities manage to obtain a HAVO or VWO diploma they, particularly Moroccan and Turkish Dutch students, are more likely than students of Dutch descent to continue in higher education (HBO and WO). They are also more likely to 'stack' education levels and achieve educational mobility through alternative educational routes (Hartgers 2012).

The gaps in secondary school result in differences in participation in higher education; although these gaps seem to be decreasing too. In 2015/16, over half of the ethnic Dutch pupils went to higher education (HBO/WO), while the participation of Turkish and Moroccan Dutch in higher education increased from around 30% in 2003/2004 to around 40% in 2015/16 (Table 19.3). They relatively often choose to study Economics and Law, programs that educate for professions with high social and financial status. On average, ethnic-minority students are older when they graduate, partly because of taking less-straight educational trajectories, or 'long routes', and partly because it takes them longer to achieve their diplomas. Ethnic majority students are also less likely to drop out or having to retake academic years. Also here, the most important determinants for educational success seem to be the length of participation in the Dutch educational system (and related to this, whether they are first or second-generation immigrants), the socio-economic status of their parents, and the language spoken at home. In particular the latter characteristic is emphasized in explanations why Moroccan and especially Turkish students are least likely to enroll in higher education or obtain higher education qualifications (Crul and Wolff 2002; Driessen 2010;

Table 19.3 Average percentage of ethnic-minority students that enter higher education, for the cohorts 2003/04–2015/16

Cohorts Ethnic group	2003–2004	2011–2012	2013–2014	2014–2015	2015–2016
Turks	27	44	48	43	39
Moroccans	32	42	40	44	40
Surinamese	47	54	57	54	50
Antilleans	58	55	67	66	58
Other non-Western	51	63	62	57	52
Ethnic Dutch	52	58	63	61	56

Source: CBS Education Statistics (Ooijevaar and Bloemendal 2016, p. 51)

Driessen and Merry 2011; Gijsberts and Herweijer 2007; Hofman and Van Den Berg 2002; Wolff and Crul 2003).

These large-scale, quantitative studies in the Dutch PA tradition are important in that they offer highly accurate pictures of how ethnic minorities achieve and progress through education in the Netherlands over time. They suggest that differences in achievement can for a large part be explained by the ethnic minorities' social background and their (inadequate) knowledge of the Dutch language. However, these studies are limited in explaining the perceived patterns of achievement and progress in education. The extent to which particular processes and characteristics situated at the level of the school, family, peer-group, and neighborhood interact and influence educational experiences and outcomes of ethnic minority groups remains unclear because the basic unit of analysis remains 'the ethnic group'. There has been some reflection on the concepts and categories and labels used (Dagevos and Grundel 2013; De Koning 2012; RMO 2013), which has led the government to abandon the terms 'allochtoon' and 'autochtoon' in reference to ethnic Dutch and (certain) ethnic minority groups, but this did not affect the categories used for the analyses within the Dutch PA tradition.

Racism and Ethnic Discrimination Tradition

In the Netherlands research on 'racism' or 'discrimination' (which is the preferred term in the Netherlands) constitutes an important and well-developed area of research. Researchers working in this area usually make use of large datasets and quantitative analysis techniques to test particular hypotheses regarding the 'meritocratic' nature of schools (Luyten 2004; Luyten and Bosker 2004; Meijnen 2004; Driessen 2012a) and, to a lesser extent, teachers' expectations of different social groups and students' experiences of racism (Jungbluth 1993; Verkuyten et al. 1997; Weiner 2016). The following sections review the main findings and debates within this research tradition.

The Meritocratic Nature of the Dutch Educational System

A key concern in Dutch research on racism and ethnic discrimination is the question whether the educational system selects students on the basis of merit or achieved social statuses (often measured as their performance on standardized tests and/or their measured motivation and interest) or instead on ascribed social statuses such as ethnicity (and social class and gender). To

address this question researchers in the Netherlands focus their attention on key selection moments in young people's educational trajectories (*loopbaan-moment*), such as the school advice given to pupils at the end of primary education, their chance to drop out of secondary education or enrollment in high status tracks (Dekkers and Bosker 2004; Meijnen 2004). The following sections will focus mainly on those studies that focus on pupils' 'school advice' administered at the end of primary education, as this constitutes a crucial point of selection in the educational career of pupils and strongly influences their future educational opportunities and outcomes (Driessen and Bosker 2007; Luyten and Bosker 2004; Mulder et al. 2005; Roeleveld 2005). Furthermore, this is by far the most developed area of research on racism and discrimination in the Netherlands and also illustrates some key findings, characteristics, strengths, and weaknesses of this research tradition.

While research in the Netherlands during the 1970s and 1980s suggested that pupils' school advice at the end of primary education was mainly influenced by their test results, these studies also showed that at least 50% of the variability in school advice could not be accounted for by pupils' test results. This stimulated researchers to investigate whether pupils' gender and their social and ethnic background influences their school advice independent of their test results (Luyten and Bosker 2004). Subsequent research, some of which used data from the first PRIMA datasets, showed that ethnic minority pupils (particularly low-achieving pupils) experienced 'positive discrimination' as they were given a more favorable advice at the end of primary education compared to native Dutch pupils than what could be expected on the basis of their test results (Bosma and Cremers 1996; De Jong 1987; De Jong and Van Batenburg 1984; Driessen 1991; Dronkers et al. 1998; Jungbluth et al. 1990; Kerkhoff 1988; Koeslag and Dronkers 1994; Mulder 1993).

Some authors argued that the higher advice administered to ethnic-minority students can in part explain the lower educational outcomes and higher drop-out rate of these students in secondary education, as they are placed in educational programs or tracks above their measured ability (Tesser and Iedema 2001). However, other authors argue that for some students a higher advice can constitute an additional challenge and incentive to work hard and rise above their expected level of achievement (Hustinx 2002; Koeslag and Dronkers 1994). This illustrates the ambiguity and complexity surrounding the concept of 'discrimination', as a particular phenomenon can be interpreted as discriminating in both a positive and negative sense.

Some researchers argued that the higher school advice given to ethnic-minority students can be explained by teachers' positive discrimination of ethnic-minority students because of their lower socio-economic position

(De Jong 1987; Kerkhoff 1988) or because of teachers' fear of being accused of racism (Jungbluth 1985; Stevens 2008). Other researchers claim that ethnic-minority students are evaluated more favorably because they are often compared to peers in the same class who perform below the average (Brandsma and Doolaard 1999; Driessen 2002; Mulder 1993; Tesser and Mulder 1990) or because they benefit from attending schools in large cities where minority groups can exercise much more influence (De Boer et al. 2006; Dronkers et al. 1998).

However, research on more recent waves of the PRIMA datasets shows no evidence that ethnic-minority students are given a higher advice after controlling for children's test scores, their cognitive ability, and motivation (Driessen 2006; Luyten and Bosker 2004). Furthermore, there seems no evidence to support the view that children's classroom composition and urban context have an effect on their school advice, independent of children's test results (Driessen 2006). Finally, analyses suggest that the relationship between children's test results and their school advice in the Netherlands becomes stronger over time (Claassen and Mulder 2003; Mulder 1993): based on the PRIMA 1988/1999 wave Mulder (1993) finds that 70% of the variability in school advice is explained by children's test scores, which increases to 74% in the 1996/1997 wave (Dronkers et al. 1998) and to 79% in the 2000/2002 wave (Luyten and Bosker 2004).

However, two subsequent studies commissioned by Amsterdam's Department of Development in Society (Dienst Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling) found that certain categories of Turkish and Moroccan pupils were slightly more likely to receive a lower advice compared to their Dutch peers in Amsterdam (Babeliowsky and den Boer 2007; DMOGA 2007). Despite the main conclusion of these reports that there is no evidence for overall differences in school advice between ethnic minority and Dutch pupils and that certain categories of students with Surinamese and Moroccan background appear to receive on average a higher school advice than their Dutch peers with similar scores, the media focused primarily on the reported 'under-advising' of Turkish and Moroccan pupils. Following the media coverage of this report Dutch opposition parties requested the Dutch secretary of education to further investigate these findings and report back to the parliament.

The subsequent report commissioned by the government to study the alleged occurrence of 'under-advising' is based on an analysis of the most recent PRIMA wave (2004–2005) and includes more than 10,000 pupils and 500 primary schools (Driessen and Bosker 2007; Driessen et al. 2008). The results confirm the findings of recent studies: although the main ethnic minority groups receive on average lower levels of school advice than their Dutch

peers, these differences can be explained by the Cito test scores of individual students. The report also shows that while pupils in large cities receive on average lower levels of advice, these differences can in turn be explained by pupils' individual test scores. Summarizing their findings, the authors conclude that 'there is no evidence to support the claim that ethnic-minority students receive systematically and substantially lower advice [than their Dutch peers]' (Driessen and Bosker 2007, p. 11).

However, in a subsequent study, Stroucken et al. (2008) concluded that ethnic minority pupils of non-Western descent received lower school advice based on equal Cito test scores than pupils of Dutch descent. Finally the national inspection for education (2011) concluded that while advice for ethnic minority pupils were not systematically lower, high-performing children of Moroccan and Turkish descent received on average lower levels of advice. Another recent study by Van der Wouden (2011) based on CBS data, shows that when one looks at up-streaming and down-streaming in secondary school in Amsterdam there is much more up- and down-streaming among second-generation Turkish and Moroccan Dutch pupils than there is for pupils of native Dutch students. This again seems to suggest that teachers are less able to determine the capacities of pupils of Moroccan and Turkish descent at the end of primary school compared to pupils of Dutch descent.

An interesting new perspective to the processes of developing 'advice' and more in particular in communicating this advice to (minority) parents, is delivered by the ethnographic work of Elbers and De Haan (2014). They show, based upon the observation during teacher-parent conferences, how both parties discuss the issue of the 'right advice' for their pupils/children. It becomes clear that all involved apply their resources strategically to 'negotiate' the outcome they pursue in the institutional context of the school as a contested site marked by power differences. Native Dutch and higher educated minority parents seem better equipped to compromise on a given advice than lower educated minority parents. However, these differences are less attributed to cultural differences, but rather to the resources parents have at their disposal to communicate their goals and ideas for their children given the specific context of the school and the conferences where certain resources are more important than others. Sometimes differences and similarities between the parties are invoked strategically to strengthen one's position but mostly with the goal to come to an advice that is mutually agreed upon. Therefore, the authors stress that the creation of a relationship of mutual trust is fundamental in these conferences as the both parties more often than not have the same goals but their relationship might be 'tainted' by feelings of distrust or experiences of exclusion and stigmatization (Elbers and De Haan 2014).

Different explanations are formulated to explain why school administrators in the Netherlands seem to base their school advice increasingly more on pupils' test scores and less on ascribed statuses like ethnicity (Dagevos and Gijsberts 2007; Dagevos et al. 2003; Driessen 2006, 2012a; Tesser and Iedema 2001). Perhaps teachers have developed a more accurate view of ethnic minority pupils' skills and capacities over time and/or they consider more the suggested negative effects of 'over-advising'. In addition, as secondary schools are increasingly more evaluated in public they might encourage primary schools to be more selective in terms of allocating advice or streamline processes of selection across schools. Finally, as noted above, Dutch society and social policy has changed considerable over the last few years, particularly regarding the way in which multiculturalism is approached, which might reduce white, Dutch teachers' fear to discriminate ethnic minority pupils.

However, recent studies using the PRIMA/COOL datasets, including analysis of data collected in 2008 (Driessen 2011) and later in 2011 (Driessen 2012a), suggest the importance of social class over ethnicity in bringing about differential outcomes in school advice. More specifically, the analysis shows that pupils from lower SES backgrounds are on average slightly more under-advised while their high SES peers are slightly more over-advised, than what can be expected on their CITO test-scores. A recent study by the Inspectorate of Education that focuses on this relationship over time suggests that these SES differences in school advice increase over time (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2016).

The importance of 'measured ability' as a primary determinant of ethnic minority success in education is also stressed in a recent study conducted by Terwel and colleagues (Terwel et al. 2011). In this longitudinal 'embedded case study', five ethnic-minority students are followed from the ages of 10 to 21 by investigating both their performances on various standardized tests and their educational trajectories as their personal experiences of their educational careers and achievements. However, this study also suggests that students' intrinsic motivation to do well and the social and educational support they obtain from teachers and parents in responding to emerging and often unanticipated challenges and opportunities can compensate for lower scores on standardized tests. The great variability in these experienced opportunities and challenges and their seemingly unique embeddedness in personal biographies (e.g. the sudden availability of a place in a high-status track, illness, etc.) makes the authors conclude that more qualitative research is required to gain more insight in the complex processes underlying educational success.

In sum, the research findings suggest that Dutch schools became more meritocratic over time in that pupils' performances on tests and not their

ethnic background determine their educational trajectories. However, at the same time research suggests that some sub-categories of ethnic minority groups (like high and low-achieving students) experience either more or less favorable selection outcomes. The most recent studies in this field emphasize the importance of SES over ethnicity in influencing school advice: while higher SES groups obtain higher advice than what can be expected on the basis of their test scores, the opposite is true for pupils from lower SES background; a relationship that appears to become stronger over time.

Teacher Expectations

Some researchers in the racism and discrimination tradition focus their attention on teacher-expectancy effects or the 'pygmalion hypothesis' (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968) by investigating the relationship between social class, ethnicity, teacher expectations, and educational outcomes. One study found that part of the relationship between social class and achievement could be explained by differential teacher expectations and aspirations, which were in turn informed by social class and ability (Van der Hoeven-van Doorum et al. 1990). A study conducted several years later from a slightly larger sample of pupils included ethnic background to this model and although it confirmed the findings of the earlier study, ethnicity did not seem to be related to teacher expectations or aspirations (Jungbluth 1993). In a more recent study which relies in part on the PRIMA (2001) database Jungbluth (2003) finds that teachers not only have lower expectations (in terms of perceived cognitive skills) of students from lower socio-economic positions but they also lower their curriculum expectations accordingly, which in turn explains differences in educational achievement, independent of students' social background characteristics, measured ability, and the schools' social composition. While these findings suggest the importance of teachers' expectations of pupils in explaining differences in achievement between pupils of different socio-economic backgrounds 'there is no indication of an ethnic bias in addition to social background' (Jungbluth 2003, p. 129). While these studies are unique within the context of the Netherlands, they have been criticized on methodological grounds and could benefit from studies that use more sophisticated methods to investigate teacher expectancy effects (Terwel 2004).

More recently, researchers in the Netherlands have employed different techniques to investigate the importance of teachers' subtle, more hidden expectations and forms of interactions that discriminate ethnic-minority students in school. A first study measured the explicit (through traditional survey

instruments) and implicit ethnically prejudiced attitudes (through a self-reported Implicit Association Test) of 41 primary school teachers (van den Bergh et al. 2010) to investigate whether these different types of attitudes relate to the achievement scores of their ethnic minority pupils. The findings showed that while teachers' explicit attitudes did not correlate with students' achievement scores, the implicit measure of teacher prejudice explained differing varying ethnic achievement gaps across classrooms. A second study is also unique in the context of the Netherlands in that it uses ethnographic research methods to study the subtle, often unconscious ways through which Dutch primary school teachers disadvantage ethnic minority pupils in the classroom (Weiner 2016). More specifically, it shows how teachers discriminate against ethnic minority pupils by differentiating between ethnic minority and majority pupils in the way the teacher asks particular types of services to pupils, considers pupils' input in the lesson, silences the classroom, calls out and uses physical contact and gives praise and utters blame to pupils. Also, specific, lower expectations and notions of ability were conveyed in a subtle manner to ethnic-minority students:

> Mr Bakker most often directed disparaging comments at Surinamese, South American, and the white Dutch students. For example, when a Surinamese student got a question right, Mr Bakker said, 'very good, easy,' suggesting he should have the question right, that it was a simple question. On another occasion, Mr Bakker asked a Chilean student, who was rarely called on, a question. When the student answered correctly, Mr Bakker expressed surprise and said that it was a difficult question. (Weiner 2016, p. 7)

Such studies are important, as they focus on the taken for granted, and often unconscious ways through which ethnic-minority students are/feel treated differently in the classroom; subtle processes and experiences that are not always detected through standard survey instruments used in large-scale quantitative studies.

Experiences of Racism and Discrimination

Although there is very little research in the Netherlands that aims to chart ethnic minorities' experiences of discrimination in education, a recent, large-scale quantitative study shows that ethnic minority pupils' experiences of discrimination vary somewhat according to the ethnic/racial group to which they belong (Andriessen et al. 2014). For instance, while 1/3 Turkish Dutch pupils experienced discrimination in school at least once over the last

12 months, about 25% of the Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillian and other, non-Western minority pupils sampled report similar experiences. Usually these experiences of discrimination refer to less overt or physical forms of discrimination, such as feeling treated less fairly or in a less friendly way by their teachers, which further highlights the importance of research on more hidden, subtle or indirect forms of discrimination (see above). The same study investigates experiences of discrimination in society more general and shows that experiences of discrimination are common, with over 2/3 of Turkish and Moroccan respondents and 50%, Surinamese, Antillian and other, non-Western minority reporting at least one experience of discrimination over the last 12 months. The higher proportion of experiences of Turkish and Moroccan respondents can be explained by their categorization as Muslim and as belonging to a physically different (darker) group (Andriessen et al. 2014).

Furthermore, the social psychologist Verkuyten and his colleagues have conducted a series of integrated qualitative and quantitative research studies that cover populations between 90 to 800 10–12 year old pupils (Verkuyten and Thijs 2000), to investigate how Dutch native students perceive ethnic-minority students (Verkuyten 2001), how they and ethnic-minority students perceive discrimination (Verkuyten et al. 1997), and how school characteristics influence ethnic minority's experiences with racism (Verkuyten and Thijs 2000, 2002). The data suggest that incidents of bullying and insulting are reduced when teachers challenge such behavior. However, attention given to intercultural education increases the reported incidents of such behavior, which can either be explained by an increased level of awareness or because teachers tend to spend more time on intercultural education when there are higher levels of bullying and insulting.

Another, more recent study from Verkuyten and colleagues shows the presence of an 'integration paradox': higher educated immigrants in the Netherlands perceive more discrimination and less respect for minorities; perceptions which in turn relate to less positive evaluations of the native majority and the host society (de Vroome et al. 2014). These findings suggest that it is important to develop closer relationships and effective anti-discrimination initiatives to ensure cohesive ties between the dominant and majority populations.

In short, research in the Netherlands on racism and discrimination is particularly strong in that it offers a representative picture of how ethnic minorities are selected and evaluated by schools over time throughout primary and secondary education. Furthermore, by assessing the respective influence of 'ascribed' and 'achieved' statuses researchers manage to address key questions regarding the 'meritocratic nature' of the Dutch school system. The literature

discussed above also illustrates the close relationship between research and social policy in the Netherlands; as research findings influence policy debates which can in turn influence further research initiatives. However, while researchers often hypothesize why schools are either more or less meritocratic, educational institutions remain largely 'black boxes' and little is known in the Netherlands about the factors and processes that influence teachers in selecting, evaluating, and teaching students throughout their educational career (for an exception, see: van den Bergh et al. 2010; Weiner 2016), and how the institutional arrangements shape in−/equalities throughout educational trajectories. Furthermore, although recent research helps to develop a more representative picture of ethnic minorities' experiences with racism and discrimination in education and the wider society (Andriessen et al. 2014), little is known about how such experiences impact on their motivations, aspirations, expectations, and educational outcomes.

Ethnic School Composition

A developing body of literature in the Netherlands focuses on the importance of ethnic school composition on ethnic minority and majority pupils' educational and wider outcomes (Driessen 2002, 2007b). Related to this, some studies investigate the consequences of attending Islamic or faith schools for ethnic minority children. While some studies in this research tradition employ ethnographic (Teunissen 1990) or mixed-methods designs (Verkuyten and Thijs 2000), most studies are based on sophisticated statistical analyses of large, representative datasets (Ledoux et al. 2003). The following sections critically review the main findings of Dutch research in this area.

The findings of research in the Netherlands on the effects of ethnic concentration in schools are often conflicting. While research suggests that an increase in the proportion of ethnic minority pupils in schools positively affects pupils' well-being, as measured by their relationships with their social environment, their status in school, their motivation towards learning, and their ethnic identity (Everts 1989; Teunissen 1990; Verkuyten and Thijs 2000), a more recent study concludes that the ethnic composition of the pupil population has no effect on pupils' social-emotional functioning (Ledoux et al. 2003). On the other hand, ethnic minority concentration appears to lower educational outcomes. While some studies conducted in the 1980s concluded that such negative effects only affect ethnic minority pupils and only appear strong in schools with a concentration higher than 50% (Tesser and Mulder 1990), more recent research on larger datasets, employing more

sophisticated analysis techniques finds that all pupils obtain lower educational outcomes in such schools (Tesser and Iedema 2001; Tesser and Mulder 1990; Westerbeek 1999).

However, research also suggests that effects of ethnic minority concentration, even cumulative effects, are relatively small (Driessen 2007b)[8] and decrease when studies focus on younger cohorts and/or schools that have had the time to adapt to such a situation (Tesser and Iedema 2001; Westerbeek 1999). Furthermore, the strong variation in average achievement between schools with a high proportion of ethnic minority pupils suggests that school leadership and management styles can effectively improve educational outcomes in such schools. After conducting ethnographic research in 'white' and 'black' schools, Teunissen (1990) suggests that the following school characteristics are effective in managing 'black schools': powerful school leadership, emphasis on basic skills, evaluation of school progress, teacher expectations, and a peaceful, orderly school climate. Recent research shows that schools with a substantial proportion of disadvantaged pupils are better equipped to deal with the particular challenges imposed by such a context and take account of the diversity of pupils and their specific needs (Ledoux et al. 2003).

However, researchers do not only disagree on whether ethnic school composition has an effect on educational outcomes, they also disagree on the impact of particular characteristics of schools with a high proportion of ethnic minorities on educational outcomes for children attending such schools. For example, Hofman (1994) concludes that particular tools aimed at improving the achievement of minority subgroups seem to generate the highest increase in achievement. In contrast, a study conducted by Weide (1995) suggests that ethnic minorities benefit more from general education rather than from special activities implemented by schools to improve their achievement.

While most researchers seem to agree that the ethnic composition of a school has a relatively small effect on pupils' performances, studies also suggest that such effects may vary according to the kind of educational outcomes assessed. More specifically, the effect of schools' social composition appears higher on mathematics achievement than on achievement in languages (Hofman 1994). Furthermore, the cognitive functioning of pupils in particular seems to be affected negatively by being taught in classes with many disadvantaged, lower-achieving or non-Dutch-speaking pupils (Ledoux et al. 2003). Such effects are often explained by arguing that teachers and pupils in schools with a high proportion of ethnic minority pupils suffer from lower

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[8] Between 5% and 15% of the differences in average mathematics or language scores between schools could be explained by this concentration effect (Tesser and Iedema 2001; Westerbeek 1999).

levels of available, valued educational resources, especially those related to the development of Dutch language skills (Crul 2000; Pels 1991; Verkuyten and Thijs 2000; Westerbeek 1999). A recent study (Karssen et al. 2011) confirms the above results but also included a new element in the discussion by focusing on citizenship attitudes. For this outcome they found positive results for both majority and minority students in mixed schools compared to pupils in more segregated 'white' or 'black' schools.

In sum, there is a developing body of research on the effects of ethnic school composition in the Netherlands. The findings of research in this area show that such effects are small and not conclusive and as a result do not offer support for particular school (de)segregation policies (Driessen 2007b). While qualitative and mixed-methods studies suggest that particular school policies and characteristics can help to improve minority (ethnic) students' educational achievement, and that mixed schools improve minority and majority students' citizenship attitudes, research in this area can further develop by assessing the strength and significance of these particular relationships and further exploring how the ethnic composition and ethnic differentiation of a school impacts on the pedagogy and curriculum, educational outcomes, and social cohesion in schools. The following section critically evaluates research on Islamic (faith) schools in the Netherlands, which is an area of research that is closely related to the study of ethnic school composition effects.

The Influence of School Denomination: Catholic, Protestant, Islamic, Hindu and Other Faith and/or Community-Based Schools

The Dutch constitution and school system allows for the establishment of state-funded Islamic schools, similar to the Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Hindu schools. One can argue that this is in line with the broader aims of formal education systems that are national systems aimed at the socialization and integration of youngsters into (national) citizens, in that sense similar to the civic integration programs for new comers. In general these socialization – and thus identity formation – processes in education systems are expected to be complementary to similar processes in the home environment. Yet, The Netherlands are now more diversified than ever due to continuing migration flows, but since long diversity in school denomination is already a key feature of the Dutch institutional context. This denominational schools were established to 'cater' for the specific needs of the religious and other communities in The Netherland. From that perspective, the more recent emergence of faith and/or community based schools can thus be viewed as a consequence of

minority communities perceiving and/or experiencing Dutch mainstream schools as less equipped or maybe even biased to take up this role of socializing youngsters to become the 'desired citizens' of the future. An important question to bear in mind is thus what the emergence of these schools tells us about mainstream schooling. Nevertheless, the main question that has been posed in recent years is if these 'faith' schools hamper integration and educational success, foster segregation and/or disrupt cohesion in society.

However, before discussing that issue, we first focus on research taking a look at the impact of school denomination in general on educational performance. This study is based upon recent quantitative data from the large-scale COOL5−18 in combination with an additional sample (Driessen et al. 2016). For the analysis a total of 386 primary schools with 27,457 pupils in grades 2, 5 and 8 of 143 Public, 101 Protestant, 125 Catholic and 17 Islamic schools were studied. New data was collected on educational performance on cognitive and non-cognitive measures, enabling the researchers to compare religious and non-religious schools (Driessen et al. 2016). The findings show that there is no clear effect of Protestant and Catholic schools outperforming non-religious schools. However, with respect to Islamic schools the study shows that these schools have the highest added value with respect to academic achievement compared to other schools. Moreover, with respect to non-cognitive outcomes the study also reveals that differences between denominations are not significant. Both findings show that the impact of school denomination is often something that is part of a general imagination, and also of parents' perceptions, however, it also shows that e.g. Islamic schools do not perform worse than other schools although this is often stated in political and public debates (Driessen et al. 2016).

Still, it is not surprise that in 'faith schools', and particularly Islamic schools, have turned into a highly controversial matter (Driessen and Merry 2006; Merry and Driessen 2005). Although it is commonly assumed that this form of 'ethno-religious segregation' has a negative effect on the integration of Islamic communities into mainstream Dutch society and, as a consequence on social cohesion in general (BVD 2002), few studies focus on Islamic schools and their curriculum.

Driessen (1997) and Driessen and Bezemer (1999a, b) used the PRIMA datasets to conduct unique research on the relationship between Islamic and non-Islamic schools and pupils' educational outcomes and behavior characteristics (including measures of pupils' well-being, attitudes towards school work, self-confidence, social behavior, and parental support). The authors compared these pupil outcomes in Islamic schools with pupils in schools with a similar socio-economic population and with those from a nationally

representative reference group of schools (or the 'average' primary school). The findings suggest that behavioral and attitudinal characteristic differences between both pupil populations are very small or non-existent (Driessen 1997; Driessen and Bezemer 1999b). Furthermore, pupils in Islamic schools do not perform worse in language and slightly better in arithmetic and Cito examinations compared to pupils in schools with a similar socio-economic disadvantage. However, at the same time the data show that pupils in Islamic schools obtain far lower test results compared to pupils in the 'average' Dutch primary school. As a result, pupils in Islamic schools do not manage to perform better than pupils in average Dutch schools, even though this is stipulated as one of the advantages of Islamic schools (Driessen 1997; Driessen and Bezemer 1999b). In a more recent study Driessen (2007a) replicates these findings using more recent waves of the PRIMA datasets (2002 and 2004).

The general suspicion in Dutch society that Islamic schools may have a negative influence on the integration of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants stimulated the Dutch government to fund an inspection report on 'Islamic Schools and Social Cohesion' (BVD 2002). The findings of this study are based on analyses of school reports, school plans, and other documents, interviews of school administrators, and observations in Islamic schools. This report concludes that nearly all Islamic schools have an open attitude towards Dutch society and play a positive role in the development of social cohesion (BVD 2002). This report elicited a lot of criticism to a level that the Dutch government ordered a new study on this topic: 'Islamic schools further investigated' (*Islamitische scholen nader onderzocht)* (Dijkstra and Janssens 2003), which also concluded that the educational approach in Islamic schools does not pose a threat for the social cohesion and the basic values of an open and democratic Dutch society.

Recent years have seen an increased pre-occupation in Western societies with the position and role of Islam and related to this the ability of European countries to integrate Muslim minorities. As a result, public debates and social policy in the Netherlands have raised concerns over the role of faith schools and particularly Islamic schools in developing social cohesion. Little research has been conducted in this area and as a result, the few studies that focus on the effects of Islamic schools in the Netherlands are highly innovative and should be a source of inspiration to educational sociologists in other European countries. The findings of Dutch research in this area suggest that such schools do not pose a threat to social cohesion in the Dutch society. However, while pupils enrolled in Islamic schools perform slightly higher on standardized tests than their peers in other, similarly disadvantaged schools,

such schools cannot compensate for the experienced disadvantage as pupils enrolled in Islamic schools perform considerably lower in standardized exams than their peers enrolled in an average Dutch primary school. Yet, as Merry and Driessen (2016) underline in a recent study which confirms most of the older findings: there are reasons to be cautiously optimistic about the performance of most Islamic schools. Two Islamic primary schools are considered to be among the very best in the country and there are some gains in educational performance in most Islamic schools (Merry and Driessen 2016). However, given the important financial support from the government the researchers argue more gains could be expected. Nevertheless, in general these schools perform well, students do not segregate from broader society and adhere to the same civic values as students in non-Islamic schools (Merry and Driessen 2016).

Scholars are now also increasingly focusing on other faith or community schools in order to broaden the insights on their performance, goals and outcomes for youngsters as well as society at large. Quite interesting in this respect are the Hindu faith school that primarily aim to attract Surinamese pupils, although all students are allowed to enroll (Merry and Driessen 2011). What is particularly interesting is that students of Surinamese background are often considered to be quite successful in mainstream schools in The Netherlands so the creation of a 'separate' school system might feel unexpected. As in all schools irrespective of their denomination, parents generally do want their children to perform well and become successful according to the standards of broader (Dutch) society into which their children participate. As Merry and Driessen (2011) argue, questions can arise, especially in Hindu schools, if these schools can achieve this and if the importance of 'faith education' does not take the overhand. Similar to other schools – also Dutch mainstream schools as discussed in the section on racism and discrimination – Hindu (and Islamic) schools need to vigilant against ethnocentrism and the construction of 'one-dimensional' identities, and prepare youngsters to be able to interact, communicate and cooperate with co-citizens in broader society (Merry and Driessen 2012). Therefore, like all schools, they are subject to regular inspections by the Dutch Ministry of Education. However, what these studies make clear is that the study of Hindu schools is still quite new and few data are available. Therefore, both studies mainly focused on administrative data, policy documents of Hindu schools and on a limited amount of in-depth interviews with a few key policy makers in this domain (Merry and Driessen 2011). More data collection and analysis can bring about new insights on these issues and the emergence of such schools as an alternative route for students in The Netherlands.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that various ethnic and/or religious communities in The Netherlands (but similar processes can be observed in Belgium, The UK or Canada) have an urge to establish a 'separate' school system to enable children from their communities to become successful. Not only minorities that are strongly problematized in mainstream society and education (such as Muslim minorities) but also relatively successful 'model minorities' (such as Hindu minorities). This shows that education needs to be studied from a much broader perspective taking into account deep-rooted mechanisms with respect to identity formation and that the notion of success needs to be studied with a much more fine-grained theoretical and methodological framework and cannot only be measured by one's grades.

The 'Civic' Role of the School

While most studies focus on the cognitive outcomes of the educational process, in recent years the attention also shifted towards a focus on the 'civic' outcomes of this process. As discussed in the paragraph on school denominations, and in particular with respect to the case of Islamic schools, there is a general tendency to view these schools as a segregating strategy of a religious community already under societal scrutiny. Even though all studies show that these schools do not undermine societal cohesion, the recent discussions on radicalized youth have triggered new debates on the role of schools therein. Two interesting studies can shed more light on these issues: Ledoux et al. (2011) focus more specifically on the pupil level, while Leeman and Wardekker (2013) broaden the debate and include the teacher as pivotal in these school and class interactions.

Ledoux et al. (2011) have studied the civic competences of youth across The Netherlands taking into account among other variables gender, track, grades and origin. Again, their study is based on the COOL 5–18 survey studying around 16.000 youngsters from around 630 primary as well as secondary schools. Civic competences were studied in four domains: knowledge, skills, attitude and reflection. The data shows that gender in general has a major impact in the sense that girls score better or higher on the civic competences scales, in particular on the scale focusing on conflict management and more 'altruistic' viewpoints (Ledoux et al. 2011). Rather unexpectedly older students did not score significantly higher on the various civic competences scales, a finding the researchers attributed mainly to the turbulent period of adolescence (Ledoux et al. 2011). With respect to ethnic origin, minority students positively outscored majority students on skills, attitude and reflection.

The researchers argue this might be related to their specific situations where they have to be able to manage interacting with a diversity of others. Indeed, in general, ethnic majority students often have much less contact with 'ethnic others' than ethnic minority students. However, Ledoux et al. (2011) also argue this difference might be attributed to the possibility of minority students being less self-critical or more optimistic about themselves which could influence the findings on the specific items.

Complementary to the student-focused study of Ledoux et al. (2011) there are other scholars that aim to embed these issues into a broader framework. Leeman and Wardekker (2013) show that schools and classrooms – as all other sites in society – are contested spaces with varying power relations influencing everyday practices and discourses. Thus, when studying the role of teachers in, e.g. reducing or tackling radicalization among youth, teachers need to question themselves as they often have quite a different socio-economic, ethnic and cultural background than their students (see also Hornstra et al. 2015). Radicalization, polarization and stigmatization cannot be discussed in classroom settings as features possessed by students but rather as processes emerging in interaction with others, involving teachers as part of the 'solution' but of the 'problem' as well (Leeman and Wardekker 2013). This however also implies that civic competences such as studied by Ledoux et al. (2011) need to be investigated at the teacher level too – and by extension school staff (and why not parents, and other key figures as well). One cannot simply assume all teachers are well-equipped and educated to be able to discuss such sensitive issues with their students.

School Choice

Directly related to research on the importance of ethnic school composition and Islamic schools on educational and wider outcomes are studies that focus on the causes of school's ethnic composition. In the Netherlands, free parental school choice and the right to organize education to one's own beliefs and religious convictions are granted in the Dutch Constitution since 1917. In recent decades these rights have been linked to processes of socio-economic and ethnic segregation in the educational system, especially in primary education (Jungbluth 2005a, b; Karsten 1994). Social policy makers consider this as a concern, as ethnic segregation in education is particularly high in the Netherlands. Analysis of the COOL-datasets shows that while the average ethnic minority pupil in Dutch primary school has around 70% peers from ethnic minority groups, the average native Dutch pupil has around 12% peers from ethnic minority groups (Agirdag 2016).

Researchers explain the appearance of ethnic segregation between schools mainly by pointing to free parental school choice and the establishment of faith (Islamic and Hindu) schools, in particular for secondary education (Denessen et al. 2005; Gramberg 1998; Karsten 1994; Karsten et al. 2006; Smit et al. 2005). However, research in the Netherlands also suggests the importance of residential segregation in explaining ethnic segregation, particularly for primary schools (Gramberg 1998).

Karsten et al. (2003) studied the relation between school choice and ethnic segregation using data from 52 primary elementary schools (see also Karsten et al. 2002a, b) and interviews with parents and head teachers. The findings of this study suggest that residential segregation and the location of the school are the most important factors for the explanation of school segregation in primary education. Furthermore, the interviews with the school principals showed the ethnic composition of a school was also influenced by school-specific factors like: (i) the marketing of certain school profiles, (ii) the development and practicing of different kinds of gate-keeping methods, and (iii) the encouragement of school competition with as a possible consequence 'white' and 'non-white' flight (similar results were found in: Karsten 1994). Finally, research suggests that middle class Dutch parents are much more likely to choose schools who apply 'alternative' forms of teaching, such as Montessori, Dalton and Jenaplan schools; schools that often ask a slightly higher financial contribution from parents. These schools are far less popular with ethnic minority groups, who prefer schools that offer a more traditional curriculum and pedagogy. As a result, these schools are often 'white' and middle-class, even if they are located in highly urbanized and culturally diverse neighborhoods (Karsten 2012).

The relationship between school choice and ethnic school composition is reciprocal in that the ethnic composition of the school is not only influenced by school choice processes but can also influence the process of school choice (Denessen et al. 2005). However, Dutch research suggests that the impact of the ethnic composition of the school population on parental school choice processes remains small, is not conclusive and complex, in particular because different social and ethnic groups have different motivations in choosing particular schools (Karsten et al. 2003). Although parents mainly choose a school in the local area (see also Smit et al. 2005), Dutch and higher educated parents are more likely to opt for an alternative school. Furthermore, while Dutch parents prefer a school with a pupil composition that 'matches' their family background, immigrant parents find the degree of differentiation and academic reputation of the school as more important (Karsten et al. 2003). A more recent study (Coenders et al. 2004), which uses data from a random

sample of Dutch adults ($n = 1008$) finds that Dutch parents are more resistant to schools with a higher percentage of immigrant students, in particular when such immigrants are defined as 'non-assimilated'. Furthermore, while Dutch respondents with a lower SES are on average more resistant to ethnic diversity in schools compared to Dutch respondents with a higher SES background, the latter group appeared more resistant to schools with a very high percentage of ethnic minorities. According to the authors these findings indicate that higher SES groups' resistance to multicultural schools is context dependent, and increases when they perceive such multiculturalism as a threat to the educational opportunities of their own children (Coenders et al. 2004).

A subsequent study uses data from second grade (six-year-olds) pupils in 700 primary schools through a written questionnaire for pupils' parents and their school administrators (based on the PRIMA 1988–1999 database) to investigate the importance of group-specific reasons for school choice (Denessen et al. 2005). The analyses reveal that religious groups predominantly choose a school with the same religious affiliation as their family, and ethnic minority groups prefer schools who are considerate of their religious background. In contradiction with the research findings of the studies cited above, this study did not find any differences in school choice between parents from different social classes (Denessen et al. 2005).

A more recent policy study in Amsterdam (Adviesraad Diversiteit en Integratie 2010) illustrates how 'white flight', which is possible because of 'free choice' actually limits the notion of 'free choice' for parents. The study finds that in many neighborhoods in Amsterdam different choices made by majority and minority parents leads to the development of separate 'white' and 'black' schools. When asked, both majority and minority parents preferred mixed schools. However, because of the 'free school choice' these schools were absent in their neighborhood with the result that parents actually had less rather than more choice.

In sum, as schools in the Netherlands become increasingly more segregated, researchers do not only focus on the consequences but also on the causes of ethnic segregation. A developing body of quantitative research in the Netherlands suggests that various factors like parental school choice, residential segregation, socio-economic background, school practices and ethnic composition play a role in explaining ethnic segregation in Dutch schools. However, the general, complex and sometimes contradicting findings that emerge from the sophisticated statistical analyses of large-scale databases suggests the usefulness of further in-depth case-study research in the Netherlands that explores the motivations and underlying structures that underpin the process of school choice.

Family Background Tradition

Research in the Netherlands on family background characteristics and race/ ethnic inequalities in education developed over time: while researchers first investigated the relative importance of social class and ethnicity in explaining educational underachievement, more recent research focuses on particular forms of (cultural and social) capital in explaining differences in achievement between ethnic groups. The following sections further explore this particularly rich body of research.

Social Class or Ethnic Status?

In line with social policy developments in the late 1980s and early 1990s (see section "Education, Migration and Social Policy Developments in the Netherlands") educational researchers in the Netherlands focused on the importance of social class in explaining the relationship between ethnicity and educational inequality. Some researchers held on to an 'immigration perspective', which considers ethnic or national descent as a decisive factor in explaining the educational position of immigrant pupils (Wolbers and Driessen 1996). By moving to another country, immigrants have to bridge essential cultural differences in terms of mores, values, written and unwritten rules, language, and the social structure of society. On the other hand, the 'deprivation perspective' explains the underachievement of immigrant pupils by their social class background, which is supposed to reflect some crucial social, pedagogical, and material conditions, which in turn inform the educational position of the child (Wolbers and Driessen 1996).

In this 'culture versus class debate' (Phalet 1998, p. 101) the majority of studies employ quantitative research designs and tend to emphasize the role of social class over ethnic descent in explaining the underachievement of specific immigrant groups (Cuyvers et al. 1993; Dronkers and Kerkhoff 1990; Kerkhoff 1988; Van't Hof and Dronkers 1993; Van Langen and Jungbluth 1990), especially for second-generation immigrants (Van Ours and Veenman 2001; Veenman 1996b). In a more comprehensive review covering 75 different, usually large-scale, quantitative studies Driessen (1995) finds that 68% put more emphasis on social milieu and only a minority of studies (24%) concludes that ethnic background is more important or that there is no difference between the two variables in explaining underachievement (8%). In a subsequent study, Driessen and Dekkers (1997) analyze the relationship between students' social background characteristics and educational achievement using data from the

VOCL cohorts. The analyses show that test results are largely determined by social class, with gender and ethnic status having a very limited impact. However, a recent large-scale quantitative cohort study (Tolsma et al. 2007a, b) suggests that ethnic minorities are more likely to enroll in lower-status tracks and less likely to enroll in university education compared to native Dutch students, a difference that persists after controlling for parental SES. Hence, the authors conclude that ethnic differences in educational attainment cannot be reduced to ethnic minorities' disadvantaged socio-economic background.

In a more recent study on parents' school involvement Fleischmann and de Haas (2016) try to disentangle several social class and migration related factors contributing to educational inequality between ethnic groups. Using nationally representative survey data from the Netherlands of parents of primary school-aged children of Dutch, Turkish, and Moroccan origin they found, on the basis of descriptive analyses, lower levels of parental involvement across several domains among ethnic minority compared to Dutch majority parents. Moreover, mothers are significantly more involved than fathers. The authors succeeded in explaining substantial portions of the variance in parental involvement and in fully explaining ethnic discrepancies by parents' levels of education and language proficiency. However, the gender gap in parental involvement remains unexplained.

These quantitative studies have been criticized on the basis of the statistical techniques employed in data analysis, the underlying assumptions that guide the process of constructing specific statistical models, and the ambiguous and superficial nature of the proposed causal relationships. First, although most of these quantitative studies employ multiple regression, the usefulness of such a technique can be questioned because of the strong correlation or overlap between social class and ethnicity (Driessen 1995; Latuheru and Hessels 1996; Ledoux 1996). Even after employing a model-comparison procedure, which is robust to the problem of multicollinearity, Latuheru and Hessels (1994) conclude that 'due to the fact that ethnic and social-economic descent are mutually contaminating, it cannot be determined whether pupils' ethnic descent contributes to an explanation of the differences in school records' (Latuheru and Hessels 1994, p. 227). Secondly, the discussion between 'class and ethnicity' creates an artificial distinction between these variables and obscures their strong and complex inter-relations. As a result, ethnic and social class categories are perceived as separate, static, and homogeneous groups, instead of describing them as more heterogeneous, changing and interacting groups (Ledoux 1996; Pels and Veenman 1996; Phalet 1998). For example, in a qualitative study on a pedagogical method for Dutch language

acquisition aimed at migrant mothers without formal education experience, to enhance their social integration, makes it clear that social class and migrant background are difficult to distinguish (Nieuwboer and van't Rood 2016). Finally, the relationship between crude characteristics such as social class or ethnicity and educational outcomes merely begs the question how such relationships can be explained, which requires further investigation focusing on specific processes that link such crude social characteristics to specific forms of educational inequality (Driessen 1995; Ledoux 1996; Pels and Veenman 1996; Teunissen and Matthijssen 1996). While some studies try to explain the effect of ethnicity on educational outcomes by incorporating variables such as 'ethnical configuration of the family', 'time of residence in the Netherlands' and 'language spoken at home' (Kerkhoff 1988; Wolbers and Driessen 1996), such statistical models cannot penetrate the complexity of how ethnic background relates to various forms of educational inequality (Teunissen and Matthijssen 1996).

Cultural and Social Capital

Some researchers conducted small-scale ethnographic or qualitative studies to explore the complex relationship between social class, ethnicity, and educational achievement. Although most of these studies, like their quantitative counterparts, focus their attention mainly on family background characteristics of the child, they tend to criticize the view that the effect of ethnicity can be reduced to social class differences. These studies explore how various forms of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1992 [1979], 1999 [1983]; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) that are valued in or available to specific ethnic communities inform the educational outcomes of ethnic minority pupils.

Pels (1991) conducted ethnographic research on mothers and teachers of Dutch and Moroccan children and concluded that Moroccan families have different 'educational styles' (*opvoedingsstijlen*) than Dutch families and schools. Moroccan families emphasize obedience and discipline and children are not supposed to ask questions or develop own initiative. In contrast, Dutch parents and primary schools stimulate individuality, independence, and children's ability to explore. Similarly, while Moroccan families tend to develop a specific cognitive style in which learning by heart or memorizing is emphasized, Dutch parents and schools seem to develop a cognitive style that emphasizes the importance of critical questioning and understanding. Therefore, it appears that the cultural capital valued by native Dutch families is closer to field-specific expectations of Dutch primary education than the

capital valued in Moroccan families (Pels 1991). Similarly, Kromhout and Vedder (1996) conducted research with African Caribbean children in elementary schools and concluded that certain forms of behavior which are labeled as aggressive by Dutch children are labeled as socially competent by African Caribbean boys in the Netherlands.

Lindo (1995, 1996) conducted qualitative interviews of Iberian (Spanish and Portuguese) and Turkish adolescents and their parents. Although these two groups are similar in terms of their economic motivations for migration, timing of migration and initial job opportunities and experiences of discrimination, Iberian immigrants tend to obtain higher educational qualifications than their Turkish peers. Lindo explains such differences by pointing to the specific structural conditions under which these immigrant groups left their country of origin and related developments of region-specific networks in the country of destination and attitudes towards integration in the host society. Iberian immigration should be perceived as a more individual enterprise, in which expectations about economic returns are confined to a small group of relatives. In contrast, Turkish immigration often involves high economic investment and expectations of the whole household in both the country of origin and country of destination. Because of the stronger social capital between Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands and their extended families in Turkey, the latter exercise more social control and often function as a barrier against cultural integration and structural mobility. This is reinforced by the development of strong region-specific networks in the country of origin through chain migration (Lindo 1995, 1996). A more recent qualitative study explores narratives of Moroccan parents on the educational situation of their children in Belgium or the Netherlands and concludes that minority parents can also develop an oppositional culture in response to perceived injustice in the Netherlands towards ethnic minorities (Hermans 2004). Important in this respect is a new analysis of albeit quite older quantitative data (four national surveys between 1994 and 2001) collected in 340 schools among 11,215 pupils, of which 5792 from Dutch origin, 983 from Caribbean origin, 668 from Turkish origin and 729 from Moroccan origin children (van Tubergen and van Gaans 2016). The findings show that there is no significant difference between ethnic minority and ethnic majority children with respect to the construction of an oppositional identity towards education. However, it is found that in ethnic minority concentrated schools, ethnic minority children tend to skip classes more, although this does not necessarily imply an oppositional identity. Thus, whereas 'ethnicity' does not seem to be a factor, gender, age and track do seem to have some impact. Boys, students in the

higher grades and in the vocational educational tracks can support an opposi-
tional culture more than other students (van Tubergen and van Gaans 2016).

However, while Lindo (1995, 1996) points to specific forms of social capi-
tal that appear to constrain social mobility of Turkish immigrant youth, Crul
(1996, 1999, 2000) identifies various forms of social capital that can foster
social mobility amongst Moroccan and Turkish youth. Crul relied mainly on
interview data from Moroccan and Turkish youth and found that while sup-
port from parents did not appear to have a strong influence on educational
outcomes, support from family members, peers, or teachers seemed to yield
higher outcomes, as the latter are more aware of the specific demands and
nature of the Dutch educational system. While parents can offer support
through guidance and stimulation, family members, peers, and teachers can
often offer additional forms of support such as advice and practical help.
High-achieving pupils also appeared to be raised in a field (either family or
school) where Dutch constituted the dominant language of communication,
which in turn increases access to social and cultural capital considered valu-
able in the field of education (Crul 1996, 1999, 2000), which in turn relates
to the socio-economic position of the parents (Van der Veen 2003). In a more
recent study, Prevoo et al. (2014) on predicting ethnic minority children's
vocabulary in a sample of 111 six-year-old children of first- and second-
generation Turkish immigrant parents in the Netherlands, the authors found
that SES was related to maternal language use and to host language reading
input. But, that reading input mediated the relation between SES and host
language vocabulary and between maternal language use and host language
vocabulary. The authors concluded by pointing out that one should be aware
that children from low-SES families receive less host language reading input.

Similarly, other ethnographic or qualitative studies conducted in the
Netherlands conclude that although Turkish and Moroccan parents find edu-
cation important, such attitudes are often not realized because of their limited
ability to provide support and because of the maintenance of an oppositional
culture that inhibits cultural and structural integration in Dutch society,
which is in turn explained by their lack of knowledge of the Dutch language
and education system (Klatter-Falmer 1996; Ledoux 1996; Veenman 1996a).
At the same time, the availability of specific forms of social capital that offer
access to various forms of support in the process of learning is often men-
tioned by immigrant pupils enrolled in higher education as an important
reason for their success in education (Dagevos and Veenman 1992; Van Veen
2001). In another qualitative study on the social integration of second genera-
tion Turks within the Dutch higher education setting Pásztor (2014) demon-
strated the importance of the role of friends and peers in terms of 'fitting in'

to a higher education setting. She found that social integration is usually achieved through joining existing networks of ethnic minority students, creating new networks, or simply, keeping 'old' high school friends throughout university. However, in some cases students are willing to change their course, institution or type of study in order to improve their experience.

From 1995 onwards, and in line with the approach employed by some qualitative or ethnographic studies, quantitative researchers in the Netherlands started to investigate the relationship between social class and/or ethnic differences in educational achievement and differential access to or activation of various forms of 'social' and 'cultural' capital (De Graaf et al. 2000; Driessen 2000a; Driessen and Smit 2007; Driessen et al. 2005; Kalmijn and Kraaykamp 1996; Kraaykamp 2000; Van Veen et al. 1998). This line of research seems to be inspired by Coleman's legacy on social capital (Coleman 1966, 1987, 1999 [1988]), and an increasing interest in US educational research on Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction and concept of cultural capital (DiMaggio 1979, 1982, Lamont and Lareau 1988; Lareau 1999 [1987]). In addition, some recent studies (Van der Veen and Meijnen 2000; Van der Veen and Meijnen 2001) emphasize the importance of ethnic minority students' orientation to Dutch society (which can be defined as a form of 'identity' capital, see Cote 1996) as a source of educational success.

In general, these studies do not lend strong support for the usefulness of Coleman's or Bourdieu's conceptualization of social or cultural capital. For example, while participation in 'high brow' culture (e.g. museum attendance) does not relate to higher educational outcomes, access to specific forms of cultural capital (such as 'parental reading behavior') that are considered crucial for achievement in a Dutch educational system relate positively with students educational outcomes (De Graaf and De Graaf 2002; De Graaf et al. 2000; Kraaykamp 2000; Van Veen et al. 1998). In a more recent study Driessen and Merry (2011) investigated whether there is a relationship between the degree of integration of the immigrant parents and the generation of their children on the one hand and the level of language and numeracy achievement of the children on the other. Using the 2008 data collection of the Dutch COOL5–18 cohort study from more than 9000 immigrant and 16,000 indigenous children and their parents, they found that as immigrant parents are better integrated and their children are of later generations, the language and numeracy skills of the children improve, though there remain large differences in achievement between different ethnic groups. Furthermore, access to and the impact of various forms of cultural capital seems to vary according to the ethnic background of pupils (Driessen 2000a; Verhoeven 2006). In relationship to social capital, a recent quantitative study (Wissink

et al. 2006) finds that negative relationships between parents and adolescents associate positively with developmental outcomes in all ethnic groups. However, the relationship between parenting behavior and delinquent behavior differs according to ethnicity, as restrictive control related to a higher level of delinquent behavior only for Turkish and Moroccan immigrants.

Research on the importance of family background characteristics is by far the most developed research tradition in the Netherlands that focuses on the relationship between race/ethnic inequalities in education. While initially research focused on the question whether social class or ethnicity is the most important factor in explaining underachievement, more recent qualitative and quantitative studies investigate the importance of particular forms of social and cultural capital in explaining the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality. More recent studies demonstrate that alleged cultural differences could also be framed as consequences of different experiences of the institutional (i.e. the educational) context by parents with and without a migrant background. Elbers and de Haan (2014) found in their study on parent–teacher conferences in Dutch culturally diverse schools that conflicts unveiled differences in educational ideas and in views about the responsibilities of the school and the parents. However, they propose that teacher and parent conflicts cannot be explained solely by referring to pre-given cultural positions and practices, but that the conferences create a specific institutional context in which participants strategically shape their contributions, in some conferences to avoid conflict, in others to emphasize differences.

An Institutional Approach

A relatively new tradition of research in the Netherlands looks at the importance of the institutional structure of the educational system in explaining differences in educational outcomes between different groups (Andersen and Van de Werfhorst 2010; Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Crul and Schneider 2010; Crul et al. 2012; Dronkers et al. 2011; Werfhorst and Mijs 2007, 2010; van de Werfhorst 2015). Aspects of the institutional structure include: the starting age at which children enter the educational system, the tracking age (the age at which pupils choose a specific educational track), the method of selection, the differentiation of the school system, and the permeability of the school system (whether or not it is easy to stream up or down from a vocational to an academic track or the other way round).

Crul (2000) was the first to systematically study, based on SPVA surveys and in-depth interviews, the importance of institutional arrangements in school for children of immigrants in the Netherlands. Since then, a number of studies based on international comparisons have enhanced our knowledge about the institutional characteristics that magnify or level social inequalities, impacting the opportunities of children of immigrants in the Netherlands. An example is the European comparative study 'The Integration of the European Second Generation' (TIES) (Crul et al. 2012), which investigated the school and labor-market careers of second-generation youth in eight European countries.[9] Also other international datasets are used for comparative analyses, such as PISA, TIMSS and PIRLS (see for example Van de Werfhorst and Mijs 2010). The literature of the Netherlands brings to attention several specific characteristics of the Dutch educational arrangement that impact the educational achievements of children of immigrants in crucial ways (Crul 2017).

The first characteristic is the starting age at school. The TIES study shows that, compared to other countries – such as France or Sweden – second-generation youth in the Netherlands enter formal education relatively late, at age four (Crul et al. 2008, 2009). In France, almost all pupils attend preschool before the age of four, which enables the second generation to learn French as a second language in an educational environment from an early age. The acknowledgement of this relatively late starting age and the importance of early education has led to the launch of policies for pre-school arrangements that offer extra educational programs for children from age two of specific target groups, such as children with lower educated parents, with an immigrant background or a non-Dutch mother-tongue (Driessen 2012a; Jepma et al. 2007; Onderwijsraad 2014; Van Tuijl en Siebes 2006; Veen et al. 2000, 2012). The effectiveness is subject of debate, with some arguing that effects are marginal or absent (Bruggers et al. 2014; Driessen 2016; Fukkink et al. 2017) while other studies show effects (Crul et al. 2008; Van Tuijl and Siebes 2006; Leseman and Veen 2016) and some only show effects for lower SES groups (van Druten-Frietman, et al. 2014). Others even show, based upon an experimental research design, that specific instruction on reading can

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[9] The main objective of TIES is to create the first systematic and rigorous European dataset on the economic, social and occupational integration and integration in terms of identity of second-generation immigrants in 15 cities from eight European countries: Paris and Strasburg (France), Berlin and Frankfurt (Germany), Madrid and Barcelona (Spain), Vienna and Linz (Austria), Amsterdam and Rotterdam (the Netherlands), Brussels and Antwerp (Belgium), Zurich and Basel (Switzerland), and Stockholm (Sweden). At the heart of the study is a survey involving more than 10,000 respondents (age 18–35) in the participating countries, focusing on Turkish, Moroccan and Eastern European immigrants; and native citizens as a control group. The findings of this study are only recently being released and discussed (see http://www.tiesproject.eu/).

dramatically improve reading skills of pupils in grade 1 (Houtveen and van de Grift 2012).

Another very important aspect that influences the educational trajectories of ethnic minority children is the tracking age at school. Early tracking enhances the allocation of graduated students in the labor market, but it also increases the inequality of opportunity (Bol and Van de Werfhorst 2013; van de Werfhorst 2015). The selection age in the Netherlands is relatively early, at age 12, which in combination with the late starting age, results in a relatively large group of ethnic-minority students going into the lowest educational tracks in comparison to other countries (Crul et al. 2008, 2009). As many ethnic minority pupils need time to close a language gap, for them this selection comes too early to be sufficiently indicative of their educational capabilities (Crul 2000). Against this background, it is unfortunate that many of the broad 'intermediate classes' (in which educational tracks are kept combined during the first two years in secondary school) are being abandoned (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2016). These intermediary classes have allowed many children with immigrant backgrounds to move into a higher track than the originally advised level (Crul et al. 2012).

The method of selection does not appear to be entirely meritocratic either and seems to work against students with disadvantaged backgrounds. Not only do children from lower SES background appear to receive lower secondary school advice than what should be expected based on their test result scores at the end of primary education (see studies described above), they are also disadvantaged because of the complexity of the Dutch education system (Werfhorst and Mijs 2007). Nowhere in Europe the number of school tracks is as high as in the Netherlands (Crul et al. 2009), which requires a considerable amount of knowledge of the school system. Heus and Dronkers (2010) found that in more differentiated school systems (like the Netherlands) children of immigrants have lower test scores. Yet, Bol et al. show that having central examinations, such as the Dutch Cito-test, weakens the effect of parental socioeconomic status on the educational achievement (2014).

The Dutch school system however offers somewhat of a repair to the early selection. Again taking the European comparative perspective, the Netherlands is the country with the highest level of permeability between school tracks (Crul et al. 2008, 2009). Many second-generation youth profit from this possibility. Because of the high ambitions in the family, they are keen to get into higher education, even if it takes three more years (Crul 2000). However, in recent years, the long route has become under pressure (Herweijer and Turkenburg 2016). 'Stacking' educational levels has become more expensive due to increasing limitations in the student loans (ibid.), which is likely to effect the educational mobility of second-generation youth.

While the researchers in the political arithmetic approach and the family background approach mostly take the school system as a given, in the institutional approach the school system itself is studied as the explanatory factor, rather than the characteristics of pupils and their parents. Or put differently: this approach shows that at different points in the school career, the educational system makes different demands on family or individual resources of students (Crul and Schneider 2010). In primary school, support with Dutch as a second language is important, while in secondary school support with homework and knowledge of the schools system is vital. Further on in the school career, individual ambitions and drive are important when opting for the long route. Dronkers et al. (2011) conclude that that educational systems are not uniformly 'good' or 'bad', but they have different consequences for different groups: while some groups are better off in some systems, other groups are better off in other systems.

Conclusion and Discussion

Educational research on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality in the Netherlands developed into a major area of research from the 1980s onwards. Educational sociologists working in this area are ultimately concerned with explaining differences in educational achievement between racial/ethnic groups. In so doing, researchers focus their attention mainly on the largest, most 'underachieving' racial/ethnic minority groups such as students from Turkish, Moroccan, and Surinamese backgrounds.

The most dominant research tradition in the Netherlands has focused its attention primarily on family background characteristics. However, more recently researchers working in the 'institutional approach' highlight the importance of characteristics of educational systems from a nationally comparative research approach in explaining the educational trajectories of ethnic-minority students in different school and national contexts. While the latter 'blame' teachers, school processes and/or educational policies as the main cause of educational underachievement of racial/ethnic minority pupils, the former merely describe differences in educational outcomes or progress and/or explain such differences primarily by referring to a lack of availability or activation of valuable resources amongst ethnic minority families.

In terms of epistemology, Dutch educational researchers rely more heavily on positivism and prefer large-scale, quantitative research strategies. Three major developments can help to explain these apparent differences. First, it appears that the influence of the new sociology of education, and related influence of social constructivism, phenomenology and micro-sociological

classroom research has been less influential in the Netherlands. Or, as Wesselingh (1996) puts it in evaluating the origins and development of the Dutch sociology of education:

> The strong bond with the educational reform movements of the 1970s also became looser. […]. The research tradition stemming from [Basil Bernstein and Raymond Williams], namely the sociology of the curriculum, and the research within the school classrooms has virtually come to a standstill and thus fostered the disappearance of (micro-)sociology from the area. (Wesselingh 1996, p. 222)

As a result, Dutch sociology of education is characterized by a small group of specialists, whose major strength lies in 'the solid empirical basis and use of advanced research techniques and analysis in their work', but for whom 'theory and reflection are not [their] strongest qualities' (Wesselingh 1996, p. 213).

A second major influence which is particular to the Netherlands concerns the lack of interest by Dutch social policy-makers in the particular needs and interests of racial/ethnic minority groups. In Dutch social policy, the problematic social position of ethnic minority children is often reduced to their lower social class position (Driessen 2000b; Phalet 1998; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005). As a result, Dutch educational research did not receive a strong incentive from social policy-makers to investigate experiences of racism or racial discrimination in schools, and in the absence of a strong, critical research tradition that focuses on micro-educational processes in schools, the 'class versus ethnicity' debate remained firmly lodged into a macro-sociological, family-school perspective.

Also characteristic of research on race/ethnicity and educational inequality in the Netherlands is the close relationship between social policy-makers and the research community, with the latter often actively involved in the process of developing (or advising on) social policy and testing 'success' of policy measures through government-funded research. Furthermore, most research in the Netherlands in this area is based on analyses of large-scale quantitative datasets which are funded (albeit indirectly) by the Dutch government to assist the process of policy development and evaluation. While the close and dependent relationship of Dutch educational researchers with their government does not necessarily undermine 'good research practice', it poses questions about the extent to which such a relationship has influenced the research practice in terms of employed research questions, methods, and findings. From the above, several lessons can be drawn to improve research on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality in the Netherlands.

First, research in the Netherlands on ethnic/racial inequalities in education could develop a deeper understanding of how educational systems influence race/ethnic inequalities by conducting more in-depth case-studies or ethnographic research on the nature of specific school and classroom processes. Such efforts could help to open 'the black box' of the Dutch educational system and develop a more critical approach to specific selection processes adopted in schools, and related to this, the nature of the curriculum taught, interactions between staff and students, and processes of tracking or streaming. The more recently developed 'institutional approach' tradition seems to work towards this and particularly their international comparative approach makes findings in this area of research relevant not just for the Netherlands but for a broad range of educational and national contexts.

Secondly, while some qualitative, ethnographic work has been conducted in the Netherlands on processes and characteristics of (ethnic minority) families and educational outcomes, such research still appears to be underdeveloped and less likely to find its way into academic peer-reviewed journals compared to more positivistic, quantitative studies. Further in-depth, qualitative or ethnographic case-study research in this area can function as a continuous source of inspiration for the methodologically very strong, but theoretically exhausted quantitative family-school tradition in the Netherlands.

Thirdly, research in the Netherlands on (Islamic) and other faith schools is unique and important in a European context which is increasingly more preoccupied with the integration of Muslim minorities in 'Western' societies. The few qualitative and mixed-methods studies carried out by SESI researchers in the Netherlands suggest that future quantitative work in this area can benefit from the rich findings of small-scale qualitative studies in developing a better understanding of the complex processes, opportunities and challenges in schools with different ethnic compositions.

More generally, research on racial/ethnic inequalities in education in the Netherlands can benefit from a stronger integration and mutual recognition of qualitative and quantitative research. Such efforts are likely to be a source of inspiration to both qualitative and quantitative researchers in developing research questions and measurement instruments and help the development of knowledge in this area.

While researchers in the Netherlands focus their attention primarily on 'underachieving' ethnic or racial minority groups, their findings do not allow policy-makers and practitioners straightforward answers as to if and how achievement gaps should or could be narrowed. First, the findings suggest that the variability in achievement and more general notions such as 'inequality' and 'discrimination' can be defined and measured in different

ways, leading to different interpretations of the data and conclusions. Second, research suggests that inequality is a complex and changing phenomenon. As a result research aimed at understanding inequality and policy aimed at reducing inequality is likely to be more successful if it considers the importance of the various embedded context in which inequalities develop, including school, family, peer-group, neighborhood, and regional, national, and international processes and characteristics.

Finally, following Feinstein and colleagues' 'ecological approach' (Feinstein et al. 2004) and McLaughlin and Talbert's 'embedded context approach' (McLaughlin and Talbert 2001) future research on race and ethnic inequalities in education could benefit from considering a broad range of inter-related educational and wider outcomes, related to students' identities and well-being and by exploring how such outcomes interact and develop within the various (family, peer group, educational, economic, national, and international political) contexts in which they are embedded. This approach has its origins in developmental psychology (Bronfenbrenner 1979) and classifies environmental context measures according to the level at which they are situated, including 'proximal' face-to-face interactions (e.g. teacher–student relationships), characteristics of institutions (school and family characteristics), and more distal factors (e.g. neighborhood characteristics, rural versus urban areas, educational policy, (inter-)national political processes). Such research would offer a more comprehensive approach to the study of racial/ethnic inequalities in education and illustrate the usefulness of both quantitative and qualitative research in studying the complex, uneven, and context-dependent nature of integration processes in society.

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20

Norway: Ethnic (In)equality in a Social-Democratic Welfare State

**Liza Reisel, Are Skeie Hermansen,
and Marianne Takvam Kindt**

Introduction

Research on ethnic inequalities in education has a relatively short history in Norway. This largely reflects that there was generally little awareness of ethnic diversity before the start of non-European immigration around 1970, despite the long presence of several smaller ethnic minorities in the Norwegian population, as well as the indigenous Sami (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008). In recent decades, there has been a growing interest in ethnic inequalities in education from both policymakers and academic researchers, reflecting the rapidly increasing population share of immigrants and their Norwegian-born descendants. Yet, there are few comprehensive reviews on the scientific literature from Norway, although some partial reviews exist, primarily in Norwegian (e.g., Hermansen 2016a). The following review surveys the Norwegian

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literature, based on a systematic sampling of the literature spanning more than 30 years of research.

The chapter starts with a description of the Norwegian national context and a discussion of the methods we used for the review. Then, we present and discuss three key research traditions, identified based on our analysis of the relevant literature, in the main body of the chapter. Finally, the chapter concludes with a critical discussion of the relationship between the different research traditions, and our conclusions regarding the state and future of Norwegian research in the field.

National Context

This section presents a brief overview of the Norwegian educational system, the history of immigration to Norway and current state of ethnic diversity, and various institutional features and social policy models that may—directly or indirectly—affect ethnic inequalities in education.

The Norwegian Educational System

Norway is a Nordic social-democratic welfare society—with a total population of almost 5.3 million people in 2017—where most educational and basic social services are publicly funded (Esping-Andersen 1999). Norwegian welfare-state policies are governed by universalistic ideals, where access to education and related social services are, in principle, available to all residents. This includes immigrants, either as naturalized citizens or denizens, and their native-born children. After the Second World War, the educational system in Norway was expanded with the objective of fostering economic growth and equality of educational opportunity (Telhaug et al. 2006).
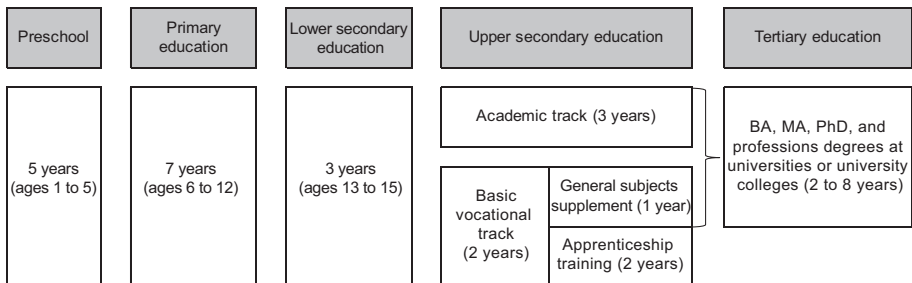
Fig. 20.1 Norwegian educational system

Figure 20.1 provides a schematic presentation of the Norwegian educational system, which distinguishes between preschool (i.e., *barnehage*), compulsory primary and lower-secondary school, and elective upper-secondary and tertiary education. Starting in the late 1970s, early childcare coverage was gradually expanded throughout Norway (Havnes and Mogstad 2011). Today, local municipalities must guarantee access to subsidized and high-quality preschool childcare services to children from age one until school starts at age six. From 2006, the Ministry of Education has had the official responsibility for preschool childcare centres, as they were redefined as educational institutions.

In 1959, a comprehensive school reform was introduced by the Norwegian parliament, which had three broad goals: (1) increase the minimum level of education by extending compulsory education from seven to nine years, (2) ease the transition into tertiary education, and (3) enhance equality of opportunities along both along socio-economic and geographical dimensions (Lie 1973; Lindbekk 2015). In 1997, compulsory education was extended to 10 years of mandatory schooling, and since then pupils have started school at age six, and typically graduate at age 16. The first seven of these years are spent in primary schools, while the last three years are spent in lower-secondary schools. There is no formal tracking by ability during these years and school attendance is as a general rule based on place of residence. Although it is possible to apply to schools outside the student's local catchment area in some municipalities, this is not very common. Many municipalities publish detailed statistics about the schools' performance on national standardized tests, pupil surveys, share of minority students qualifying for additional Norwegian language training, etc. This allows parents to evaluate their local school and, possibly, move to neighbourhoods with seemingly better performing schools. At the same time, in a comparative perspective, lower-secondary schools in Norway are characterized by modest between-school variation in standardized test scores and socioeconomic stratification (OECD 2016).

Upon finishing compulsory education, most students continue into upper-secondary education, which consists of academic and vocational tracks. Academic upper-secondary tracks last for three years, while vocational upper-secondary tracks last for two years upon which students typically either spend two years in apprenticeship training or one year completing general subjects supplements that provides the pupil with basic entrance requirements for continuation into tertiary education (i.e., *generell studiekompetanse*). After an educational reform in 1994 (i.e., *Reform 94*), all pupils gained a legal right to pursue upper-secondary education. The allocation of pupils to different schools is, however, based on their grade point average (i.e., a sum of teacher-assigned grades and grades on centralized exams at the end of lower-

secondary school), their own educational preferences, and, in some areas, place of residence. The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training publishes searchable data on average grade levels, pupil satisfaction surveys and other indicators that may be used as quality indicators of different upper-secondary schools. This information distinguishes between more or less attractive schools based on the composition and achievements of their student bodies. However, availability of relevant study tracks within schools is also an important factor as not all schools offer the same study tracks, and often many of the vocational tracks are available only in selected schools.

After completion of upper secondary education, pupils can enter into various types of tertiary education in universities and university colleges. Most Norwegian universities and university colleges are public and without tuition fees, but there are also a few applied colleges that are privately run. The Norwegian State Educational Loan Fund provides grants and loans to students, to cover living expenses and other direct and indirect costs associated with enrolling in higher education. Grants and loans are awarded independent of parental income levels, effectively reducing the direct influence of parents' financial situation on the decision to enrol. In 2003, a reform (i.e., *Kvalitetsreformen*) implemented the Bologna convention throughout the entire national system of higher education. This introduced a standard three-tier system with three-year Bachelor's degrees, two-year Master's degrees, and three-year doctoral programs leading to a Ph.D. degree. However, there are still some shorter programs as well as one-tier Master's degrees and professional degrees.

Immigration and Ethnic Minorities in Norway

Immigration to Norway from non-European origin countries started relatively late compared to many other Western European countries (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008; Dustmann and Frattini 2013). While Norway experienced net emigration throughout large periods of the twentieth century, this trend was reversed in the late 1960s and the pace of immigration gradually increased. Thus, Norway has rapidly become a multi-ethnic society and the population share of foreign-born individuals residing in Norway today is broadly comparable to countries such as the Netherlands, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom (OECD 2015b).

Immigration to Norway before 1970 primarily consisted of citizens from the Nordic countries and other Western Europeans who came to seek work or immigrated due to family connections. Non-European immigration began

around 1970 and consisted of young, unskilled, male labour migrants from Pakistan, Turkey, and Morocco. In 1975, a moratorium on unskilled labour immigration was introduced. Later adopted as a permanent measure, this moratorium ended unskilled labour immigration from outside Western Europe, but allowed for immigration according to three main principles. First, demand for specific skilled labour. Second, entry of refugees and political asylum seekers granted protection on humanitarian grounds. Third, family-based immigration for kin of immigrants already in Norway (i.e., either through reunification with existing family members or as family formation through entry into marriage with a foreign-born spouse, typically found in the same origin country) (Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008).

In the period after 1975, admission to Norway from outside Western Europe was primarily confined to immigration due to humanitarian principles and family-based immigration (i.e., for the kin of both the original migrant workers and humanitarian immigrants). Starting in the late 1970s, the number of refugees and asylum seekers arriving from countries in recent conflict areas, such as Vietnam, Chile, Sri Lanka, and Iran (1980s), the Balkans (early 1990s) and Iraq and Somalia (late 1990s), grew substantially. While post-1975 labour immigration from developing countries was negligible, the original cohorts of migrant workers also continued to grow in this period due to family-based chain migration for the initial migrants and their offspring. After the European Union (EU) enlargements in 2004 and 2007, Norway has experienced a rapid increase in labour immigration flows from new EU member states in Eastern Europe, in particular Poland and the Baltic countries.[1]

Figure 20.2 shows how the Norwegian immigrant population has increased since 1970. By 2017, immigrants and their Norwegian-born children constituted about 16%—approximately 885,000 persons—of the total Norwegian population. In this population, about 725,000 persons were born abroad and 160,000 persons were born in Norway to immigrant parents (Statistics Norway 2017b). Immigrants from Asia (including Turkey), Africa, and South America made up the majority of this population since about 1990, but today persons arriving from European origin countries are again in the majority as a reflection of the upsurge in immigration from new EU member states in Eastern Europe since the mid-2000s.

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[1] Norway is not a member of the EU, but as part of the European Economic Area (EEA), the country is part of the internal market for the free movement of labor, services, goods, and capital in the EU and EEA region. Thus, all EU citizens are entitled to apply for work in Norway, as in other EU and EEA countries.
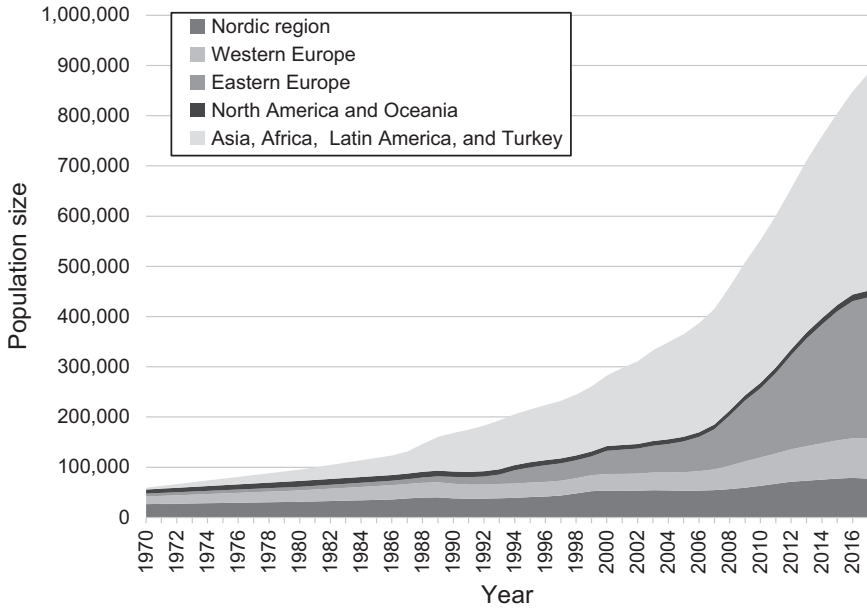
Fig. 20.2 Immigrants and their Norwegian-born children by region of origin, 1970–2017. (Source: Statistics Norway 2017b)

Table 20.1 Norwegian-born persons with two immigrant parents on January 1, 2017, by the 15 largest national-origin groups

| | Total | | Distribution by age group | | | |
| | | | 0–19 years | | 20 years or more | |
	N	Share (%)	N	Share (%)	N	Share (%)
Total	158,764	100.0	125,299	100.0	33,465	100.0
Pakistan	16,727	10.5	8617	6.9	8110	24.2
Somalia	12,767	8.0	11,994	9.6	773	2.3
Poland	11,059	7.0	10,450	8.3	609	1.8
Iraq	9811	6.2	9488	7.6	323	1.0
Vietnam	8908	5.6	5572	4.4	3336	10.0
Turkey	6842	4.3	4418	3.5	2424	7.2
Sri Lanka	6199	3.9	4695	3.7	1504	4.5
Kosovo	5294	3.3	4615	3.7	679	2.0
Lithuania	4853	3.1	4850	3.9	3	0.0
Iran	4195	2.6	3422	2.7	773	2.3
Morocco	4159	2.6	2790	2.2	1369	4.1
Bosnia-Hercegovina	4093	2.6	3391	2.7	702	2.1
India	3911	2.5	2379	1.9	1532	4.6
Eritrea	3661	2.3	3349	2.7	312	0.9
Afghanistan	3574	2.3	3489	2.8	85	0.3
Other origin countries	52,711	33.2	41,780	33.3	10,931	100.0

Source: Population Statistics, Statistics Norway

Table 20.1 shows the national-origin composition of Norwegian-born children of immigrants in 2017. Second-generation immigrants in Norway are still young and almost 80% of this population is less than 20 years of age, and within these birth cohorts, they constitute about one out of ten individuals in the total Norwegian population. The major national-origin groups reflect the immigration inflows after 1970, while their age composition reflects the timing of their arrival. Among second-generation immigrants currently above 20 years, the Norwegian-Pakistani minority is by far the largest and the other large groups—Turkey, Morocco, India, Vietnam, and Chile—reflect the early waves of labour immigration and refugee arrivals. In the birth cohorts currently below 20 years of age, the Pakistani, Somali, Iraqi, Polish, and Vietnamese national-origin groups are the largest ones. So far, Norwegian research is more informative about ethnic inequalities in the educational careers of the children of the early waves of labour immigrants and refugees, who arrived in Norway between 1970 and the mid-1990s.

The Sami and Norwegian National Minorities

Before the onset of large-scale immigration, ethnic diversity in Norway primarily reflected the presence of the Sami indigenous people. Today, Norway also recognizes five national minority groups: Jews, Romani (i.e., *tatere*), Roma (or Gypsies), Norwegian Finns (i.e., *kvener*), and Forest Finns (i.e., *skogfinner*).[2] Because of restrictions on the registration of ethnic minority identity in Norwegian public registries, it is not straightforward to estimate the size of these groups today, although the groups are estimated to be small. Historically, Norwegian authorities have oppressed several of Norway's national minority groups, and for some, schools, in particular, have been associated with exclusion and control. In the first half of the twentieth century, a large number of the Romani were sterilized and children were routinely taken from their parents. During the Second World War, Norwegian Jews were stripped of their belongings and deported to concentration camps by the Norwegian Nazi Government.

Some qualitative research on schooling among the Romani and Roma groups has been conducted (Engen 2010; Moen and Lund 2010; Westrheim and Hagatun 2015). This research indicates that children in these communities

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[2] In 1999, Norway ratified the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM). This recognition entails the right to preservation of language and culture, including some rights that potentially interfere with continuous schooling, such as accommodation for seasonal travelling among some groups.

tend to have high rates of absenteeism and often leave school at the lower secondary level (Engebrigtsen and Lidén 2010; Lund and Moen 2010). In contrast to the national minority groups, some quantitative data is available about the indigenous Sami population. Historically, the Sami population has been exposed to strict assimilationist policies, where schools did not permit the use of their mother tongue, even outside the classroom (Engen 2010). However, a recent state-of-the-art report on discrimination among national minorities, the Sami population, and immigrants in Norway, confirms that very little research has been done on educational disparities among the Sami (Midtbøen and Lidén 2015, p. 37). In the following, we will include research on educational inequalities among the Sami where available.

Integration and Institutional Setting in the Norwegian Welfare State

Ethnic inequalities in education in Norway are interesting from a comparative perspective due to the presence of strong welfare-state institutions (Esping-Andersen 1999). Immigrants and their native-born children are eligible for high-quality basic services, such as full coverage in healthcare services, access to subsidized early childhood education, and other social security benefits important for child well-being, upon arrival. Norway consistently ranks in the very top of the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Index over the past decades (UNDP 2011), has comparatively low economic inequality (OECD 2015a) and low prevalence of child poverty (UNICEF 2016), and, summarized across a large number of domains, it is one of the most 'child-friendly' countries in Europe (Bradshaw and Richardson 2009).

Moreover, the native majority population in Norway exhibits comparatively high rates of intergenerational mobility in education and adult labour-market status compared to many Western societies (Björklund and Jäntti 2009; Breen and Jonsson 2005). In particular, the consequences of early-life economic deprivation for adult attainments and intergenerational mobility are less pronounced in Norway compared to countries with higher levels of economic inequality and lower presence of welfare-state institutions (Bratsberg et al. 2007; Duncan et al. 2011). Moreover, comparative research indicate that comprehensive educational systems like the one in Norway— with limited school tracking and a high level of national standardization in curriculum and school autonomy—are particularly beneficial for students with low socioeconomic origin and immigrant origin (Chmielewski and Reardon 2016; Cobb-Clark et al. 2012; Van de Werfhorst and Mijs 2010;

Van de Werfhorst et al. 2014). By contrast, early and rigidly selective educational systems seem to reinforce ethnic inequalities in academic achievement, track placement, and subsequent educational attainment. Taken together, the institutional features in Norway are likely to reduce ethnic inequalities in the standards of living and opportunities for educational progress between children in native and immigrant families compared to more unequal host societies (Hermansen 2017b).

Nevertheless, adult immigrants arriving from non-European low-income countries, regardless of entry criteria, experienced declining employment rates and increasing dependency on social welfare assistance over the life cycle. Prior research suggests that universal access to social welfare assistance created work disincentives that in part contributed to low life-cycle employment rates among low-skilled immigrants with many dependent family members (Birkelund and Mastekaasa 2009; Bratsberg et al. 2010, 2014). Despite generous welfare provisions, children of non-European immigrants faced markedly higher risks of exposure to childhood poverty compared to children of native Norwegians (Galloway et al. 2015). Moreover, the degree of ethnic residential segregation in Norway is moderate and comparable to levels found in other Western European countries (Musterd 2005; Wessel et al. 2016).

On the whole, recent immigration has introduced a new dimension of ethnic stratification into Norwegian society. Thus, a key question is to what extent these ethnic inequalities are reproduced or mitigated among children of immigrants who have grown up in the Norwegian welfare-state society.

The Development of Norwegian Education Policies

The Norwegian centralized school system has played a key role in the establishment and symbolic unity of the Norwegian nation state (Lidén 2001; Telhaug 1994). Seland (2011) describes three main phases of national school policy development within the timeframe of the review in this chapter. Under the banner of "the common school" (i.e., *fellesskolen*), the first phase, from 1974–1987 was characterized by an increase in diversification and individualization of instruction, within the wider frame of equal opportunity for learning. This included options for opting out of religious (Christian) education, but also adaptive measures for inclusion of disabled students in regular schools. This demanded specialized plans for handling linguistic and cultural diversity, while at the same time ensuring commonality and equality of instruction. The ambition proved to be both costly and difficult to achieve in practice (Høgmo 2005, 1990).

The second phase, starting with the new school curriculum plan of 1987 had explicit strategies for the inclusion of ethnic minority students, through mother tongue instruction aiming at functional bilingualism. The right to mother tongue education was already introduced for Sami students in the spring of 1985 (Seland 2013).

Through the revision of the general part of the school curriculum plan in 1993, the third phase was entered, where this pattern of inclusion through diversity was altered towards more uniform instruction. The concept of the "unitary school" (i.e., *enhetsskolen*) returned after having been absent for several decades. Originally, the unitary school had a central role in Norwegian nation building in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, espousing assimilation and cultural homogeneity (Brossard Børhaug 2008; Engen 2003). Resurfacing in the early 1990s, the unitary school was argued to reduce inequality between students by giving them common references with regard to knowledge, values and culture. Importantly, the image of a national cultural community was strengthened (Telhaug 1994), alongside the strengthening of Christianity in the curriculum through the return of religious education without any opt-out option for non-Christian minorities from 1997 (Seland 2013). Towards the end of the 1990s, the policy documents no longer discuss mother tongue instruction as a value in itself, but rather as a necessary step toward being able to fully participate in Norwegian language instruction.

A recent Government white paper (i.e., *St.meld. 6, 2012–2013*) addressed some of the challenges associated with the inclusion of ethnic minorities in the Norwegian education system, stating that "recognizing multilingualism and cultural diversity means recognizing people's various competencies". As a result, the Ministry of Education initiated a four-year program in 2013 called Competence for Diversity (i.e., *Kompetanse for mangfold*), which aimed at strengthening educational institutions' competencies for dealing with the challenges that minority children, adolescents and adults meet in the education system (Westrheim and Hagatun 2015). The initiative emphasized educating staff, managers, teachers and other actors in the education system about multicultural pedagogy and multilingualism and other forms of diversity pedagogy.

Regardless of policy phase or terminology, the Norwegian school policies have aimed to ensure equality and community across differences (Imsen and Volckmar 2014; Seeberg 2003; Smette 2015). Although challenges associated with creating inclusive and diverse learning environments are not unique to the Norwegian context, the explicit rhetoric of the unitary school seems to have inspired research on how the educational system in Norway deals with diversity.

Methods

We have systematically sampled all relevant peer-reviewed articles, books, edited books, PhD dissertations, and official reports on the subject of ethnic or racial inequalities in the Norwegian educational system from 1980 onwards. In some cases, we also included articles from non-peer reviewed journals if they met high scientific standards and significantly contributed to the understanding of the subject matter. Publications on all levels of education were included, from preschool through tertiary education. We included literature covering research on immigrants and Norwegian-born children of immigrants as well as some research on educational inequalities among the Sami, where available.

Following Stevens ([2007]) and Stevens et al. ([2011]), our sampling procedure consisted in three main stages. First, we used systematic queries to search the international bibliographical databases Web of Science and ProQuest. For the English-language searches, we included literature on Norway, Scandinavia and the Nordic countries, to make sure we would pick up all relevant international publications covering empirical research on the Norwegian case. Second, we used systematic queries to search for Norwegian or Scandinavian language publications in the databases ORIA, NORART, LIBRIS and DANBIB. We used the same search strings, adapted to English or Norwegian, for both systematic queries.[3] Third, we inspected the bibliographies contained in the publications identified in the two abovementioned stages to identify additional publications for review.

This sampling approach resulted in identifying a large body of research, which we have categorized into three broad research traditions: (1) Ethnic inequalities in educational enrolment, achievement, and attainment; (2) Immigrant families and ethnic minority communities as resources for educational careers; and (3) Curriculum, teacher instruction, and student experiences with inclusion and exclusion.

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[3] We employed complex and comprehensive search strings such as: (multicultural* OR Ethnic* OR racial* OR minorit* OR Immigra* OR refuge* or asylum* OR Sami* OR Roma OR Tater OR Romani OR gyps* OR Kven* OR "Forest finn*" OR skogfinn* OR Jew*) AND (Language OR educat* OR kindergarten* OR pre-school* OR school* OR pupil* OR student*) AND (equal* OR inequal* OR discriminat* OR racism OR racist OR exclusion OR exclude OR marginalize*) AND = (norway OR norwegian OR scandinav* OR nordic*). We supplemented these searches with broader searches without the string "(equal* OR inequal* […])", in order to include literature that does not explicitly investigate inequality or discrimination, but still addresses significant differences between minority and majority pupils or other relevant dynamics that have consequences for ethnic inequality in education. These secondary searches resulted in very long literature lists with quite a lot of "noise". They were consulted as supplementary, rather than analysed systematically.

Ethnic Inequality in Education in Norway: Key Research Traditions

We now summarize the main findings of the three key traditions in Norwegian research on ethnic inequalities in education. These traditions are relatively broad, but each represents a collection of studies that address similar types of research questions and use similar types of methods. First, we present the quantitative research tradition that primarily studies patterns of ethnic inequality in educational enrolment, achievement, and attainment. Second, we present the qualitative tradition that studies how immigrant families and ethnic minority communities function as resources shaping ethnic minority students' educational careers. Third, we present the qualitative tradition that study how institutional processes (e.g., curriculum and teacher instruction) shape ethnic minority students' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in schools.

Ethnic Inequalities in Educational Enrolment, Achievement, and Attainment

We refer to the tradition studying quantitative aspects of ethnic inequalities in education in Norway as the ethnic inequalities in educational enrolment, achievement, and attainment tradition. This literature is dominated by sociologists, economists, and other quantitative social scientists using large-scale datasets. The tradition has contributed with both descriptive and explanatory analyses of ethnic inequalities in education. This tradition is part of a larger national and international research tradition that focuses on whether and how educational systems and broader institutional settings shape social inequalities in schooling related to family background (e.g., Breen et al. 2009; Hansen and Mastekaasa 2010; Hernes 1974; Shavit and Blossfeld 1993). More recently, comparative educational research has focused more directly on institutional determinants of ethnic inequalities in education (e.g., Alba et al. 2011; Heath and Brinbaum 2014).

This tradition draws on population-wide data from various administrative registries made available by Statistics Norway, as well as self-reported information on students' educational careers using several large-scale surveys, such as 'Ungdata' and 'Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study in Norway (CILS-NOR)'. In this tradition, immigrant and ethnic minority background is usually measured using information about individuals' country of birth,

parental country of birth, and, among the foreign-born, information on age at immigration. In registry-based studies, ethnicity-related information is based on direct measures of immigrant ancestry from administrative records while similar information is often self-reported in most survey-based studies.[4] Over the historical period we cover, the numerical growth in the population of children and youth with immigrant origin in Norway has enabled quantitative studies to provide increasingly more nuanced descriptions of variation by ethnic minority background over time. Whereas early contributions to this literature often only distinguished between immigrants and non-immigrants or 'Western' and 'non-Western' origin regions, later studies increasingly make more fine-grained distinctions with respect to generational status and various regions of origin, and often also separately by single countries of origin.

Turning to the Sami national minority, there is no data basis for creating individual-based statistics on people of Sami descent or ethnicity according to Statistics Norway (Slaastad 2016). However, two main sources of information about the Sami population have been established over the past 10 years; "Sami Statistics", produced biannually since 2006 by Statistics Norway and "Samiske tall forteller" (i.e., 'What Sami numbers describe'), a report produced yearly since 2008, by a publicly appointed expert group for the analysis of Sami statistics. Statistic information about the Sami student population is approximated in three main ways. One way is to count all students in elementary school who has one of the Sami languages as part of their curriculum. In 2014, less than 0.5% of pupils in Norwegian elementary schools had one of the Sami languages as their languages of instruction, or were registered as studying Sami as their first or second language in school (Slaastad 2016, p. 53). A second way to approximate the population is by identifying those whose permanent residence is in areas eligible for the Sami government's financial support for business development (STN). The third way is even broader, including the Sami settlement areas north of the Saltfjellet mountain range in the Arctic Circle.

Ethnic Inequalities in Education by Family Background, Nationality, Gender, and Trends Over Time

Enrolment in preschool childcare is considered important for children of immigrants, as this lays the foundation for later learning through early acqui-

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[4] In some cases, parental information from administrative registries has been linked to these surveys by means of a generic system of personal identification numbers used throughout public administration in Norway.

sition of Norwegian language and related social competencies. Recently, there has been a steady increase in the preschool childcare enrolment rate among children with immigrant parents in Norway. Among children below five years this figure was at 62% in 2016 compared to about 77% in the population as a whole (Statistics Norway 2017a). A pilot project in Oslo, where access to preschool childcare for children aged 4–5 years were offered without cost in selected city districts, increased the share of immigrant children enrolled in preschool by about 15 percentage points in these areas (Bråten et al. 2014). Importantly, immigrant-origin children in areas where the financial cost of attendance was removed performed better on standardized tests when entering school (Drange and Telle 2015). Thus, increasing preschool enrolment in the Norwegian immigrant population is likely to reduce subsequent ethnic inequalities in the educational system.

In general, children of immigrants born in Norway tend to perform lower on standardized tests, centralized national exams, and teacher-assigned grades both at the end of compulsory lower-secondary education and upper-secondary education (Bakken 2003; Bakken and Elstad 2012; Bratsberg et al. 2012; Hægeland et al. 2004; Krange and Bakken 1998; Lødding 2003b; Opheim and Støren 2001; Raaum and Hamre 1996). However, there is considerable variation between different origin countries (Støren 2006; Sørensen et al. 2016). Moreover, immigrant students seem to improve their academic achievements during the years in lower-secondary education to a higher degree than native students (Wiborg et al. 2011). Further, a robust finding in survey-based studies is that many immigrant-origin students are highly motivated for school, and typically spend more time on homework and report higher ambitions regarding their continuation into higher education relative to comparable native majority peers with similar grade achievement levels or parental education (Bakken 2016; Bakken and Sletten 2000; Friberg 2016; Frøyland and Gjerustad 2012; Hegna 2010; Lauglo 1999, 2000; Pihl 1998).

Turning to completion of upper-secondary education, a long-term trend towards narrower educational gaps between second-generation immigrants and their native-majority peers has recently been documented (Bratsberg et al. 2012). Figure 20.3 shows that about 70% of children in the native-origin majority complete upper-secondary education within five years after enrolling throughout the whole period since the early 1990s. By contrast, for second-generation immigrants this level has increased from about 60% early in the period to reach similar levels as the native majority population at the end of the period. This implies that the overall native-immigrant gap has been entirely closed for the latest graduation cohorts we observe. Bratsberg et al. (2012) also show that this catch-up trend is robust to adjustment for changes
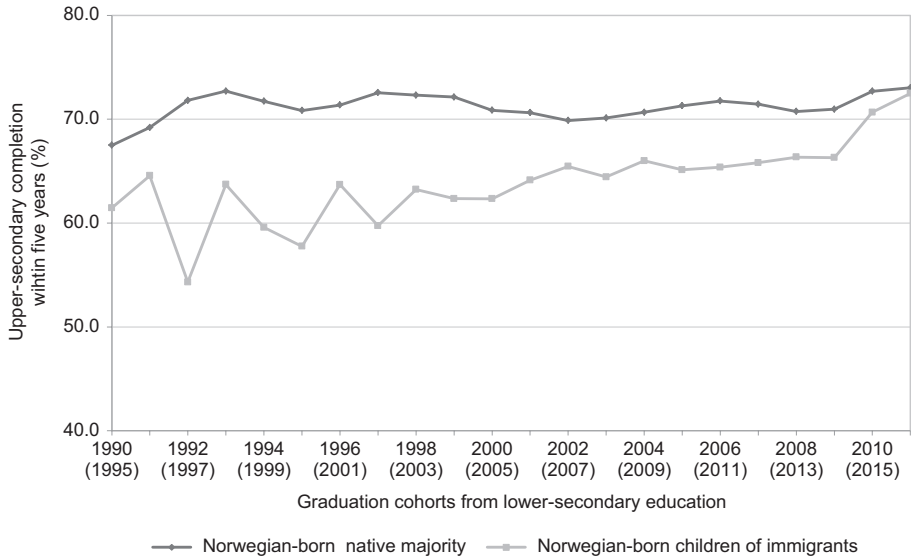
Fig. 20.3 Trends in completion of upper-secondary education by immigrant origin measured five years after completion of lower-secondary education, for lower-secondary graduation cohorts 1990–2011. (Source: Authors' calculations from administrative data made available by Statistics Norway except for the years between 2008 and 2011, which are based on data from Statistics Norway's StatBank. Notes: The sample consists of all pupils who graduated from lower-secondary education at the age of 15–17 years. Completion of upper-secondary education is measured five years after completion of lower-secondary education (i.e., between 1995 and 2016))

in the composition of immigrant students by national origin and parental socioeconomic resources over this period, which may suggest that the Norwegian educational system has successfully improved its efforts to meet the need of these students.[5]

Despite this overall catch-up trend, there is also considerable variation in upper-secondary completion rate across various second-generation ethnic minorities in Norway (Birkelund and Mastekaasa 2009; Bratsberg et al. 2012; Fekjær 2006; Hermansen 2016a, b; Lødding 2003a). Table 20.2 provides an overview of upper-secondary completion rates among second-generation immigrants within the major origin countries. For example, children of immigrants from Vietnam, India, Iran and Sri Lanka complete secondary school in

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[5] For example, a study evaluating an educational reform introduced in the mid-1990s showed that this had a positive impact on the upper-secondary completion rates among second-generation immigrant students (Brinch et al. 2012). There has also been a focus on compensating schools with high shares of students with immigrant background and low-income parents by allocating extra teachers and funding to these schools (Hægeland et al. 2009, 2005).

Table 20.2 Ethnic inequalities in completion of upper-secondary education among Norwegian-born persons with two immigrant parents, by the 15 largest national-origin groups

	Upper-secondary completion by 21 years	
Country of origin	Rate (%)	N
Total	63.3	20,061
Pakistan	59.3	5924
Vietnam	71.8	2360
Turkey	50.1	1674
India	78.5	1165
Morocco	50.6	921
Sri Lanka	78.1	766
Chile	46.0	669
Iran	65.2	483
Denmark	70.5	423
Philippines	70.7	426
Poland	75.3	396
Kosovo	50.6	352
Macedonia	56.2	306
Somalia	56.1	253
China	85.0	240
Other origin countries	66.3	3709

Source: Authors' calculations from administrative data made available by Statistics Norway

Notes: Upper-secondary completion rates refer to cohorts graduating from lower-secondary education between 1990–2009

equal to or slightly greater extent than the general population. Descendants from countries such as Morocco, Turkey, Chile and, to a lesser extent, Pakistan have a low completion rate, where between 50–60% of children complete secondary education. Thus, the Norwegian situation seems comparable to other host societies in Western Europe; where many second-generation immigrants from Turkey, the Middle East and North Africa often lag considerably behind the native majority in education, while those of Southeast-Asian origin often outperform their native peers (Alba and Foner 2015; Heath et al. 2008).

In the Sami population, educational attainment among those residing north of Saltfjellet is similar to the distribution for the country as a whole. Among those residing in STN-areas, educational levels are significantly lower, but have also been steadily rising over the past 15 years (Slaastad 2016, p. 44). Nevertheless, only 56% of students residing in the STN-area and 64% of students residing in non-STN areas north of Saltfjellet had completed their education among students who should have completed upper-secondary education within the statutory five-year period in 2014.

Upon completion of upper-secondary education, second-generation immigrants have higher continuation rates into tertiary education compared to

their native peers. While about 35% of young adults aged 19–34 years in the native-origin majority population are currently registered as students in higher education, this currently applies to about 44% of Norwegian-born children of immigrants (Hermansen 2016a; Statistics Norway 2017a; Østby and Henriksen 2013). Only a few of the major groups (e.g., the Turkish-Norwegian group) have a lower enrolment rate in higher education than the average for native majority peers of similar age. By contrast, second-generation ethnic minorities originating from India, Sri Lanka and Vietnam have over 40% enrolment, and the Norwegian-Pakistani origin group is also enrolled at higher rates than the native-origin population (Østby and Henriksen 2013).

Moreover, there are horizontal ethnic differences in what fields of study are popular among second-generation immigrants, and they are particularly over-represented as students in the medical professions (e.g., medical doctors, dentists, and pharmacists) which are characterized by comparatively high earnings (Bratsberg et al. 2014; Schou 2009; Østby and Henriksen 2013). Moreover, second-generation immigrants do not seem to face a higher risk of not completing their postsecondary degrees when compared to native students (Helgeland 2009; Reisel and Brekke 2010), but they have slightly lower average grade achievements in their graduation diplomas (Kolby and Østhus 2009). Thus, this literature shows that second-generation immigrants in Norway, as a whole, are currently overrepresented in institutions of higher education, especially in prestigious educational tracks, despite their low socioeconomic origins.

Importantly, the role of parental socioeconomic resources—such as education and labour market attachment—has been a key focus of many studies in this literature (Bratsberg et al. 2012; Fekjær 2007; Hermansen 2016b; Støren and Helland 2010). Both with regard to academic achievement, upper-secondary completion, and final educational attainment, a common finding in this literature is that variation in parental socioeconomic resources to a large extent account for educational differences between students in the native majority and different second-generation ethnic minorities (Bratsberg et al. 2012; Hermansen 2016b). In some cases, second-generation minority groups outperform their native-origin peers after adjustment for socioeconomic origins. While second-generation immigrants tend to complete more education than their native peers in the lower part of the parental distribution of education and economic resources while, the opposite is true among children from more advantaged family backgrounds (Bratsberg et al. 2012; Fekjær 2007; Hermansen 2016b).[6] The less steep intergenerational educational gradients

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[6] As noted by Fekjær (2010), children of immigrants tend to have low socioeconomic family background and comparisons with children in comparably marginalized native families should thus be interpreted in light of the socioeconomic childhood origins that children in both groups share.

among second-generation immigrants indicates that observed parental resources are less important among them, or at least that intergenerational transmission processes operate differently in immigrant-origin and native majority families.

There are also interesting gender differences in education within the Norwegian second-generation population. While women complete more education than men in the native-origin population of most contemporary Western countries, there are still fewer educational opportunities for girls in the origin countries of many immigrants to Norway (Buchmann et al. 2008; Grant and Behrman 2010). Thus, educational investments among girls is an important indicator of the durability of traditional gender values across immigrant generations, and new research shows that immigrants' daughters outperform their male counterparts in many Western countries (Fleischmann et al. 2014). This is also the case in Norway, where second-generation women have a higher tendency to complete upper-secondary education and this female advantage is slightly more pronounced than what we see among natives (Hermansen and Birkelund 2015; Støren and Helland 2010).

However, second-generation boys in upper-secondary vocational education tend choose less gender typical than their counterparts with a majority background, partly because they more often choose the supplementary education that qualifies them for admission to higher education (Reisel 2014). This pattern is sustained at entry into higher education, where second-generation men have sharply increased their enrolment rate in recent years. Currently, it is only second-generation men of Norwegian-Turkish origin among the major groups who have a lower enrolment rate than the average level within the native-origin majority (Østby and Henriksen 2013). There is also some polarization in the male second-generation population. This implies that second-generation males are overrepresented among those who drop out of upper-secondary education, but also that this group has higher continuation rates into tertiary education among those who successfully complete, than their counterparts in the native-origin population.

Recent studies document considerable intergenerational progress in education between the parental immigrant generation and their Norwegian-born children (Bratsberg et al. 2012, 2014; Hermansen 2016b). For example, only about one-third of immigrant parents from Turkey had completed upper-secondary education while about 60% of their Norwegian-born children had reached this level (Bratsberg et al. 2012). A similar pattern is found in most major national-origin groups, and is even more pronounced when observing second-generation immigrants as adults (Bratsberg et al. 2014; Hermansen 2016b). Focusing on the adult second-generation immigrant population,

Hermansen (2016b) shows the native-immigrant gaps in completed years of education is reduced by about 75% from the immigrant generation to their children. Moreover, childhood immigrants who arrive in Norway from low-income origin countries after school-starting age, especially during adolescence, experience lower academic achievement and educational attainment (Bratsberg et al. 2012; Hermansen 2017a). Together, the considerable improvement across one generation and the variation by age at arrival suggests that early exposure to Norwegian society enables considerable social mobility among children whose parents arrived from countries with limited educational opportunities.

In sum, this tradition is characterized by the use of large datasets, and quantitative research methods. This allows for generalizable findings, and in recent years, the estimation of group differences by parental country of origin among children of immigrants. To the extent that much of the research in this tradition is based on registry data, one major weakness in this tradition is the lack of information about attitudes, expectations and self-identification. The tradition could therefore benefit from integrating subjective measures on immigrant students' ambitions, attitudes, and acculturation-related indicators from survey data with later follow-ups on outcomes from administrative registries. Findings from this tradition show that children of immigrants seem to do relatively well in the educational system and often perform on par with peers in the native-origin population with similar parental socioeconomic resources. Further, they experience substantial upward educational mobility relative to their immigrant parents. There has been a clear trend towards closing of the overall native-immigrant gap in upper-secondary completion over time, and children of immigrants have higher enrolment rates in higher education compared to young adults in the native majority. Nevertheless, non-completion of upper-secondary education is still a considerable problem in some minority groups, particularly among young men of Turkish and Moroccan ancestry.

Ethnic Segregation, School Resources, and Educational Inequalities

Increasing spatial concentration of immigrants in certain areas over the past few decades has led to increasing concern among policymakers for detrimental consequences, which has been accompanied by the development of a strand within the quantitative research tradition, addressing ethnic segregation in Norwegian schools. In particular, there has been an increase in geo-

graphic residential concentration of the immigrant population in the capital, Oslo (Høydahl 2015). Today, immigrant students comprise the majority of the student body in two out of five schools in Oslo and a few schools have an ethnic minority student share of 90% (Oslo kommune 2014). Below we briefly review the quantitative literature on studies related to ethnic school segregation in Norway.

The share of immigrant-origin students in schools may be systematically related to resource allocation and teacher recruitment. Studies from the early 2000s documented that higher shares of ethnic minority students in schools both reduced recruitment and increased turnover among certified teachers in these schools (Bonesrønning et al. 2005; Strøm 2003). However, schools receive targeted resource transfers according to need in Norway. This implies that schools with high shares of students from disadvantaged families have lower student-teacher ratios compared to other schools (Hægeland et al. 2005) and schools serving many children from immigrant families have more teaching assistants for special needs students (Hægeland et al. 2009).

Turning to peer effects related to ethnic school segregation, a high share of immigrant-origin students with relatively low educational achievement and low socioeconomic status may take up a lot of the teachers' time and negatively affect the quality of education. However, it is also possible that concentrations of immigrant students with high educational aspirations and school motivation have a positive influence on the educational outcomes of their schoolmates. While studies from Norway show that students attending schools with high immigrant shares have lower levels of academic achievement and rates of upper-secondary completion, this relationship seems to largely reflect between-school differences in students' socioeconomic background (Birkelund et al. 2010; Fekjær and Birkelund 2007; Hardoy and Schøne 2013; Hardoy et al. 2017; Hermansen and Birkelund 2015; Wiborg et al. 2011). In lower-secondary schools, Hermansen and Birkelund (2015) did not find that increasing shares of immigrant-origin peers across cohorts within the same schools lead to lower probabilities of completing upper-secondary education by their early twenties among native-origin students, while immigrant-origin students experienced a small advantage of attending cohorts with higher shares of immigrant-origin peers. This (weak) positive peer effect may be due to students with an immigrant background having high educational aspirations and that these aspirations to some extent are transmitted between peers in the same cohort. Interestingly, this study found that the positive immigrant peer effects seem to mainly reflect the presence of minority schoolmates from relatively high-performing origin regions (e.g.,

Southeast Asia) while there was no corresponding negative effects of exposure to minority classmates from low-achieving origin regions.

By contrast, prior studies have reached contradictory conclusions regarding the influence of immigrant student composition in upper-secondary schools on educational outcomes. While Fekjær and Birkelund (2007) found a weak positive relationship between attending schools with many immigrant students and educational achievement, Hardoy and Schøne (2013) found that increases in the share of immigrant peers had a small negative effect on native majority students' probability of completing upper-secondary education.[7] More recently, Hardoy et al. (2017) found that the negative relationship between immigrant concentration and native students' upper-secondary completion disappeared after adjusting for the sorting of students into schools based on grade achievement in lower-secondary school. When looking at within-school variation in immigrant composition across cohorts, there was also no negative relationship (Hardoy et al. 2017).

To sum up, the emerging consensus seems to be that the adverse consequences of immigrant concentrations in schools for educational outcomes among both immigrant-origin and native majority students are relatively modest once between-school sorting by family background is taken into account. It is possible that this could reflect that targeted measures and resource compensation to schools with high shares of immigrant-origin minority students has helped stem the potentially adverse consequences of ethnic school segregation.

Immigrant Families and Ethnic Minority Communities as Resources for Educational Careers

The educational accomplishments of the children of immigrants have attracted substantial scholarly interest, as the group has been closing the academic gap to peers with native background in Norway. As migrant parents often occupy low status jobs with low wages, old explanations invoking socioeconomic resources have been deemed insufficient, and much of the explanatory discussion has circled around the existence of an 'immigrant drive' (Bakken 2016; Birkelund and Mastekaasa 2009; Friberg 2016; Lauglo 1999). A common story about this drive is that the parents' migration history and sacrifices give them a particular motivation for social mobility and that they transmit this 'immigrant optimism' (Kao and Tienda 1998) to their children through inter-

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[7] This study did not address the influence of immigrant peer exposure on the educational outcomes of immigrant-origin minority students.

connected networks and kinship ties within immigrant communities (Fekjær and Leirvik 2011; Modood 2004). The research tradition presented in this section primarily aims to give an understanding of the educational success experienced by children of immigrants using qualitative interview data to study intergenerational processes and educational aspirations, and is dominated by sociologists and anthropologists.

In Norway, high educational aspirations from immigrant parents are well documented in qualitative, interview-based research (Hegna and Smette 2017; Kindt 2017a; Leirvik 2010; Prieur 2004; Vassenden and Bergsgard 2012). However, it has also been suggested that children of immigrants feel that they owe their parents to be successful, and that pursuing higher education is a way of expressing gratitude and paying retribution for the hardship and sacrifice experienced through migration (Leirvik 2010). Moreover, a form of social capital embedded in close-knit ethnic communities, often referred to as 'ethnic capital', has been put forward as important in explaining children of immigrants' educational success (Friberg 2016; Lauglo 1999; Leirvik 2010). For instance, Leirvik (2010) asks why young adults with parents from India and Pakistan find it important to follow their parents' wishes about career choice. Based on in-depth interviews, she argues that children internalize and act in accordance with norms about the importance of education, in conjunction with a pronounced honour and respect for their elders.

Elaborating and supporting this, Vassenden and Bergsgard (2012) find that the larger and more tightknit the community is, the more difficult it is to choose an educational pathway in opposition to the community's norms, such as arts or a subject within the creative industry. In a similar vein, Engebrigtsen et al. (2004) suggest that the differences in educational attainment between ethnic groups can be explained by differences in the ethnic communities' group resources and social capital. In Norway, the Sri Lankan-Tamil community is often portrayed as a 'model minority' with high labour market participation, while the Somali immigrant community is portrayed as difficult to integrate, with high levels of unemployment and high dependence on social benefits (Engebrigtsen et al. 2004; Fangen 2008; Fuglerud and Engebrigtsen 2006). Engebrigtsen et al. (2004) suggest a perspective on these differences through the lens of group community resources. The Tamil community typically provides after-school programs for the children in their community, including mother tongue instruction, help with homework as well as music and sport activities.

There is ongoing academic and public debate about the individual costs of the immigrant drive, particularly as children of immigrants' reported sense of duty, debt and gratitude might also be interpreted as an expression of social

control (Rogstad 2016). Prieur (2004) argues that having a strict upbringing might explain good educational outcomes, and that this control aspect is gendered. Since girls with immigrant background often are exposed to stricter rules than their male peers, they also perform better in the educational system (Prieur 2004; Østberg 2003). In a recent article, Leirvik (2016) argues that the costs of ethnic capital have been largely under-communicated in previous research. In addition to interview data from her previous studies with children of Pakistani and Indian parents, Leirvik has interviewed 'minority counsellors' working in upper-secondary schools in Oslo. She challenges the 'ethnicity as resource'-perspective, and argues that within tightknit ethnic communities, parents and other adults exercise authority and power over their children in a potentially harmful way. Engebrigtsen (2007), on the other hand, argues that choosing education in accordance with parental wishes does not necessarily signal a lack of autonomy. When Tamil youths choose educational tracks in accordance with their families' desires, they do so knowing that this will give them independence in the future. However, Leirvik (2016) argues that this reasoning fails to take into consideration what happens if youths decide to act against their families' wishes.

Being subject to parental influence might not be understood as equivocal to negative social pressure. Based on survey data, Hegna and Smette (2017) found that although minority students report a stronger parental influence on their educational choice, they experience their parents as positive and supportive. This self-report is mirrored in Kindt (2017b), which focuses on children of immigrants enrolled in prestigious educational tracks. When talking about their educational choices they stress that "I have always loved it" and "I was never pushed". However, Kindt (2017b) suggests that they may be recounting their educational motives in ways acceptable to the majority population, attempting to avoid the stigma of 'a traditional immigrant' subject to family pressure.

Some recent Norwegian and international studies have questioned predominant cultural theories about the immigrant drive or ethnic capital (Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Kindt 2017a). When immigrants experience social degradation after arriving in a new country, in that they find themselves in a lower relative social position than the one they had in their country of origin, their children's school success can be a way to restore the family's status from their home country (Feliciano 2005; Ichou 2014). Based on interviews, Kindt (2017a) argues that when looking more broadly at children of immigrants' social class origin, focusing more on parental status prior to migration, what is understood as an 'immigrant drive' often resembles what studies of the majority population have conceptualized as a 'middle class drive'. Although

hesitant to generalize, Prieur (2004) points to a similar tendency in her data: that the educational level of her informants seems to be connected to their fathers' education prior to migration. Leirvik (2012) also acknowledges the need for incorporating pre-migration status in analyses of children of immigrants' educational attainment. However, rather than emphasizing social class resources, she puts emphasis on the role of caste and whether or not immigrants have migrated from rural or urban areas. In contrast, while not entirely dismissing the relevance of parents' pre-migration status, Friberg (2016) argues that young people with immigrant backgrounds are more focused on family obligations than the majority, and that these obligations are directly related to their educational success. Thus, he concludes that a partly culturally determined 'immigrant drive' is real.

In sum, this tradition is characterized by the use of qualitative research methods to answer questions regarding intergenerational processes and educational aspirations. Two major themes in this research tradition are, first, the degree to which the so-called immigrant drive is a reflection of social control and, second, whether the immigrant drive is an expression of social status prior to migration or a product of cultural values within the immigrant network in Norway. One important contribution from this tradition is the emergence of a transnational perspective, and the significance of a wider social context for understanding educational trajectories of children of immigrants. At the same time, this research tradition tends to focus exclusively on the children of immigrants themselves, and rarely collects data from the perspective of the parental generation. Future research would also benefit from investigating educational aspirations and motivations through more longitudinal designs.

Curriculum, Teacher Instruction, and Minority Students Experiences with Inclusion and Exclusion

In the following section, we review the literature that seek to understand how the educational institutions in Norway are equipped to meet the challenges of a diverse student body. One strand focuses on the development and implementation of progressive, multicultural pedagogy in preschool and primary school, while another strand focuses on students' experiences in their everyday lives at school. This research tradition is typically undertaken by sociologists, anthropologists, and education researchers. Studies are often based on

document analysis, fieldwork in school or preschool environments, and in-depth interviews with teachers or students.

In line with Seland's (2011) description of the development of national school curricula discussed in the introduction, other researchers have identified a growing concern with social and cultural cohesion since the mid-1990s. In his book on religious education in Norwegian schools, Iversen (2012) argues that the meaning of the term 'values' has changed in the curriculum over the period he studies, 1974 to 2005. In the 1974 curriculum, 'values' were understood to concern individual actions, with an emphasis on teaching the students to distinguish between right and wrong. By 2005, 'values' referred more to identity and community, intended to help the students understand 'who they are' (Iversen 2012). At the same time, based on a comprehensive analysis of all school books used to teach history, religion and social science in lower and upper secondary schools, Midtbøen et al. (2014a) find a 'maturation of the multicultural field' in Norway over the past 20 years. They identify three signs of maturation. First, descriptions of minorities and diversity have become more nuanced and focused on disrupting stereotypes rather than reinforcing them. Second, the books more often discuss controversial topics such as extremism, freedom of expression and the relationship between welfare and migration. Finally, the newer books more often operate with a more inclusive "we", taking into account that many of the pupils using these books have ethnic minority background (Midtbøen et al. 2014a, pp. 132–134).

A multicultural pedagogy is supposed to make students of different origins feel included in the educational system (Banks 2008; Vasbø 2014; Øzerk 2008). In order to do this, school must adapt knowledge and experience from its diverse students, so that students are able to recognize their own experiences and thereby better understand the schools' curricula. Research on schools' ability to be inclusive for pupils with ethnic, religious or cultural minority background concludes that teachers tend to lack adequate knowledge and appropriate tools (Midtbøen et al. 2014b). A study of newly graduated teaching students find that they often understand and interpret deviant student behaviour as culturally conditioned (Dyrnes et al. 2015). These findings indicate an imbalance between the capacities required to teach diverse learners, and teachers' abilities to do so (Skrefsrud and Østberg 2015). Several researchers have argued that recognizing diversity while simultaneously creating a sense of social cohesion is difficult within the Norwegian unitary educational system (Green et al. 2006; Hagelund 2007; Seeberg 2003; Øzerk 2008).

Through fieldwork and interviews with teachers and other staff members at a Norwegian primary school with a diverse student population, Hagelund (2007) argues that cultural diversity is mostly presented through visible signs,

material objects and standardized practices. The classrooms are decorated with flags to represent each student's origin, teachers teach their students songs and lyrics from different countries and in different languages, national holidays are celebrated and students are asked to bring food from their home countries. The study argues that these practices promote a notion of culture that is essentialist, and does not reflect any real divisions within or across cultures. In a similar way, Øzerk (2008) writes about 'ethnification' or 'festivalization' arguing that this way of teaching students about differences reinforces, rather than eradicates, divisions between 'us' and 'them'.

However, Hagelund (2007) also identifies boundaries for when 'being different' is no longer accepted. While the particular school studied portrayed itself as tolerant and multicultural, the teachers were explicit about what type of behaviour they could tolerate. Conflicts would arise around participation in swimming lessons, school-camps, and parents' engagement in their children's schoolwork. In these cases, cultural diversity could become a problem – and was no longer celebrated as a resource. Thus, Hagelund (2007) contends that even at a school that promotes itself as multicultural, the only way in which children of immigrant background could be legitimately integrated was to master the system set up by the school, and the welfare system more generally.

Schools' strategies and tools for dealing with diversity are embedded in a larger culture, and ways of talking and thinking about these issues. Based on fieldwork in Norwegian schools, Seeberg (2003) found that students with immigrant backgrounds were understood as having an identity that originated from their ethnic background, while students with a Norwegian background were seen as having multiple forms of belonging. She argues that this discourse makes it difficult to deal with difference. Further, instead of addressing diversity and accepting that students from different origins have multiple ways of living their everyday life, Norwegian schools typically handle difference through homogenization. This, Seeberg (2003) suggests is a consequence of the schools' 'hegemonic discourses' where similarity is seen as a precondition for inclusion.

Experiences with Inclusion and Exclusion

While we have already seen that immigrant-origin youth are generally positively inclined towards school and report high educational aspirations, this does not necessarily mean that they are treated well or feel included in the school system. As we documented in the previous section, research on cur-

riculum and teaching in Norwegian schools have found that the Norwegian unitary school system is not particularly well equipped to handle student diversity. The research on students' experiences is analogous to this finding; Norwegian schools are struggling to strike the balance between upholding a cohesive community and accommodating cultural diversity and different abilities. Thus, many experience difficulties being 'different' (Hagelund 2007; Imsen and Volckmar 2014; Seeberg 2003).

As one example, Chinga-Ramirez (2015) finds that even though the teachers see themselves as colour-blind, the youth feel that their skin colour is an important marker, which creates distance and exclusion. The study argues that the principle of equality in the Norwegian educational system creates an understanding of what is 'normal' that is not explicit or articulated. The unconscious and unarticulated understanding of this normality creates boundaries between students at school. This is similar to Solbue (2014), which concludes that when people with individual differences are treated similarly it creates a lack of community and a feeling of exclusion. Relatedly, Østberg (2003) argues that students with immigrant backgrounds tend to withdraw from classroom discussions about religion, alcohol or other things where they might feel that their values are different than those commonly expressed. The problem, according to Østberg (2003), is that their ethnic background is made relevant in a confusing manner. Parts of their ethnic identity are celebrated and parts of it are condemned. Ramadan is one example, where Eid is acknowledged as an important holiday, while the practice of fasting is condemned as something one should not take part in.

The low number of teachers with immigrant background has been noted as one of the reasons Norwegian schools fail to give students with immigrant background the recognition they need (Spernes 2014). Norwegian teachers seem to have a limited understanding of cultural diversity, and students report being subjected to stereotypical understandings of what it means to be 'different' (Spernes 2014; Trøften 2010). We also know that students with immigrant backgrounds experience a drop in wellbeing in the transition from lower-secondary to upper-secondary school, something that can partly be explained by their lack of social network and lack of support from teachers (Frøyland and Gjerustad 2012; Hegna 2013).

Lack of cultural sensitivity is also reflected in how school counsellors guide their students. Norwegian schools provide a mandatory counselling session when students are about to make their first educational choice towards the end of tenth grade (Birkemo 2007; Buland 2011; Lødding and Holen 2012; Prieur 2004; Smette 2015; Spernes 2014). In her doctoral thesis, Smette

(2015) shows how counsellors and teachers are concerned about the amount of autonomy students with immigrant parents have when they make educational choices. Counsellors often express a concern about immigrant parents' high and unrealistic educational ambitions for their children. In a report evaluating the mandatory counselling, school counsellors report thinking that students' own interests should guide what educational track they choose (Buland 2011). A good choice is understood as one based on the individual's own experiences, while a bad choice is understood as one based on external factors (Birkemo 2007). While tradition and continuity are thought to be in conflict with independence and authenticity in the Norwegian context, they are also believed to be more important and prevalent in the immigrant community (Lidén 2003).

Some researchers warn that the lack of recognition in school, by teachers, counsellors and in curriculum, could potentially be harmful (Eriksen 2013; Skrefsrud and Østberg 2015). Being subjected to discrimination or lack of recognition could lead to different types of responses. Music and Godø (2011) argue that when teachers do not recognize or accept male minority students' ways of taking part in school, they seek recognition from other sources. Often, these other sources are more violent and rough, and they end up embracing a "street culture". This accelerates into a vicious circle because "tough behaviour" is met with even less recognition from the teachers. Fangen and Lynnebakke (2014) define three typical responses to stigmatization: 'avoiding', 'working harder' and 'confronting'. They argue that the best way of dealing with stigmas is to alter between the different strategies. However, as they also point out – not everyone can participate in all three strategies. It depends on previous experiences and resources students with immigrant backgrounds bring with them into the situation.

In sum, this research tradition is preoccupied with the ability of the Norwegian school system to integrate a diverse student body. Currently, this research tradition is made up of a relatively small number of studies. The studies that exist focus mostly on how the educational system in Norway – which is characterized by an emphasis on equality and cohesion – tends to reinforce rather than eradicate ethnic divisions. One weakness of this tradition in the Norwegian context is the relative absence of studies that focus on visible group traits, such as skin colour, rather than culture. This tradition would likely also benefit from more comparative studies. Studying inclusion and integration of a diverse student body across different types of school systems would help shed light on the significance of the hegemonic discourses of similarity and cohesion in the Norwegian society and school system.

Discussion and Conclusions

In this chapter, we have identified three research traditions, each covering related strands of research on ethnic inequalities in education in Norway. We have not been comprehensive in the sense that we have presented all research within the main traditions. Instead, we have presented the central contributions within each research tradition in greater detail. Moreover, we have not included all research on ethnic minorities in the Norwegian educational system, but focused on studies that explicitly address educational inequalities. This means that we considered studies of identity, inclusion in sports, bilingualism and other such topics to be outside the scope of the chapter.

The research tradition on educational enrolment, achievement, and attainment typically consists of quantitative research based on large datasets. Within this tradition, we have identified two closely related strands of research. The main strand within this tradition studies the relationship between immigrant origin, family background and educational outcomes in various ways. A key finding is that ethnic inequalities in educational attainment have declined over time, and that once parental socioeconomic status is taken into account immigrant-origin students perform at par with or better than native-origin youth in Norway. Even without controlling for socioeconomic background, Norwegian second-generation immigrants are overrepresented in higher education compared to native origin students. However, it is not clear what factors can explain this positive trend and whether it will be sustained as future immigrant-origin student cohorts complete their schooling.

Thus, the tradition would benefit from more research on what lies behind this trend as well as a comparative focus on which institutional characteristics are most conducive to educational success among children of immigrants. Moreover, research tends to find that some variation in educational outcomes between second-generation immigrant minorities remain even after taking differences in parental socioeconomic resources and residential segregation into account (e.g., Hermansen 2016b). To better understand this variation, future quantitative studies should explore the role of between-group variation in the selectivity of immigrant parents, as captured by their relative educational positions in the distribution of the origin country (Feliciano 2005; Feliciano and Lanuza 2017; Ichou 2014; Van de Werfhorst et al. 2014), as well as the role of group level co-ethnic resources embedded within local immigrant communities (Bygren and Szulkin 2010; Åslund et al. 2011). Finally, research in this tradition would benefit from integrating subjective measures on immigrant students' ambitions, attitudes, and acculturation-

related indicators from survey data with later follow-ups on outcomes from administrative registries.

The other, much more limited, strand of research within this tradition, studies ethnic school segregation and potential consequences of segregation for educational outcomes. This strand of research finds modest effects of high shares of immigrant-origin students in schools. Given that ethnic segregation between schools seems to be increasing in Norway, there is need for new studies addressing how teacher allocation and school-level resource compensation is related to the share of ethnic minority students in schools. While several studies have evaluated the consequences of ethnic segregation in schools, the main weakness of this research area is the relative lack of studies that both trace changes in ethnic school segregation over time, as well as studies that examine the causes of ethnic school segregation. The causes of ethnic school segregation should be studied both with respect to the underlying processes driving observed patterns of student composition, and how these patterns are linked to school-level resources such as teacher allocation and teacher-student ratios.

The second research tradition consists of qualitative research on families' and communities' impact on children of immigrants' educational attainment, with research questions typically influenced by findings from the quantitative literature. One key finding is that the immigrant communities are of importance for inspiring higher educational aspirations. Families and ethnic networks can function as a source of social capital contributing to the students' upward educational trajectories. At the same time, the more critical part of this literature emphasizes that pressure exercised by a tightknit community may be oppressive and harmful if choosing differently is associated with fear of negative sanctions. However, none of the above-cited studies interview parents. To better understand the 'immigrant drive', there is a need for more research on what immigrant parents think, want, and expect from their children, how they are involved in their children's lives, and how they lived prior to migrating to Norway. Within this tradition, future research should investigate educational aspirations and motivations through more longitudinal qualitative designs that would enable the tracking of aspirations, choices and outcomes and related experiences and coping mechanisms over time.

The third research tradition, on curriculum, teacher instruction, and minority students' experiences with inclusion and exclusion, finds that the Norwegian unitary school system is not particularly well equipped to handle student diversity, and that this can make it difficult for students with minority backgrounds to fit in. The tradition seems to identify a contested institutional field, where teachers attempt to handle a diverse student body, without adequate curricular tools to do so. At the same time, research suggests that the

schoolbooks have become more inclusive and adjusted to a diverse student body over time. A possible critique of this research tradition is that it lacks a comparative perspective. Thus, the general conclusion might overestimate Norwegian schools' lack of ability to handle diversity. It would for example be fruitful to compare the Norwegian school system with other unitary school systems in Europe, such as the French system of laïcité. Further, some of the findings in this research literature are based on small samples of schools, classrooms, teachers and/or students. As a result, we do not know how widespread the challenges it identifies are, and we have little systematic information about pedagogical tools or teaching techniques that are successfully inclusive for ethnic minority students. Further research should also attempt to study processes of institutional change, and the impact such change may have for the inclusion and equal treatment of students of ethnic minority backgrounds. One avenue for this strand of research could be to explore differences in policy texts over time and across contexts, and how these are implemented by teachers in schools.

It is clear that the availability of registry data with information about country of origin has had consequences for the type of research and the categories used in Norwegian research. Self-reported ethnic identity or religion is considered sensitive information according to Norwegian data protection regulations, and is rarely collected in surveys. Similarly, 'race' is not used in Norwegian research on ethnic inequality in education. Barriers and prejudice based on skin colour and other visible traits are understudied, and tend to be deduced from information about country of origin.

Partly because of lack of statistics on achievement and attainment among Sami students, they are virtually absent in most of the literature. This is even more so the case for the five national minority groups. The lack of knowledge and public awareness about educational inequalities in these minority groups, has also contributed to the lack of qualitative studies on educational aspirations and experiences in these groups. Particularly acute is the question of whether and to what extent national minorities and the Sami population are experiencing cumulative discrimination in today's educational system (cf. Midtbøen and Lidén 2016).

While the quantitative tradition on enrolment, achievement and attainment tends to conclude that children of immigrants fare relatively well in the Norwegian school system, the two qualitative traditions tend to be more critical towards the Norwegian institutions and towards the immigrant communities, in various ways. It is worth noting that the quantitative research tradition is much larger, and has so far presumably been more readily funded by the Norwegian government, whether directly or through the Research Council of

Norway, than the other two. A potentially promising development in this field is that the Research Council of Norway recently (in 2017) awarded eight doctoral student fellowships earmarked for research on group-based prejudice in schools. Whether the newly funded projects will address any of the questions we have raised in this chapter remains to be seen.

As the composition of the immigrant-origin population in Norway is changing over time, and more children of immigrants come of age, we may find that the patterns and mechanisms identified thus far do not apply to future generations. In particular, it remains to be seen whether the patterns we have observed among children of earlier waves of labour migrants and refugees are replicated among children of newer groups of refugees. Likewise, future policy changes may influence the ability of the Norwegian social-democratic welfare state to absorb children of immigrants and provide them with available trajectories for upward mobility.

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21

Russia: Ethnic Differentiation in Education in a Context of Debates on Cultural Diversity, Autonomy, Cultural Homogeneity and Centralization

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Introduction

Problems of actual Russian ethnic minorities are primarily conditioned on the multi-ethnic population of the country, which is a result of the historical development of the country. Russia comprises many regions in which numerous indigenous ethnic groups live.

Migration streams are a new problem for Russia. These streams consist of immigrants who move to Russia for permanent residence and labor migrants who come to Russia for temporary or seasonal jobs, particularly from newly independent countries, former republics of the USSR, driven by a lower standard of living and higher levels of unemployment in their origin countries.

This chapter reviews research that was undertaken at a very important period of Russian history. In the last decades, between 1980 and 2016, large changes to political, economic, etc. conditions in Russia have taken place. Today Russian society has new features combined with several enduring ones.

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For political reasons research into ethnic problems did not develop in the Soviet Union. After the changes that took place in Russia during more recent years, studies on ethnic inequality have been restarted and actualized. Researchers have paid particular attention to problems relating to equality of access to education.

This chapter includes several sections. After a description of the national context, the educational system of the country, ethnic groups and main migration patterns, and social and educational policy developments, we outline the main principles of methodology employed for this review. Then, in the section titled 'Ethnicity and educational inequality in Russia', the following research traditions are considered: languages of school education; school quality and ethnic background; socio-cultural differences and education; problems of migrants and receiving society; and students' inter-ethnic relations.

National Context

Educational System in Russia

Preschool education is not compulsory in Russia, but it is much desired by families who want their children to have a good education, choice of profession, and successful life careers. In 2012, a new Law "On Education in the Russian Federation" was adopted, which entered into force in 2013. This law has introduced a number of changes, the most significant of which is the consolidation of preschool education as a level of general education. However, before it was not the case. And with the adoption of the law, the state is obliged to provide all children from three years of preschool education in municipal institutions. Families can start preschool education for their children at any age. It is provided in kindergartens, as well as in various cultural and educational centers, and in the schools themselves; often it is experienced in families.

Elementary (primary) school education is compulsory. It takes three years starting at age six or seven years. From about age nine or ten, the state guarantees its citizens "basic" education. After a total of nine years school education pupils are granted with certificates on graduation of the basic school.

Further, depending on individual strategies and achievements in studies, some students continue their education in school, and receive a secondary general education, and some can pass to the level of secondary vocational education. Admission to education on educational programs of secondary vocational education at the expense of the state budget is public in Russia, does not require additional testing.

After two years students can obtain employment as a blue-collar worker in industry, agriculture, etc. or as an office worker in the service sector (as an accountant, secretary, etc.). Concurrent to vocational skills, a program of general education is usually practiced.

Graduates of basic school can also enter colleges (College in Russia is not a part of higher level post-secondary or university education, but a special educational institution, which implements the basic professional educational programs of secondary vocational education of basic training). Entrance to colleges is through competitive entry exams. After four years students can obtain the certificate of secondary special (semi-professional) education. This degree also enables graduates to work in different spheres. Vocational school graduates can also enter colleges. Adolescents who continue school learning in high schools receive high school certificates following a two-year education (Fig. 21.1).

Schools can be state-owned and non-state. In 2000/2001academic year private schools amounted to 0.96% of all educational institutions that provided programs of general education; there were 0.3% of all pupils enrolled in private schools. In 2014/2015 – accordingly 1.74% and 0.71% (Brief statistical compilation 2016, pp. 28, 34). There are also confessional schools but they are not numerous. Curriculum in non-state schools must correspond to the state standards. There are national (that is ethnical) schools *(natsional'nie shkoli)* in national (that is ethnical) regions *(natsional'nie regioni)* where education is carried out in the native language. These regions and schools are called 'national' (not 'ethnic') in Russia, in regard to the Russian tradition. In the Soviet period there was a line incorporated into the personal document identifying the 'Nationality' of the document owner, for instance 'Russian', 'Ukrainian', 'Jewish', or 'Tatar', according to the ethnicity of one's parents or one of them. Now it is no longer mandatory, but ethnicity is still referred to as 'nationality'. Almost all schools are co-educational (girls and boys learning together), with very exceptions. Education can be free of charge or tuition fees payable. Besides that, the payment of 'non-formal' fees is widespread.

Schools vary greatly in both the quality of education processes (including teachers' qualifications, conditions of building, and so on) and education outcomes which are now measured by the Unified State Exam. Recently school ratings have appeared; but this is only a start of ranking and the public does not use it, not even in Moscow. The Unified State Examination (USE) was introduced into practice recently and includes tests on the main curriculum subjects. Its aim is the independent assessment of the student's academic achievements; entering into the universities is dependent upon the USE scores. The number of schools with high educational quality is rather limited.
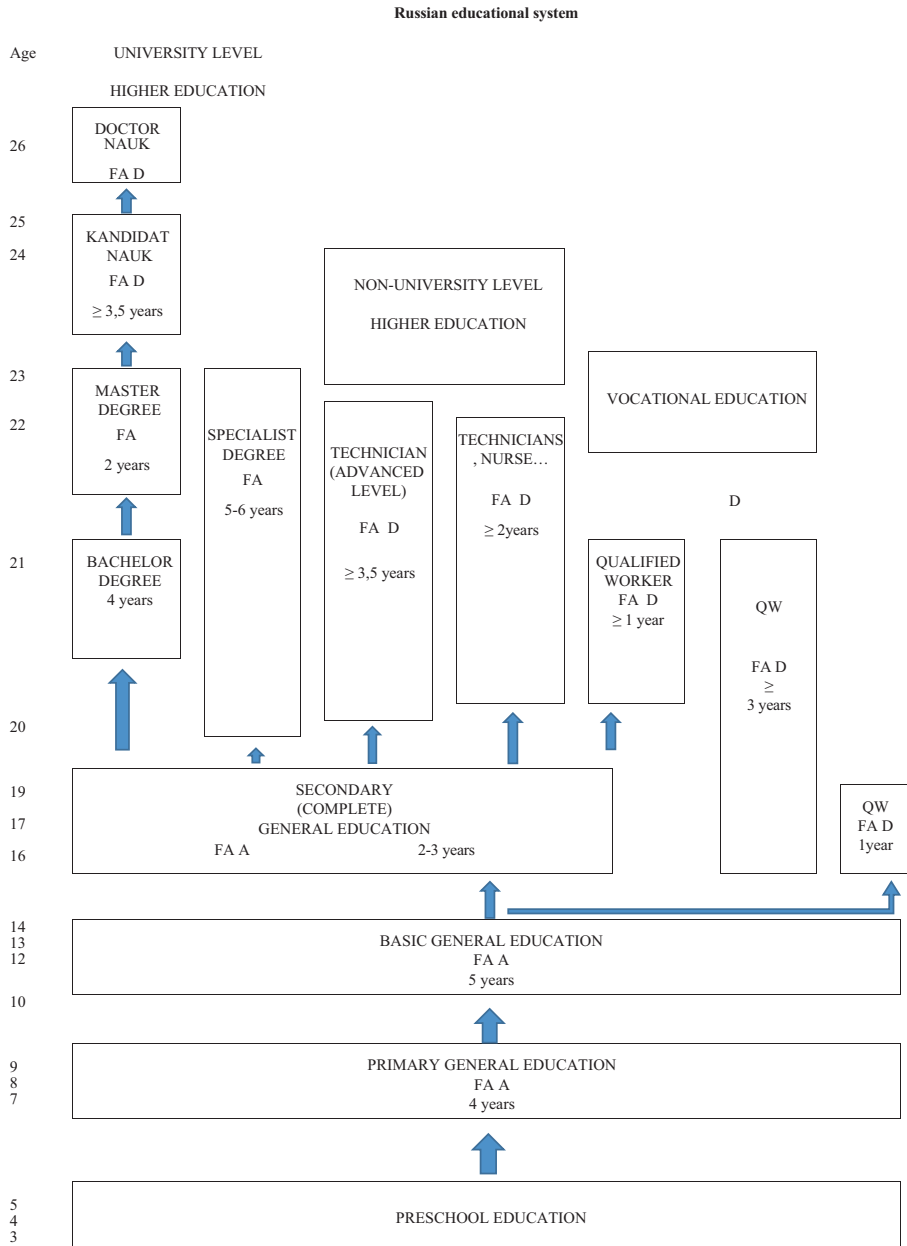
Fig. 21.1 Russian educational system. Structure of Educational system in Russian Federation (FA final attestation, D diploma, A attestat, QW qualified worker). (Ministry of Education and Science of Russian Federation)

They are predominantly situated in the largest cities, and charge tuition fees. Thus, the learners in the good schools are principally children from wealthy families (Konstantinovskiy 2012, pp. 17–19). The problems of access to quality schooling are one of the most pressing in today's Russia. This is reflected in the research reviewed; the accessibility of different levels of education depending on the urbanization of residence, status of parents, family economic conditions, and other factors is analyzed.

High school graduates can enter vocational schools and colleges where it is possible to obtain a professional qualification in a shorter period of time than the graduates of basic schools. There are also possibilities to enter the labor market without any professional education, on the background of a high school education. But mainly high school graduates enter universities that support daytime, evening, or distance learning. In 2010 there were 1115 higher educational institutions; 462 (41.43%) of these were private (non-state), and these enrolled 17.0% of all university students (from a total pool of 7,049,815) (Initial data 2010). In 2014/2015 academic year in Russia there was 950 such institutions, of which 402 (42.32%) were private (Brief statistical compilation 2016, p. 29). Based on their results in the USE high school graduates can be admitted to more or less prestigious universities. School contest winners have advantages. After a four-year university education students receive a bachelor degree. A bachelor can be admitted to a master's degree programs on a competitive basis and graduate in two more years.

Enrollment in a prestigious university that opens prospects of social mobility depends on the quality of school education. So the students from wealthy families have more chances to enter prestigious universities, gain access to professions and have the best variant of life career (Konstantinovskiy 2012, pp. 14–16). In recent years both the numbers of and enrollments in universities have increased. This is particularly linked to the requirements of employers who prefer graduates. But often employers do not need an education but a qualification so many students seek a diploma, not knowledge.

Families (youngsters and their parents) make decisions about whether or not to further their children's education after basic school, or any other institution, on their own. Families also choose any educational institution independently. The principal criteria besides child's and parents' aspirations are the child's academic achievements and the family's financial resources.

College and vocational school graduates are also eligible to apply to universities. On the other hand, a university graduate can go on to obtain professional qualifications in colleges and vocational schools. To gain entrance into particular professions or obtain advanced training there are also professional courses and other forms of supplementary education. It is also possible to

obtain a second higher education qualification or enroll at graduate school. In compliance with the tendencies of the labor market towards skilled workers, adult education, life-long education, and informal/non-formal education is encouraged.

Ethnic Groups and Main Migration Patterns

The population of Russia consists of numerous indigenous ethnic groups in regions, which are part of the Russian Federation. This is a result of the historical development of the country; modern Russia has inherited the multi-ethnic structure of the population from the Soviet Union and pre-Soviet Russia.

In the USSR Russians comprised 51.0% of the population; in Russia, 80.9% of those who mentioned their ethnicity. The most numerous after Russians are Tatars (3.7%), Ukrainians (1.7%), Bashkirs (1.15%), Chuvashs (1.05%), Chechens (1.04%), and Armenians (0.8%) (Census 2010). The latest census recorded 182 ethnic groups living in Russia. The majority of them are indigenous peoples.

The most numerous indigenous ethnic groups have their own administrative-territorial units. After some changes had taken place in the country during the last decades the number of such administrative-territorial units increased. In Soviet Russia there were 16 autonomous republics, currently in the Russian Federation there are 21.

Some ethnic groups are referred to as national (that is ethnic) minorities *(natsional'nie men'shinstva)* – the word 'national' is used in accordance with the above-mentioned tradition. Firstly, there are the smaller indigenous groups that do not hold their own administrative-territorial units. For example, these are the people living in the east and north of Russia: Nivkhs, Ulchis, Nganasans, Yukagirs, Negidalts, Nanais, Ences, Tofalars, Oroks, and others. Aissors, Gypsies and several other peoples living in Russia are also referred to as national minorities.

Secondly, "national minorities" include ethnic groups that have state bodies outside Russia. They are, for example, Armenians or Georgians (even in the Soviet Union era these were among the most well-educated ethnic groups). Those diasporas have been enlarging intensively in the last decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The percentage of Armenians and Georgians in the Moscow population increased by three times, and that of Azerbaijanians 4.5 times, for the period from 1989 to 2002 (Zajonchkovskaja and Mkrtchan 2009, p. 32).

Migration streams are a new problem for Russia. But these streams increased quickly. There are three main types of migration streams: compatriots or the Russian-speaking population in the newly established states, the former USSR republics, who migrate to Russia (predominantly from Middle Asia and the Baltic); immigrants who move to Russia for permanent residence; and labor migrants, who come to Russia for temporary or seasonal jobs. The last two categories are also mostly citizens of new independent countries, former republics of the USSR. In majority, they are the representatives of indigenous ethnic groups of these countries. The major reason for their migration is a low standard of living and high rates of unemployment in those countries.

In 2000 the Russian Federation, according to the UN, occupied the second position in the world, regarding the number of hosting international migrants with 12 million of them after the USA (35 million) and before Germany (9 million). In 2015 – the third position with 12 million after the USA (47 million) and Germany (12 million) (International Migration Report 2016, p. 7). The main proportion was shared between Moscow and Moscow oblast, St Petersburg and Leningrad oblast, Krasnodar region (krai), Yekaterinburg, and various border areas. 'Elite' migration has been replaced by the ordinary: 84% of migrants in Russia (80% in Moscow) considered themselves as the representatives of poor and extremely poor groups (Tiurukanova 2009, p. 153). Among all the people, arrived from CIS in 2016, 20% are graduates of higher education institutions and 48.7% have a basic general and basic professional education (Rosstat 2016).

The situation of migrants is complicated and heterogeneous. They include groups from various socio-economic statuses and vary widely in their level of education as well. At the end of the 1990s, in Moscow 54% of Georgians, 51% of Armenians, and 27% of Ukrainians were highly qualified specialists (compared to 42% of Russians). However, 50% of migrants in Russia considered themselves as without vocational education. Researchers estimate that 9% of migrants do not have a 'good' Russian-language level and 28% are not fluent (Tiurukanova 2009, p. 153).

Social and Educational Policy and Developments

In recent decades there has been growing recognition and discussion of social and educational policies in Russian society and the academic community. Of primary importance are the problems of equality of access to education, and the quality of the education offered. Increasing equity in access to good-quality education has been declared an important part of official social policy,

several steps are being taken to develop preschool education in order to smooth the inequality, and the educational system is in the process of modernization as a whole, but the results so far leave much still to be achieved (Gimpelson and Kapeliushnikov 2011, p. 569).

These issues are essential to the total population and all ethnic groups. The social and educational policy (or at least the declared one) in the part that is related to the alignment of access to the quality education is aimed at all ethnic groups equally. However, there are some peculiarities for specific ethnic groups. To understand them, we need to delve a little further into the history of the implementation of social and educational policy in Russia.

In the first part of the Soviet period, in the 1920s, in the official public sphere the ethnic aspects of educational problems were interpreted as a concern of the Soviet rule for the education of peoples, and part of 'solving the national issue' (or *'reshenie natsional'nogo voprosa'* as it is formulated in the official documents, literally translated 'solution of the national question'). The 'solution of the national issue' was considered in the light of the 'alignment of economic and cultural development of peoples' and getting over the discrimination that existed prior to this time. This was supposed to effect involving all the ethnic groups in the social processes initiated by the Soviet authorities, including the provision of education. Almost all ethnic groups have since been involved in formal education, both general and vocational. For various reasons many groups were previously deprived of this opportunity (for some there were restrictions on their participation based on ethnic or caste status, others lacked a written language, and so on). In the 1920–1930s written languages were created for 50 ethnic groups that had previously lacked them.

Beyond the official discourse, the Soviet authorities had a practical interest in dissemination of education among minority peoples. At that time Russians made up just half of the population, and an educated personnel was needed for the desired urbanization and industrialization of various regions of the country. In addition, the Soviet ideology was propagated through the state educational system. In the last decades of the USSR it was officially considered that the 'national issue' was solved, although that was not entirely true (Bromley 1987, p. 162). Today there still remain some anomalies in the situation for ethnic groups.

For numerically small indigenous peoples there is a special law that supports the traditional forms of economy and culture. For some of them elementary school education is organized in their mother tongue, but, generally, the language of instruction is Russian. The law offers them benefits of receiving vocational education including higher education. The benefits provided to these ethnic groups persist.

In the administrative-territorial units, where more numerically large ethnic groups live, the social and educational policy is formed under the influence of several factors; it is flexible and can vary according to the changing political, economic, or demographic situation. The policy problems to be solved are related to the preservation of the native language in education, the possibility of obtaining education of high level and quality by all ethnic groups, the increase of the human capital in an ethnic group, and competition between ethnic groups living in the administrative-territorial units. Policy is required to address the interests of both local (regional, ethnic) and federal levels. With some simplification it can be argued that local interests are often related to lobbying the expectations of the ethnic group, and federal interests reflect the protection of cultural integrity and preservation of at least the framework of uniformity of the educational system. This is partly reflected in the following sections of the chapter. In the last few years the migrant population has become increasingly important in relation to social and educational policy. Within Russia, as elsewhere, popular views on the influx of migrants range from recognition and tolerance to rejection and xenophobia. But the objective situation is that with a decreasing population as a whole, and the working-age population especially (Statistical Bulletin 2006, p. 55), Russia cannot do without the influx of migrants. So in 2005 it was decided to liberalize the policy, going forward in a new direction in order to attract migrants into the country. This makes problems of educational opportunities for all groups of population more concrete.

The problems of inequality within education identified by researchers are additionally complicated because in practice the state's social policy does not include ethnic aspects. Protection of society's most vulnerable or 'at risk' is just discernible in it. As in other states with similar situations, the invisibility of ethnicity in social policy does not eliminate the competition between ethnic groups, who claim their desire to participate in the distribution of resources – whether material, political, or symbolic.

Methodology

Since Soviet officials declared that the 'national issue' was resolved, the investigation of ethnic problems in education has not really developed in Russia. Differences in the level of education or its accessibility for ethnic groups were not discussed in scientific literature (Bromley 1987, p. 162). But some sociological surveys and even government statistics made it possible to analyze ethnic and other forms of disparities in Soviet education (Dobson 1988).

The study of education in the Russian Federation has a lot of difficulties, related to the specifics of maintaining statistical records. The problems are related to the fact that part of the statistical observations for a long time was carried out according to the types of educational organizations, part of the programs being implemented, in a number of cases only summary data on the totality of educational organizations were collected, without detailed information on subjects of the Russian Federation, urban and rural settlements, property. Special subjects, for example, education of disabled people or education for migrant children, are not represented in statistical observations. If the state has developed all the necessary forms for children with disabilities, ethnicity is not taken into account in certain unified principles.

The study of all kinds of inequalities was excluded for a long time on ideological grounds. The myth of equal opportunities along with other myths was an important part of ideology in Soviet Russia. It was supported by official propaganda not only through repeated slogans, but also through statistical data, which had to look convincing. In particular, data on representation of industrial and farm workers, women and national minorities in the educational system were published as a proof of equal opportunities.

The Soviet society was not free from unequal opportunities including its educational system, in status transmission and other phenomena common in other societies. In spite of ideological pressure, a task-oriented sociological survey on inequality in education and other youth problems was conducted in Siberia (Shubkin et al. 1968). Later this research trend was developed in other surveys (Konstantinovskiy and Shubkin 1977). They were more intensively conducted when the political situation in the country changed, and they continue to the present time (Konstantinovskiy 2003, pp. 232–255). It should be pointed out that the inequality of ethnic groups in education is studied most often as a part of various forms of wider inequality, for example, a status inequality. Nevertheless, there is significant literature in which inequality of ethnic groups in education is investigated.

Since research on ethnic inequalities in education in Russia has been in progress for just a few years, we can only review a small sample of studies on the topic. In practice, these studies have been conducted by Russian researchers, published in Russia, and written in Russian. This is the result of the specifics of Russian social science development more generally and traditions of research on this subject in particular. This review therefore has as an important aim to present Russian research on this topic to the broader English readership.

We used two criteria to select literature to review. The first criterion was the kind of education: we limited research to that on preschool, primary, second-

ary, and vocational (especially higher) education. The second criterion was on the most important problems (evident or latent) that were illuminated by the researchers: studying native languages, gaining social status by education, and so on.

Various sources were used. First, we included social science journals such as the *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology, European Journal of Sociology* and so on; Russian journals included *Sociologicheskiy zhurnal* ('Sociological Journal'), *Sociologicheskie issledovanija* ('Sociological Researches'), and *Sociologija obrasovanija* ('Sociology of Education'). Publications made in regions and national republics along with those made in the Moscow publishing houses were also studied. We included as well official materials, for example, reports of national republics' ministries of education, and materials prepared by the state and departmental statistics. We explored also some electronic resources: Scopus, Google Scholar, Web of Sciences, Sociological Abstracts, Sociopedia and the Russian search engine Yandex, the Russian Federal Educational portal, websites of universities (for example, Moscow State University, Higher School of Economics) and institutes of the Russian Academy of Sciences (for example, Institute of Sociology, Institute of Social-Political Research), websites of the Ministry of Education and Science of Russian Federation (RF), regional Ministries of Education, and so on, for the period between 1980 and 2016.

Russian Science Citation Index and Russian Science Electronic Library (both databases that are in progress) were used as far as it was possible at the time of writing. Materials from archives of the Ethno-Sociology Department of the Institute of Sociology of Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS) and unpublished manuscripts were also useful. Finally, expert opinions and assessments expressed at seminars or conferences are also considered for this review. It was very helpful that Russian researchers of ethnic problems concentrate around the Ethno-Sociology Department of the Institute of Sociology of RAS and Russian researchers of education concentrate around Department of Sociology of Education of RAS.

Ethnicity and Educational Inequality in Russia

Languages of School Education: Problems and Conflicts

The first research tradition explores how the growth of the national movements in ethnic regions made enlarging the role of mother language one of the main aims and conditions of the national revival. The use of ethnic minor-

ity languages in pedagogy and curriculum took on special significance since the period of crisis of the USSR. But with the lapse of time unexpected conflicts and problems were discovered.

At the end of 1980s and in the 1990s the challenging social atmosphere in national regions focused the attention of society on the issue of language used for educational tasks. In Baltic Soviet republics, Ukrainian, Armenian and Georgian national movements aspired to achieve the legal declaration of their languages as the 'official' one. The same recognition was sought in various other regions as national movements tried to achieve the recognition of their languages as the official languages of the area on an equal basis with Russian.

Those demands were realized through legislation. In the former Soviet republics, which were taking steps on the way to their independence, the languages of the titular nationalities became the only official one. The languages of minority nationalities in the constituent republics of the Russian Federation were proclaimed as official alongside Russian.

In the mid-1980s, only 9% of school-age children, ethnically other than Russian living on the territory of the Russian Federation, were enrolled in schools with their native language as a medium of instruction or with the study of their idioethnic languages as a subject of class howers. In total, 44 native languages were taught in Russia, and 21 languages were used as a teaching tool. Some languages, which were previously used as mediums of instruction, have become the subjects of studying in classes. The Russian language became dominant in the education system throughout the entire period of secondary and basic high school. As soon as in 1993, the number of languages of instruction increased from 21 to 31, and the number of languages studied as subjects – from 44 to 68. By 2010, 89 native languages of the peoples of Russia functioned in the general education system. In the field of humanitarian disciplines, 39 languages were used as the teaching aids at the levels of elementary general education, 17 of them at the basic general education level, and 14 at the secondary level. As an academic subject, another 50 languages were studied. On average, in the republics which are the units of the Russian Federation, the share of general education institutions with native languages of instruction, excluding the Russian one, has increased from 13.5% to 56% (Artemenko 2011, p. 63).

Discussion of language in education issues at national schools is based on the wording of the legislative documents. The learning of Russian language is mandatory for all Russian citizens but citizens also have the right to study in their mother tongue. This is guaranteed by the RF Constitution (Articles 68, 72, 62.2) and RF Law 'On languages of nationalities in the Russian Federation'.

In general, in primary schools humanities are taught in 16 of the minority official languages of nationalities of Russia, in two languages in basic schools, and in ten languages (Altai, Bashkir, Buryat, Mari, Tatar, Udmurt, Chuvash, Evenki, Yukagir, Yakut) predominantly in secondary schools. Obviously not all nationalities can currently possess the opportunity to study in their mother tongue; in other cases, the mother tongue is taught as a curricula subject. On the whole the number of languages in which general subjects are taught rises up to 80.

In the Republic of Bashkortostan, the largest republic in Russia, 45% of all schools teach in different languages; in Tatarstan the ratio reaches 60%, and in Tyva (a republic of approximately 300,000), it is 80%. Generally, in Russia 56% of the schools teach in the language of the ethnic minority or allow students to study their mother language.

In the majority of autonomous republics of RSFSR (in the USSR) from the 1970s to 1980s national languages were mostly not taught (except in the first grades of primary schools). Sociological surveys pointed out that the general Russian schools (Guboglo 1972, p. 232). But with the growth of national movements intellectuals classed the loss of mother language as one of the main abuses inflicted on the culture (Drobizheva et al. 1996, pp. 263–280), an actual expression of Russification and disruption of minority ethnic cultures.

The new status of the language of titular nationalities, as a result of changes in the country, evidently was to satisfy feelings of national pride. The network of national schools was enlarged, and in several republics (Karelia, Komi, Khakasia and others) it was re-established. As a result, many youth of different ethnic origin have gained the opportunity to choose the language of (at least part of) their education.

Unequal opportunities in the educational sphere remain not least because of the fact that university-level education in the country is still predominantly realized in Russian. It is important to note that the USE that gives admission into universities is produced in Russian only. Applications to admission to the university and colleges from those pupils who studied at schools in their mother language (at national schools) failed.

In political science a new subdiscipline of political linguistics has been formulated in which, with a regard to theories of rational choice, economic efficiency, symbolic measurements, and strategic marketing of the opportunities for social mobility, the issue of university admissions of national school graduates were studied. Some significant research using qualitative and quantitative methods has been conducted in Tatarstan (Mukhariamova 2003, 2004,

pp. 58–66).[1] In this republic one of the most noticeable national movements took place for the purpose of declaring the status of republic and sovereignty inside the federation, assuring the equality of languages and realization of people's rights to study in their mother language, establishing actual bilingualism. Those demands can be said to have become models, examples for other autonomies in the Russian Federation.

As a result, in 1994 63% of Russian parents in Tatarstan did consider it important for their children to learn the Tatar language (data is based on the research findings). The Tatar language was taught as a mandatory subject in Russian schools of the republic. But towards the end of the first decade of the 2000s (in 2010–2011) the situation changed, and some conflicts emerged.

Certain contradictions in the sphere of public opinion regarding the compulsory study of state republican languages by all pupils of general educational institutions, without exception, as reflected in sociological studies, do not directly depend on the ethnicity of the respondents. This is observed on the example of the Republic of Tatarstan. In 2011–2012, 49% of Tatars and 27% of Russian respondents in the republic agreed that the Tatar language should be a compulsory subject in Russian-language schools. A compromise is Tatar as a compulsory subject in Russian-language schools, but with less academic hours 18% of Tatars and 26% of Russian respondents supported it. 26% of Tatars and 38% of Russian respondents supported the study of the Tatar language as elective. On the one hand, both urban and rural Tatars are unanimous in their opinion about the obligatory teaching of the Tatar language in Russian-language schools. On the other hand, in general among schoolchildren "Tatar language is not perceived as a precondition and guarantee of social mobility and professional success" (Sagitova 2012, pp. 26–46).

Sociologists presented excerpts from interviews with some students: 'I'd choose Russian school since Russian school graduates study all sciences easier, the university education is more available to them'; 'Tatar language is needed only for oneself'; 'One can learn Tatar language in the family' (Mukhariamova and Andreeva 2008, p. 103).

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[1] The projects are executed by the researchers of Institute of Sociology of Russian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with colleagues from the Tatarstan republic Research areas include: the practices of education in national languages, the state of education in the national language in the evaluation of teachers and students, the formation of ethnic identity and interethnic relations in national schools, values and career ambitions of learners, and the availability of universities for them. Methodologies include: a questionnaire survey of learners (n = 609 graduates in 2002 and n = 490 in 2006), participant observations on exams, structured interviews with learners, expert interviews with teachers, information gathering from the class registers, analysis of reports from government agencies and press. The projects are supported by the Ford Foundation and the Russian Humanitarian Foundation.

Some Russian parents were not satisfied that a lot of time was spent on Tatar language studies at the expense of Russian and that the principle of voluntarily learning of Tatar language in Russian schools was abandoned. Among the Tatar population such opinions were qualified as the absence of mutual understanding.

Nowadays in Tatarstan the same distribution of lesson hours between Russian and Tatar languages still remains.

In other republics the numbers of Russians supporting the learning of languages of titular nationalities evidently started to decrease. For example, in 1994 53% of Russians in Sakha (Yakutia) wanted their children to study Yakut language, and in 1997 this number had decreased to 24% (Korostelev 1998, p. 192).[2]

The learning of Russian at schools gives a better knowledge of the Russian language and increases the opportunities of upward social mobility for the titular nationalities students. While some Russians assess the learning of titular nationalities languages also as prospect to expand their opportunities of upward social mobility in the future; others consider it a waste of time that impedes their final preparations for Russian exams. Meanwhile, the attitude toward learning of a titular nation language reflects and contains shades of political and symbolic meaning; it is viewed as an attitude toward the culture and status of the nation itself by whose name the republic was named.

It is important that the maintenance of national (ethnic) schools is considered in political public space as a component of democracy, realization of human rights, assurance of ethnic groups' rights to study in their mother tongue with a glance to their distinctive ethno-cultural traditions. But in the late 1980s and in the 1990s education researchers did note that although the national education was considered as a part of the social system and a key factor of national revival, it was 'absolutely insufficiently studied' as to what degree those schools also covered the children's requirements in modern knowledge, whether they did assure 'the equality of starting conditions between graduates of Russian and national schools', and whether it would be considered as a discriminatory practice (Mukhariamova and Andreeva 2008, p. 9).

In defense of bilingual education Russian researchers mention that a mismatch between socialization practices at school and at home becomes an

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[2] The projects were executed in 1997–1998 by the researchers of Institute of Sociology of Russian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with colleagues from Tatarstan, Sakha (Yakutia), Orenburg, and Magadan regions. Research areas were: the interaction between ethnic groups, the role of the mother language, social inequality of the ethnic groups in conditions of Russian reforms (access to participation in the government and to the property). The sample is multi-stage in the main types of urban and rural settlements. The aggregate sample consists of 100 observation units in each republic and region. The project is supported by the MacArthur Foundation.

obstacle in the process of learning. This is predominantly important for children from minority families. The pupils' successes grow when teachers talk the same language as pupils do. Thereby the ideal of accommodation of ethnic minorities in school culture is proved beneficial (Avraamova 2003, p. 108).

I.D. Frumkin sees the source of unequal opportunities not only in the content of study programs, but also in the intolerant attitude toward the culture that children carry into school from their ethnic environment (Frumkin 2006 p. 16). Promoting the concept of poly-cultural education in modern Russia, researchers show the importance of teaching/learning respect for other cultures to increase society's capacity to live together in peace and harmony (Mukhariamova and Andreeva 2008, p. 26). In this regard, the idea of schools' diversity preference is supported (Smith and Lusthaus 1995, pp. 378–391).

There are also other approaches to the issues of what the language of learning at school should be and in what way the prospects for social mobility of learners depend on it. In Russia, as in other countries, there are those who support the idea of maintaining national languages without studying them at school. There are also those who support the idea of firmly establishing the dominant culture in order to broaden opportunities in the modern labor market. In addition, some researchers consider language homogeneity as one of the most successful mechanisms for the creation of a single civic identity (Vorotnikov, pp. 8–10).

In the second half of the 2000s, a number of institutional mechanisms were introduced by the federal educational authorities, which are intended to strengthen the strategic setting the consolidation of a single educational space and, in particular, to consolidate the positions of the Russian language. First, from 1992 to 2007, the so-called "component" principle of the development of educational standards operated in the education system, which included federal, regional and school blocks-sections. At the same time, the national-regional component was part of the administrative competence of the authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, which themselves could determine the policy in the study of "regional languages" and a number of humanitarian disciplines at their own discretion. Amendments to the legislation on education, adopted in late 2007, abolished the very concept of "components", the Federal State Educational Standard began to determine the requirements for the results of mastering the basic educational programs, and not the minimum of the content of education. The authorities of some republics, primarily Tatarstan and Bashkortostan – these innovations were regarded as an actual abolition of legislative guarantees for the preservation and development of national languages and cultures. "Apparently, it seemed to some people that the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation did not disappear quickly enough", – the President of Tatarstan, Mintimer

Shaimiev said (Uchitelskaya Gazeta). Be that as it may, in accordance with such legislative innovations, the standards for the state languages of the republics of Russia should now be developed by federal executive bodies. Obviously, such a bureaucratic measure means a formal unified approach to the very diverse demographic and communicative capacity, the vital power of the languages of the peoples of Russia, and also to specific regional language regimes. Secondly, at the end of 2008 a document was issued by the Ministry of Education and Science of The Russian Federation – "Regulations on the forms and procedure for conducting state (final) certification of students who mastered the basic general education programs of secondary (full) general education." Point 5 of this document stipulates that the Unified State Examination for all school graduates is conducted in Russian. Proponents of the use of other languages other than Russian as a means of teaching, this was perceived as increasing inequality in relation to graduates of schools with different linguistic arrangements in terms of accessibility of further education at the levels of higher education. Objectively, this measure leads to an acceleration of the processes of coagulation of linguistic diversity in the education system. For example, Academician V.M. Alpatov sees in this the offensive of the Russian language in small languages: "The situation with small languages is exacerbated by the absence of a clear state policy … While state decisions, if accepted, then towards the spread of the Russian Language The lack of an exam in the national language and the requirement for the mandatory passing of the USE in Russian, certainly contributes to the spread of the Russian language, but return the language policy, not even to Soviet times, but to the pre-revolutionary policy of Russification, and in practice lead to a curtailment of in small languages" (Alpatov 2010, pp. 12).

In practice, in the 2015/2016 academic year, the number of children studying the languages of the peoples of Russia (except Russian): as a means of training, is 1.8%, as a subject – 11%. As a means of instruction, the following 25 languages (except Russian) are used: Avar, Adygey, Azeri, Altay, Bashkir, Buryat, Dargin, Kalmyk, Crimean Tatar, Kumyk, Lack, Lezgyn, Mari (Lugovoy), Mordovian (Moksha), Mordovian (Erzya), Ossetian, Tabasaran, Tatar, Tuvinian, Udmurt, Ukrainian, Khakass, Chechen, Chuvash, Yakut. Of all the students with non-Russian languages, the students of each grade are: 1–4 grades – 60%, grades 5–9 – 33.4%, 10–11 grades – 6.5% of all such students. In general, according to an expert assessment, "from year to year there is a reduction in schools with non-Russian as a means of instruction, as well as schools with Russian and non-Russian languages used in this function. In general, there is a dominant tendency to reduce the volume of functioning of languages in the communicative sphere of education" (Goryacheva 2016, p. 21) (Fig. 21.2).

	1995/1996	2000/2001	2001/2002	2002/2003	2005/2006	2014/2015
Abazin	1	0	0	0	0	0
Avar	584	497	589	537	537 – El	442 – El, Rur
Adygei	31	35	37	20	20 – El	17 – El
Azeri	5	6	6	6	6 - El	
Altay	63	62	65	64	64 - H	36
Armenian	2	7	3	7	7 (1-11)	
Balkar	23	10	8	5	5 - El	0
Bashkir	892	884	886	911	911	537 - H
Buryat	144	146	143	140	140 (1-11)	0
Georgian	1	1	1	1	1 (1-11)	
Dargin	233	186	188	187	187 (1-11)	211 – El, Rur
Jewish	-	-	2	-	0	
Ingush	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kabardin	106	86	74	74	0	0
Kazakh	1	1	1	1	1 - H	
Kalmyk	42	64	66	71	71 - H	19 - H
Kumyk	72	75	73	71	71 (1-4)	47 – El, Rur
Lack	70	75	71	79	79 (1-4)	46 – El, Rur
Lezgyn	148	149	137	148	148 (1-4)	118 – El, Rur
Mari (gorny)	42	39	33	20	20 (1-4)	26 – B
Mari (lugovoy)	298	276	259	258	258 - H	208 - B
Mordva (moksha)	137	110	113	117	117 (1-4)	48 – El, Rur
Mordva (erzya)	101	96	97	83	83 (1-4)	31 – El, Rur
German	1	4	4	0	0	0

Fig. 21.2 Russia's people's languages (other than Russian) as a medium of instruction (El elementary school, B basic school, H high school, Rur Rural area). (Obrazovanie 2003; Mikhalchenko 2016)

Nogay	2	0	0	0	0	0
Osetyn	64	58	53	45	45 (1-4)	0
Russian	62817	60851	60619	59515		
Tabasaran	71	70	57	71	71 (1-4)	66 – El, Rur
Tatar	2374	2280	2207	2166	2166 (1-11)	999 - H
Tuvin	150	152	151	153	153 (1-9)	137 - B
Turkish	3	0	0	0	0	0
Udmurt	56	48	44	44	44 - H	0
Hakass	17	10	10	12	12 – El	17 – El, Rur
Cherkess	8	7	8	7	7	0
Chechen	20	21	18	19	19 - El	
Chuvash	628	592	593	571	571 - H	
Yakut	430	426	441	445	443 - H	414- El

Fig. 21.2   (continued)

Summing up, we can state that the growth of national movements in ethnic regions led to the increase of studying of native languages in ethnic regions. The wide spread of ethnic revival began almost simultaneously in different regions during the crisis of the USSR (but actions taken in Tatarstan became a model for the other regions). In the 1980s study in or of native languages at schools was sharply increased in national regions. Several years later (the timeframes differing in various regions but ranging from three to ten years) indigenous and Russian populations discovered that new curriculums led to insufficient knowledge of the Russian language. This situation limited social mobility by education because vocational education (especially higher education) remained exclusively the province of the Russian language. In addition, the USE (that gives admission into universities) is administered only in Russian. In the late 1980s and in the 1990s the situation became very complicated, and these problems remain unresolved. On the one hand, expressing a positive attitude towards learning a titular nation language has political significance as a component of democracy, it is interpreted as an attitude of support for the culture and status of that nation; on the other hand, differences in the level of knowledge of Russian language by graduates of Russian and national schools, from Russian

and national regions, means inequalities in the starting conditions of youth persist. This is especially important for children from minority families. The Russian Federal Ministry took measures to ensuring a unified educational space in the country but researchers state that today's situation is still acute.

By the fall of 2017 there were signs of a definite shift in the management of the linguistic aspects of educational policy. After some statements made by President Putin about the inadmissibility of compulsory learning of languages for students who are not native to them, administrative legal tools, including prosecutorial examinations, were put into effect. In Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Yakutia and Chuvashia and other republics, discrepancies related to the compulsory study of national languages and a decrease in the share of studying the Russian language were revealed. The Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation will assume more stringent functions to regulate relevant standards and determine the scope of studying native minority languages and official regional languages of republics as units of Russian Federation. The study of non-Russian languages will be translated into a purely voluntary basis and will be limited to two hours a week. The situation, apparently, can be conceptualized in the analytical perspective of the language regimes (Liu 2015, pp. 137–154) in the educational domain. There are some clear evidences of replacement balance between "Power Sharing" model of educational ethno-language regime, on the one hand, and "Power Concentrating" model, on the other hand, by more asymmetrical and centralized vision and strategic orientation towards the goals associated with "unified educational space" which was named above.

School Quality and Ethnic Background

A second research tradition explores the differences in Russian schools in terms of quality, as measured by the teaching, condition of school buildings, and technological resources that schools have. Researchers analyze the characteristics of theses disparities and their consequences for ethnic inequality.

This problem exists even in Tatarstan. In the 2000s this republic was regarded as one of the most successful and free from social problems among the 83 federal subjects of Russia. However, regarding the quality of education, teachers' qualification level the schools of the republic were ranked in the middle and sometimes in the lower half of the Russian rating system. This occurred due to predominance of rural schools with learning conducted in the Tatar language (Gohberg et al. 2007, pp. 3–30).

Researchers mention that a 'culmination' of several factors of inequality appears at national schools. Comparatively low income levels and smaller cultural capital resources of pupils' families are added to the low quality of teaching. Senior pupils at schools with national languages as the mode learning more frequently come from low-income families than pupils at other schools (they stressed in interviews 'we survive from salary to salary'). In addition, their parents are attained lower levels of education. This fact is acknowledged even in more prosperous republics such as Sakha (Yakutia), Tatarstan, and Bashkortostan. The reason is primarily that the majority of children at national schools are from rural areas or those who recently moved to cities.

The schools of the North Caucasus republics have been subject to particularly adverse, insecure conditions for a long time because of on-going terrorism and military conflicts. According to the official statistics, in 2006 one-third of Ingushetia schools occupied substandard buildings due to unameliorated deterioration, 20% required immediate reconstruction. Similarly, more than one-third of schools in Dagestan were in ramshackle houses or houses under the threat of collapse, and only 23% of pupils studied in standard-designed schools. Some republic governments' reports even noted an increase in the number of children who do not attend school (Program 2006).

Buryatia is one of more prosperous regions regarding education. But even there rural schools where more Buryat children study differed from city schools. Those differences comprised computer equipment, internet connections, and teachers' qualifications (Report 2004). Sakha (Yakutia) is also a republic with high indicators of education. Regarding computer equipment the schools of this republic are among the best. But in the beginning of 2010 11% of even this district's schools were in a state of disrepair (Report 2009/2010, p. 26).

Some sociological studies have been conducted to assess the opportunities for upward social mobility of the youth of indigenous ethnic groups. The level of university admissions after school graduation was assessed and subsequent social status of children in comparison with their parents' social status was measured. For example, Ostapenko pointed out that from 1997 to 2002 in Sakha (Yakutia) more Yakut youth entered universities immediately after school graduation than ethnic Russians, and in the first stages of their labor career they overtook their parents regarding their social status. The social mobility of Tatar youth was higher than the social mobility of all youth of the republic and higher than the social mobility of youth in the regions with dominant Russian populations (for example Orenburg region). However this increase is not evenly distributed; young people living in villages, even among the Yakut and more so the Tatars, Bashkir and young people of other nationali-

ties, appeared to have fewer opportunities for university education and upward social mobility than their urban counterparts (Ostapenko 2002, p. 65).

Such an inequality of opportunities is acknowledged in a very negative way even in those places where the youth enjoys high quality education in general. The Deputy Minister of Economy in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) told the researcher during the interview, that it is more difficult for Sakha youth to obtain higher education because they are living in villages and learning in small schools, where teachers are worse. He reported that ethnic Russians in his republic have generally more educational opportunities because they are mostly living in cities where schools are better, and teachers are more qualified. Further, fewer Sakha youth than Russians continue their education in Moscow or other big cities because they do not have relatives or family networks there and Sakha parents fear have their children so far away. Moreover, parents do not wish to send their children to boarding schools: afterwards children rarely return to their parents, and on the whole parents and children no longer share a common sense of understanding, even the language of boarding school-educated children becomes different, and their parents' lifestyle in the tundra does not fit them (Archives 1999).

To summarize, research shows that there is a great variability in educational resources between schools in Russia. Rural schools have worse education quality, teachers' qualifications, housing conditions, computer equipment, internet connections, and so on. National schools (where learning is conducted in the native language) are more frequently rural schools. Additionally, several important factors increase observable inequality. Pupils in rural schools are mainly from lower-income families than pupils at other schools, their parents have small cultural capital resources, are less educated. As a result, young people from ethnic groups living in villages have fewer opportunities after school graduation for university education and upward social mobility after school graduation than their urban counterparts. Of particular concern are those schools in regions that are characterized by adverse, insecure environments due to military conflicts. Such schools are in worse condition.

Socio-Cultural Differences and Education

The third research tradition aims to chart and explain differences in educational aspirations and achievement between sub-national minority groups and the majority group of Russians. Studies point out that the prestige attached to education among various ethnic groups changed in different ways

during the years of significant transformation in Russia. This dynamic would depend on a range of factors such as the fluctuations in the regional labor market, maintenance or loss of cultural traditions, and changing conditions of the educational infrastructure.

For example, a loss in the prestige of education among the Russian population of Tatarstan, Sakha (Yakutia), North Ossetia, Tyva, and Bashkortostan was noticed in ethno-sociological research during the 1990s. This was related mainly to the fact that both skilled specialists and even poorly educated people could become wealthy when involved in trade networks and service in those years. On the other hand, education always remained prestigious among the Yakuts, Tyvinians, Ossetians (Drobizheva 2010, p. 131). This phenomenon cannot be explained by changes in the labor market but rather by stable traditions, high prestige of education and skilled work (Fig. 21.3).

Using statistical data, Ostapenko pointed out that the proportion of people with higher education among Adygeis, Altaians, Buriats, Yakuts, Kalmyks, and Ossetians in urban areas increased approximately four times from 1960 to 1980. Among the Tatars, Mordvinians, Maris, and Chuvashs the number of those who possessed a specialized secondary education grew more rapidly (Ostapenko 2002, pp. 38–39). As a result, 40–50% of urban titular nationalities population in half of the republics in Russia held university or college diplomas to the beginning of the 1980s when the country was undergoing considerable transformations. Such was the situation not only for Buriats and Yakuts who had always differed from other minority nationals with higher indicators in education (the rate of specialists with higher education was superior to Russians in the republics by two times), but the Adygeis, Ossetians, Altais, Kalmyks, Kabardians, Balkars, Komis, Mordvins, Khakasses were also in an analogous situation (Ostapenko 2002, pp. 48, 49). Around that time people started to talk about the overabundance of specialists, and about the fact that not all qualified specialists were employed in correspondence with their level of education.

As a result, some conflicts of interests occurred among people of various ethnicities who pretended with equal bases to be employed in intellectual work. It is not a coincidence that more remarkable national claims and movements for the raising of republics' status took place in Tatarstan and Sakha (Yakutia) in the 1990s.

It is important that in the same period of time the titular nationalities moved into a privileged position in comparison with Russians with regard to obtaining prestigious positions in the administrative apparatus of the republics. In this case the influence of a specific sector of labor market had an impact. This happened not only as a result of changes in the state's ethnic

	Per 1000 people indicated their native language / %% of speakers				Lavels of education per 1000 people (elder than 15 years)			
	Language of corresponding ethnicity		Russian language		Basic general and higher education		Higher education (including postgraduate one)	
	1989	2010	1989	2010	2002	2010	2002	2010
Population in general	-	-	-	-	911	940	161	234
Russians	1000	999	-	-	916	943	167	243
Tatars	856	792 / 69,0	142	205 / 97,8	899	927	127	201
Ukranians	428	242 / 34,7	570	762 / 99,8	915	935	200	258
Bashkirs	728	716 / 62,0	101	137 / 97/5	887	920	95	148
Chuvash	775	709 / 68,9	223	290 / 98,6	889	921	100	115
Chechens	988	988 / 93,9	11	11 / 92,4	854	905	76	118
Armenians	678	690 / 50,5	318	307 / 99,4	952	951	181	221
Avars	977	982 / 82,9	16	13 / 92,0	888	915	106	158
Mordovians	690	647 / 54/2	308	352 /99,7	829	884	92	150
Kazakh	872	722 / 52,2	115	273 / 99,1	885	916	73	113
Azeri	842	836 / 62,2	146	153 / 97,4	952	952	132	159
Dargins	979	980 / 82,7	15	16 / 93,6	852	892	96	156
Udmurts	708	622 / 54,2	289	377 / 99,1	877	911	86	132
Mari	819	747 / 67,4	178	250 / 98,7	881	922	80	118

Fig. 21.3 Distribution of the population of most numerous ethnic groups of Russia by native languages identification and the levels of education. (Census 2010)

Ossetians	932	926 / 82,6	64	71 / 97,8	930	951	221	299
Belarussians	362	173 / 23,9	635	825 / 99,8	891	912	186	242
Kabardins	976	979 / 86,1	22	20 / 95,2	930	953	154	209
Kumyks	977	981 / 79,2	18	15 / 95,2	919	938	122	190
Yakuts	940	933 / 85,2	59	67 / 90,6	926	958	161	245
Lezgins	940	949 / 82,4	45	43 / 94,2	933	952	144	216
Buryats	866	785 / 45,4	133	214 / 99,2	932	956	221	297
Ingushs	982	983 / 71,3	16	15 / 94,6	893	909	121	184

Fig. 21.3 (continued)

policy (the declared position of Russians as a 'big brother' in the Soviet past was removed from the public sphere). The majority of Russians living in the national republics of Russia did not know the language of the titular nationalities. The knowledge of two languages became preferable for obtaining leading positions in the administrative apparatus. Russians were in failure in this respect in comparison with the representatives of the titular nationalities, who spoke fluently both languages.

In the period of transition to the market economy, the ethnic groups living in the republics with export-directed economies were in the best conditions. They could realize their educational potential more effectively. For example Bashkortostan, Tatarstan, Sakha (Yakutia), Karelia were among those republics that held companies in extractive industries.

While assessing these results, one should take into account the fact that accessibility of education among aboriginal ethnic groups (and particularly, access to education of high level and quality), as mentioned above, was influenced by the ratio of population in rural areas.

It is known that social contradictions do not always arise on the basis of real social differences including those related to the educational opportunities. Typically, contradictions are largely caused by how social hierarchies are interpreted in the everyday consciousness; herewith, social hierarchies are 'crystallized' in consequent mythologems or stereotypes.

To clarify various ideas on ethnic inequality (including those enshrined in mythologems) some special surveys were conducted from 1999 to 2002 (Drobizheva 2002) and from 2007 to 2008 (Report 2009a).[3] The researches have proceeded from the assumption that if the social inequality in mass consciousness is linked to ethnicity (if people do believe that their ethnicity has an impact on their social status), then people will act in correspondence with those beliefs and treat representatives of other ethnic groups likewise: as a competitive equal or unequal to their groups. This is a case of self-fulfilling prophecy. The researchers have aligned themselves with the famous 'Thomas theorem', that is, if people identify situations as real, then they *are* real in regard of their consequences (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918, p. 79). When members of contacting ethnic groups define the same intergroup reality in different ways then the grounds of social tensions and conflicts arise. This can essentially become apparent in adaptation processes of ethnic groups to the modern labor market, informational resources, and technologies.

The subjects of the study were Tatars and Russians in Tatarstan, Yakuts and Russians in Sakha (Yakutia), Russians and Tatars in Orenburg region where Tatars live in a dominant Russian populated environment, as well Russians and Tatars in Bashkortostan. Such a selection allowed the researchers to study the following issues: how ethnic groups with various traditions are drawn into transformation processes; whether and how cultural particularities influence social inequality and ideas on it; how the real inequality of ethnic groups correlates with ideas on inequality among Russians and titular nationalities in national republics; and what ethno-cultural and ethno-political factors exist among the explanatory models of movements toward the social advancement.

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[3] The projects are executed by the researchers of Institute of Sociology of Russian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with colleagues from various republics and regions of the Russian Federation. The project realized during 1999–2002 was directed by L. Drobizheva. The project realized during 2007–2008 was directed by L. Drobizheva, M. Chernish, A. Bravin, and E. Yakovleva. The described aim of the research is to reveal the real state of ethnic inequality and the role of myths in its perception. The parameters of the representative sample have been developed for the main nationalities in republics and regions. In the surveys of 1999–2002 1050 respondents in Sakha (Yakutia) were interviewed, 1000 in Tatarstan, 1317 in Bashkortostan, and 1160 in the Orenburg region. In the survey of 2007–2008, 1328 people were interviewed in Sakha (Yakutia). Both qualitative (survey) and quantitative (interview) methods were used.

One of the major conclusions of the study is expressed by the fact that we often fix non-comparable social practices on the background of common processes. It is more than a decade since Yakuts in the cities of Sakha (Yakutia) overtook Russians regarding the level of education (measured by the ratio of specialists with higher education). However, the majority of Yakuts live not in the cities but in rural areas; and there the inclusion of the population in modern types of activities is not at all on a high level (especially, in terms of the dispersed population over a large sparsely populated area).

There is another situation in Tatarstan. The levels of education between Russians and Tatars are very similar. Most importantly, starting from the end of the 1980s they slightly differed from each other by the sector of employment. There are few differences on the ratio of industrial and artistic intellectuals as well. Whereas in Sakha (Yakutia) or Bashkortostan the ratio of industrial intellectuals between Russians and titular ethnic groups differs by more than four times. For the interpretations of these results the term 'glocalization' is of high importance, the term is referred to adaptations of economic practices to local conditions and linked to the description of social space reconstructions (Robertson 1995, pp. 28, 29; Luke 1995, pp. 91–107).

Indicators, used above, traditionally are important in Russia for perception and comprehension of the place of the group in the society by itself and to compare it with that of other groups. The ethnic groups of Russia largely differed from each other on the basis of these indicators. The variation coefficient in 1989 on the rate of highly qualified specialists among the employed city population of the republic was 33%, regarding the rate of highly qualified blue collars it was 21%, and for low and non-qualified blue collars – 18% (Ostapenko 2002, p. 27).

Not only the ratio of prestigious employment in the ethnic community is important for its impressions of the equality or inequality; ethnic community's representation in the most prestigious groups of the whole population is also significant. For example, Yakuts had a greater percentage of high-skilled specialists (in the cities) than Russians, but among high-level administrators in the republic there were 19% of Yakuts and 61% of Russians; among the high- skilled specialists Yakuts amounted to 9%, Russians – to 68% (it is necessary to take into consideration that Yakuts comprise 31% of the population in the republic, and in the cities their percentage is even less). Yakuts interpreted their requests deeper and more versatile than many other nationalities, and that was evidently expressed in their requirements to settle control over the resources in the 1990s (Drobizheva et al. 1996, pp. 205–210).

Among Bashkirs, Tatars, Yakuts (and most other non-Russian ethnic groups) intergenerational mobility (the rate of those who improved their sta-

tus in comparison with their fathers) was higher than among Russians. Half of all high-skilled Tatar and Bashkir specialists and a little less than half Yakuts in the cities (where they mostly maintain contacts with Russians) came from the families of less qualified workers.

Surveys conducted from 2007 to 2008 pointed out that in the social positions of Yakuts and Russians there were notable changes in comparison with the 1990s. In the urban population the ratios of Yakuts and Russians among specialists and technicians, businessmen and industrial leaders became closer to each other (Fig. 21.4). The rate of people with higher education among the Yakuts and Russians became practically the same.

The information above shows how inadequate the assessments of the existing situation can be if we consider the equality/inequality of nationalities on any single, albeit very significant, statistical criterion. The more diverse views may exist in the everyday consciousness. At present in the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic over 30% of Yakuts and 40% of Russians believe that ethnicity does matter in regard to employment opportunities, and half of Russians believe that nationality affects the ability to take a high position in government. Yakuts consider that Russians have better opportunities to start their own business (30% of Yakuts believed that Russians had more opportunities in this field of activity, and so thought 12% of Russians). Koroteeva analyzed the economic and social opportunities of ethnic groups in the assessments of studied regions' population and arrived at the conclusion that 'people are apt
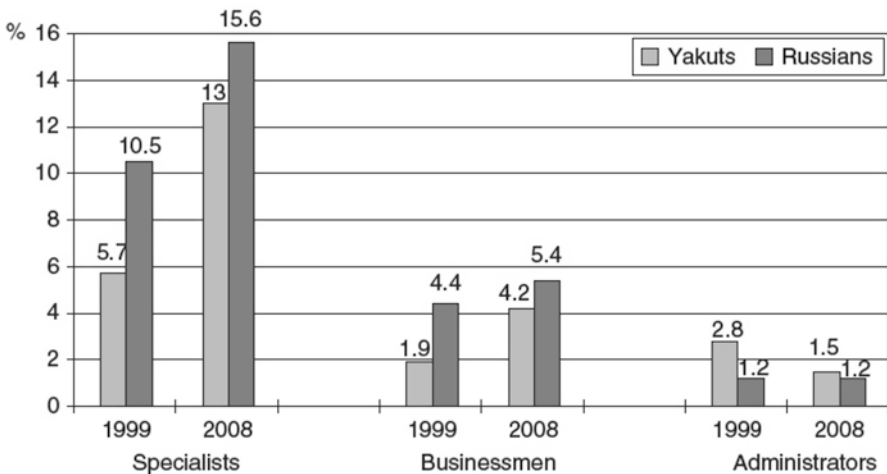
Fig. 21.4 Russians and Yakuts among specialists, businessmen and administrators in Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) in 1999 and 2008

to exaggerate the infringements of opportunities of their own group and minimize their privileges' (Koroteeva 2002, p. 130).

Thus: the social processes in regions were in general the same as a whole (the same as across the country), but their variations were diverse (they were shown above in quantitative terms). We cannot a fit general model for all ethnic groups and all regions. Different economic and political conditions, cultural traditions, population settlement pattern, specifics of the labor market, and other factors (including very specific ethnic and regional ones) shape the local situation and its dynamic over time. Every case deserves consideration and must be investigated in the future.

Problems of Migrants and Receiving Society

The next research tradition is new for Russia and therefore concerned not many publications. As was mentioned above, the issue of integration of migrants into Russian society came to the fore with increased economic-based migration. The most important role in the integration of these newcomers is assigned to education.

This applies to all three categories of migrants that were described above. Of the three, repatriates-compatriots need the least secondary socialization: they speak Russian, they know the Russian culture. However, they also need some social, cultural, and economic adaptation. The immigrants coming to Russia for permanent residence face serious problems. They need integration in all spheres. Although they come from the former Soviet republics, they do not know well the language and culture of modern Russia, orientate poorly in the socio-economic realities. This is especially true for young people who grew up in the newly independent states. Labor migrants who come for temporary jobs need further assistance, because they are often people with lower general and professional education coming from the regions where there is almost no knowledge of either the Russian language or the current Russian reality. In general, researchers (Kliucharev and Mukomel 2008, pp. 305, 315) define the following programs of education (Fig. 21.5).

There is another important aspect of social and educational policy. Researchers point to xenophobic moods among the population in Russia that create difficulties for migrants (Vendina 2009, pp. 96–97). This problem exists in Russia as in other countries. In Russia, this has become more complicated by the fact that the experience of a massive reception of immigrants in the country did not exist.

Target groups	Types of educational programs		
	Linguistic	Cultural (acquaintance with traditions, customs, culture	Professional (vocational)
Compatriots	-	+	+
Immigrants	+	+	+
Labour migrants	+	+	+

Fig. 21.5 Educational programs in the context of integration policies

The majority of today's migrants are former citizens of the USSR: Ukrainians, Belarusians, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Georgians, Uzbeks, Kyrgyzs, Kazakhs, and Tajiks. In the past they moved to Russian cities (at that time USSR) to study or work by invitation, and then stayed after the military service or university graduation. They were already adapted to Russian culture. There were almost no negative attitudes toward them. Today they are citizens of other states; moreover, they are from the states that separated from Russia. Additionally, the majority are not adapted to the Russian environment, and in their behavior they differ from the mainstream population. Sociologists from Levada Center and Department of Ethnic Sociology of Institute of Sociology (Russian Academy of Sciences) note that the cause of xenophobia is not economic competition because the migrants are involved in the niches of the labor market where the local population prefers not to work. The main reason given is the perception that the newcomers behave 'like the masters of our land' (Public Opinion 2006, p. 162; Russian Identity 2008, p. 125).

While taking part in international comparative studies (ESS) Russian researchers in 2006 found the most negative attitudes towards migration ('no entry permit to anybody') among 28% of the population. Of 25 European countries the number of those opponents to migration was higher than in Russia in Hungary (39%), Portugal, and Cyprus (29–30%). About 35% of respondents in Russia considered that 'not all must be allowed to arrive'; approximately the same response rate was found in Spain, Germany, Great Britain, and Norway (35–36%) (Drobizheva and Arutiunova 2009, p. 209).

Researchers point out that it would be misleading to assume that only migrants need to know the traditions, customs, and culture of the other side:

The integration of migrants is a two-way traffic between the cultures of recipient society and migrants […] Recipient society also needs basic knowledge of traditions, customs, culture, peculiarities of behavior and social communication of migrants arriving from other societies. This kind of education of the recipient society should be the task of mass media and mass culture, public policy sphere. (Kliucharev and Mukomel 2008, p. 318).

Establishment of an appropriate system for both migrants and the receiving society is an important task of politicians and managers of education. It is necessary to consider not only today's opportunities, but also long-term challenges. As is pointed out in reviewed publications, there is a need to take into account the necessity for the socialization of children of migrants, or later there is a possibility of facing the same serious social problems that Europe has already experienced (Kliucharev and Mukomel 2008, p. 310). It is also important to cooperate with unemployed adult family members, and this is subject to additional constraints on boosting the motivation to education, especially for older people who are often not configured to integrate into the culture of the hosting country. The authors note: 'currently, Russia lacks the methods and practices of cultural education both for the unemployed adult family members of migrants, and in terms of non-formal education for migrants' youth'. It should also be borne in mind that today there are practically no professionals to work with migrants and no expert-consultants for local governments. The implementation of these significant tasks depends on federal and local authorities' (Kliucharev and Mukomel 2008, pp. 316–318, 322).

In total, we have established that researchers in this tradition concentrate on two issues today: difficulties of migrants' situations and tasks of social and educational policy. In doing so, we are observing the starting point of this research tradition in the making. While the current information and analytical base is rather poor, we can hope that social and educational policy development will be active and successful; in any case we remained convinced that this research tradition will be continued.

Students' Inter-Ethnic Relations

How do learners of different ethnic groups feel themselves at the educational institutions? How do they treat each other? The research tradition on these issues could not be dismissed in multi-ethnic Russia, since at schools, in the universities, and other educational institutions there are children, teenagers

and young people of various ethnicities. Such studies are few, but their results speak for themselves.

Some migrants moved to Russia bringing with them all their family including children who had to be taught at schools. The issues of adaptation of children, their relationships with peers, and issues mastering the Russian language they are taught in, are all the focus of researchers' attention. This research direction is very new, and advances in a lively debate among researchers.

There is an opinion that 'the migrants' children quickly adapt to the Russian schools'. At the same time the authors mentions: 'Though here we face some problems: in a range of Russian regions, including Moscow, special classes are organized for migrants' children with poor or no knowledge of Russian language' (Kliucharev and Mukomel 2008, p. 316).

The knowledge of Russian language is considered important. Experts point out that children from urban areas of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan knew Russian on arrival and were sent to ordinary/general schools. But, for example, the children of migrants that came from villages or small towns of Armenia and whose language in the home was their mother tongue were not ready to study at Russian language schools.

Big communities with wealthy sponsors established schools in their mother language. This way Armenian, Georgian, Azerbaijani and Kazakh language schools came into existence. Some schools in national languages were established for children to learn their mother language and communicate with relatives. Those were the schools in Estonian, Polish and German languages.

But there have been children from the 'problem families'. Those are mostly immigrant families from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan that come to earn money. Their children pass the schooling age in Russia without gaining adequate knowledge of Russian language. If they are not legal migrants (or remain unregistered for any reason) then their children cannot be enrolled in school. Then much depends on employers who are not always able or want to support them. Some evidence shows that more fortunate are the children from the families who work as yard cleaners, work taken on often by Kyrgyzs, Tajiks, or Uzbeks. If they work well their employers apply on their behalf to the nearby school for enrollment of their children. Researchers of illegal migrants convey the story of one of the respondents: 'Our boss talked to the principal of the school and now our son studies at school for free. He studies well, makes friendship with Russian children, there are no problems' (Grigoriev and Osinnikov 2009, p. 50).

In the literature on immigration issues most frequently mentioned are the difficulties regarding employment, living conditions, medical service but not

the access to education. Discriminatory practices in access to education are noted by researchers only very rarely. It is noteworthy that migrants themselves did not note the existing infringements in education when surveyed (Tiurukanova 2009, pp. 163, 187).

How do the migrants' children feel themselves in Russian schools?

> As the experience shows, children do not like the majority of their foreign peers [...]. Not satisfactory knowledge of language, not a clear speech or accent – all these play their part here ... And children themselves communicating with their peers in Moscow often feel their 'inferiority', deprivation. Though the majority of migrants mentions the good and neutral attitude, yet a significant part of migrants faces the ill-will. (Grigoriev and Osinnikov 2009, pp. 50, 51)

The description quoted above corresponds with earlier surveys (Sobkin 1984, pp. 222–225). In the years 1999–2006, in the so-called 'ordinary' schools of Moscow the percentage of ethnic intolerant teenagers increased.[4] While learners declare that ethnicity does not matter to them in the choice of friends or classmates, in fact, people of their own ethnicity prevail among friends, regarding the choice of classmates there also exists selectivity.

The research pointed out that the schoolchildren surveyed (a sample of various but not small proportions of teenagers from different ethnic groups) assumed that there was an ethnic inequality, that there were people deprived of their rights and opportunities, and also recognized the existence of the ethnic inequality in the vertical social mobility. Approximately two-fifths of Russians, Azerbaijanis and Tatars, half of Armenians and Georgians, over a third of Koreans and more than a quarter of Jews had at least one or more times read or heard malevolent or hostile remarks about their own ethnicity or the people of their ethnic group. In addition, from one-seventh to nearly one-third of Tatars, Russians, Armenians, Georgians and Azerbaijanis (listed in order of increasing rate) faced these experiences many times.

An intolerant attitude towards immigrants obviously dominates the tolerant one. One-half to two-thirds of Russian teenagers consider immigrants as people of the 'second sort' who behave improperly, contributing to the criminalization of the urban environment, competing with the old residents in the

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[4] The study was conducted in 2005 under the guidance of V. Shapiro. Research areas were: ethnic identity and stereotypes among pupils representing ethnic majorities and minorities; their involvement in inter-ethnic relations and cooperation in the multi-ethnic metropolis. The sample comprised 2455 learners in Grades 8–11 from the 39 secondary schools in Moscow (including ethnic Russians, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Georgians, Jews, Koreans, and Tatars). Subjects responded to a questionnaire titled 'You, Your Nation and Other Nations' containing 166 questions. The study was supported by the Department of Education and the Committee of Interregional Relations and National Policy of Moscow.

labor market, and depriving Moscow of traditional national traits. Only 10–33% of teenagers do not agree with these views (Shapiro et al. 2007, pp. 8–9, 11, 18, 26, 38–39).

Another study conducted in St Petersburg[5] has not shown any ethnic conflicts, xenophobia or lack of tolerance on the school level while discussing problems related to migrant children with the teachers and principals. At the same time the analysis of the students' communication networks prove that ethnic majority children appear to disregard ethnicity when choosing friends, whereas ethnic minority children prefer to make friends with other ethnic minorities. The researchers note that such patterns of friends' selection are also identified in European schools, and in this respect Russian students do not differ from their European counterparts.

Regarding the language difficulties, it should be mentioned that children who have come to St Petersburg before or around the age of seven do not have any difficulties with linguistic adaptation. But ethnic minority teenagers who have come at the age of ten or older often need adaptation which requires special efforts from schools. In 'ordinary' schools children of migrants study better than local children, especially those who arrived in St Petersburg before school age.

There is an important observation on how migrant families of various statuses act while choosing schools for their children. The research demonstrates that the distribution of children by school depends more on social class than on ethnic background. Migrants who lack material resources and social capital prefer schools attended by children from local families with a low socioeconomic status, while children of well off and more-educated migrants are enrolled in schools with advanced curriculum. Researchers mention that 'this seems to be in accord with the theory of segmented assimilation, although with a qualification: migrants are integrated into different segments of society according to their socio-economic status without forming ethnic enclaves'.

Notwithstanding the general optimism of the publication the authors advance the following speculation in their conclusions: 'Faced by discrimina-

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[5] The results of the survey carried out in St Petersburg schools, spring 2010, are published. The head of research was D. Aleksandrov (National Research University, Higher School of Economics). Research areas were: the issues of ethnic and social differentiation among schools, parents' interaction with schools, teachers' attitudes to migrant minority students, and ethnic effects in communication among students. The sample comprised 104 schools from all 18 districts of St Petersburg. Researchers surveyed 419 classes (Grades 8–10 covering all students in the grade), resulting in the collection of 7380 student questionnaires. The sample is fully representative for schools with a standard curriculum. Also more than 150 interviews with migrant students, migrant parents, teachers and school administrators were performed. The total sample includes about 10% ethnic migrants. The largest migrant minority groups are Azerbaijani (26% of the entire population of ethnic minorities) and Armenians (18%); Central Asian ethnic groups account for 14%, North Caucasians for 12%, and Georgians for 8%.

tion on the labor market and obstacles to social mobility after the positive experiences at school, today's students may experience in a decade deep social deprivation' (Alexandrov et al. 2012).

The study conducted at the universities[6] has shown that in most cases students are inclined to tolerant attitudes toward people of other ethnic groups. About half of the interviewed students, as a rule, treat people of other ethnic groups with respect. But this does not apply to one in three students. In addition, the 40% has noted that they have faced an ill-disposed attitude because of their ethnicity this often happens with non-Russians, in particular, with Caucasians, as well as Jews. Local youth has a negative attitude toward the arrival for education purposes of young people from North Caucasus and Transcaucasia (regardless of citizenship and religion), natives from Southeast Asia and Africa. In a year, one in four students had to be engaged in conflict relations with representatives of other ethnic groups in the hometown.

The youth sees in refugees and displaced persons the reason for increased criminal activities (43.2% of students), the source of inter-ethnic conflicts (30%), and disrespect for the customs and traditions of the local population (42%). The latter association was primarily felt in relation to migrants from the Caucasian republics and Central Asia.

What are the views of students on the effectiveness of the current state policy on ethnic issues and migration? In general, researchers have received a negative opinion on the matter. Only 3.7% of those interviewed believe that much is being done by the state on the regulation of inter-ethnic relations, but that is not enough to relieve the tension. In addition, 20–30% of students are not satisfied with the measures taken by the state in the policy implementation. (Pokida 2009, pp. 13, 15, 16).

In Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (PFUR) the issue of ethnic tolerance is adopted by the university management as a fundamental principle. A study[7] at that institution has showed that more than half of Russian students there occupy a position of openness to people of other nationalities.

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[6] The 'Students in the Multi-National Megalopolises and Large Cities of Russia: Ethnic Self-Consciousness and Inter-Ethnic Relations' study was conducted by the sociological center of the Russian Academy of Public Administration in 2008. The survey was conducted among 3750 students in five Russian cities: Moscow, St Petersburg, Voronezh, Stavropol, and Orenburg. The survey involved 35 higher education institutions, including both traditional universities and regional branch institutions. The average age of respondentswas20 years. The main research areas were: ethnic consciousness for students and levels of ethnic and religious tolerance.

[7] The 'Level of Ethnic Tolerance Among the Students of PFUR' study was conducted in 2007–2008 by the sociological laboratory of Peoples' Friendship University of Russia. A questionnaire survey was implemented. A multi-stage sample proportional to the faculty, the academic year, and national status of a student (citizen of Russia, CIS, or foreign countries) was prepared (n = 400), representing 3.5% of the sampled population.

One-fourth of students tend more toward isolation in relation to the majority of ethnic groups, taking the following position: 'let them live and study in Russia, but I would not like to be engaged in direct contact with them'. In addition, 17% of students do not want to see people of other ethnic groups either as citizens or students in their own country, but are happy for them to visit as tourists. A small number of students (2.6%) has an openly xenophobic attitude (Demidova 2009, p. 88).

Indeed, not always good relationships are established among students of different nationalities at the universities. This was mentioned in the interview of the Deputy Minister of Economy, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), cited above. He described Yakut students who leave to study in the universities of big cities: 'But they differ from others by their appearance and do not always feel themselves comfortable' (Archives 1999).

As it becomes clear, the self-feelings and relationships of young people from different ethnic groups in educational institutions are not formed easily. This relationship seems to reflect the reality that young people absorb in their families and close surroundings. Many pupils and students are open and have friendly attitudes towards other ethnic groups. However, there are high inclinations towards ethnic isolation, and negative attitudes towards the representatives of other ethnic groups. Particularly, hostile attitudes towards immigrants are recorded. At the same time, many young people are dissatisfied with the state policy on ethnic issues.

The problems of migrants' children reflect the problems faced by their parents. The conditions of migrants' children depend on the status of parents, the region of origin, and the level of urbanization of the previous residency. There are reasons to assume that it varies in different regions of Russia.

It is evident that these researches have just started. They have involved a small portion of learners. Only quantitative methods (questionnaires) are used. A more extensive and intensive study, apparently, should be undertaken in the future. More solid conclusions can be made when new research on the conditions of migrants' children within the educational system, and also a prolonged study tracing the lives of migrant children after graduation from school will be undertaken.

Conclusion

The current state of Russian studies on ethnic inequality in the educational sphere expresses the reflection and consequences of the processes taking place in Russia for decades. In the 1920s and 1930s the authority of the state was

interested in the involvement of all ethnic groups of Russia in education to realize the defined objectives; ethnic aspects of educational problems were considered in scientific literature in that period of time. Afterward the investigation of such problems has not been developed by political reasons because it was proclaimed that the 'national issue' had been solved. Moreover, not all kinds of studies on inequality were possible, although some exceptions occurred. However, after the changes taken place in Russia during last decades some studies on ethnic inequality in education have been restarted.

In poly-ethnic societies any inequality in education has several dimensions, including those connected with the ethnicity. For example, the situation of selection in the labor market that is inevitable in conditions of economic competition is perceived in the public consciousness as differences in opportunities to get a plausible education and decent work. This is why the influence of ethnicity on the accessibility of education and its impact on the conditions of people in social structure of Russia draws special attention among Russian researchers.

Because research in this area has been in progress for only a few years, the literature used in this review chapter was limited in scope and number. It focuses necessarily on Russian researchers' publications and other materials written in Russian. The inequality of ethnic groups in education is more often studied as a part of various other forms of inequality, for example, a status inequality, and less as a topic on its own. Nevertheless, there is a significant literature focusing on the inequality of ethnic groups in education.

In reviewing the relevant research literature on race/ethnic inequalities in Russia between 1980 and 2016 the following research traditions can be identified: (1) Sub-national/ethnic minority languages and their educational and political implications, (2) School quality and ethnic or sub-national background, (3) Sub-national/ethnic minority background and educational aspirations and achievement, and (4) Attitude towards sub-national/ethnic minorities. In general, research has focused primarily on the experienced 'problems' of indigenous ethnic minority groups, or sub-national minority groups.

Those are the issues of national schools' status, the role of mother language and bilingualism in education for social mobility opportunities. Growth of the national movements in ethnic regions after the crisis of the USSR led to the increase of mother language's role as one of the main aims and conditions of ethnic revival. In the 1980s the studying of native languages at schools sharply increased in ethnic regions. But some time later the population discovered that new curriculums led to insufficient knowledge of Russian language. This situation limited social mobility by education because vocational

education (on post-secondary, university levels especially) use Russian language almost exclusively. Learning of a titular ethnic group language has political meaning as a component of democracy, it is ascribed an attitude toward culture and status of a nation; but differing levels of knowledge of Russian language by graduates of Russian and national schools from Russian and national regions means inequality of youth's starting conditions. The problem remains unsolved and this research tradition will be continued.

Further, there is a social differentiation of ethnic groups with connection to education and role of the ethnic factor in social mobility. Different ideas on ethnic inequality have been also studied. One research tradition explores the differences between school institutional factors. Rural schools have worse education quality, teachers' qualification, housing conditions, computer equipment, and so on. But national schools are frequently rural schools. Additionally, pupils in rural schools are from low-income families more than pupils in other schools, their parents have small cultural capital resources and are less well-educated. This characteristic of the national/rural school pupil contingent increases inequality. As a result, young people from ethnic groups living in the villages have fewer opportunities after school graduation for university education and upward social mobility than their urban counterparts. It may be predicted that this research tradition will be developed while the differences between schools in Russia is so large.

The next research tradition explores differentiation in prestige attached to education, youth aspirations, realities of getting an education and notions about competition of ethnic groups in various regions. Researchers found out considerable differences between situations in various regions and analyzed their conditionality by considerable factors of reality. The social processes in regions were in general the same as a whole (the same as across the country), but their variations were various (they were shown in quantitative terms). Different economic and political conditions, cultural traditions, population settlement patterns, specifics of labor market, and other factors (including very specific ethnic and regional) have shaped the local situation and its dynamic during decades. Every case deserves consideration and must be investigated in the future.

In the last years a new problem became concrete for Russia: the problem of migration. Large streams of migrants, especially from former republics of the USSR, gushed into Russia. The most important role in the migrants' integration is assigned to education. The new research tradition concentrates on two issues: difficulties of migrants' situation and tasks of social and educational policy. This research tradition is in the making, with the result that current information and analytical base is rather poor. We can hope that this research tradition will be continued and useful for social and educational policy.

The research tradition studying how learners from different ethnic groups feel themselves at the educational institutions, and how they treat each other covers the analysis of declared statement and actual behavior of pupils and students. The researchers are focused on the study of how migrants' children feel themselves in the educational sphere: the ways they get adapted, their relations with peers from majority and minority ethnic groups, the ways they learn Russian. The materials show both encouraging and disturbing results. Here we face positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups, on one side, and intolerant attitudes, on the other side. The researchers show that the problems of migrants' children are the reflections of the problems faced by their parents. These researches have just started. The studies so far involved a small sample of students and only quantitative methods have been used. More solid conclusions can be made when further research is undertaken. There is a hope for more effective research initiatives in the future.

Within a reviving Russian sociology, the research traditions discussed above combine to mark the progress from oblivion to the modern level of social sciences in the last decades. It is necessary to use the experience and achievements of world science, and also take into account the specifics of Russian reality (which is not always easily combined). Russian researchers use all available methods, quantitative and qualitative, including questionnaires, interviews, focus groups and so on. In most cases more quantitative methods are used to develop knowledge on ethnic inequalities in education. Yet there is a need to define the theoretical approaches. While in some cases eclecticism can be noticed, positivist and structural-functional approaches are dominant.

The above research traditions, perhaps more than any others in Russia, are linked to the forming of social policy. First, they tend to focus on the analysis of the 'pain points', problem situations, and have a critical and constructive orientation. Second, they contain directly or indirectly more or less concrete proposals to resolve the problems. Finally, such researches are demanded by social policy-makers. Some case-studies (or specific directions in the study) were initiated by the Department of Interethnic Relations at the RF Ministry of Regional Development and local authorities in ethnic regions (it does not interfere with the researchers to result in an objective analysis and criticism). That is to say, there is a combination of the critical nature of the research with close collaboration of the government in order to influence and test social policy measures. The results of researches, including controversial issues are discussed at conferences and meetings in participation of researchers and policy-makers.[8]

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[8] For example, on 11 April 2012 the annual conference at the Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences was held under the title 'Social Realities of Contemporary Russia'. At the first session under the theme 'Interethnic Relations and Civil Identity in the Post-reform Russia' the head of the Department of

While policy recommendations are frequently made, they are not always and not all suggestions of researchers are implemented. Sometimes the implementation is hindered by political reasons determined by the short-term specifics of the local situation. In particular, this may be linked to the particularities of public opinion in ethnic groups (myths, stereotypes are manifested here). Sometimes the implementation of measures cannot be realized due to limitations of certain resources, such as educational infrastructure (a typical case with deficiencies in rural schools). The main thing is that ethnic inequalities in education cannot be eliminated by measures that can be implemented by and within one or more social institutions, such as education or labor market. As a rule, ethnic inequality is a societal problem and requires an integrated approach.

The changes that occurred in Russia and those that are currently taking place make the examined topic increasingly actual. There is a clear demand in society for information on these issues. We should expect that the number of studies on ethnic inequality will increase. There are also reasons to expect that there will be studies on ethnic inequality specifically in education. Also, it is hoped that they will become more in-depth and will continue to increase their representativeness.

The set of opportunities opened up to citizens by their society at each period of its development is a resource used differently. Opportunities in the educational field constitute a highly important resource, especially for youth. New conditions in post-Soviet Russia must inevitably influence the education field. Such influence comes from both the global factors of contemporary Russian reality (especially, economic differentiation) and from the specific pressure on the educational system from the interested groups which have the necessary capacity to exert it. Voluntarily or not the education system gets involved into the processes of social selection. Since the significance of educational system is increasing and the prognosis is that it will keep increasing, the social processes within this system attract more attention, first of all the problem of orientation and social behavior of young people, especially their orientation towards obtaining one or another level of education and the actual opportunities for that. The contradiction between the declared equal rights for education and the real social differentiation in educational field is rightfully considered as a societal problem.

This problem would be of certain significance for any society. It turns out to be especially urgent in contemporary Russia. The questions of democracy,

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Interethnic Relations of the Russian Ministry of Regional Development, A.V. Zhuravskiy, presented his report and took part in the general discussion.

equal opportunities, and social mobility are extremely sharp in a transitional society. Russian sociologists have to study and evaluate (from scratch, based upon our own investigation and materials) the new social mechanisms, conflicts, and the ways to settle them.

Research shows that the inequality begins at school and is then aggravated with the transition to occupational education, especially universities. This genesis of inequality causes to considerate the situation at schools particularly. However, it is improper and senseless to cast blame for ethnic equality entirely upon the system of education, to hold it responsible for everything. Here we see the reflection of what is going on in the society on the whole. The institution of education is not to be blamed for what so vividly was manifested in it. The education sphere is a mirror to our society; let us not accuse it. The purposeful activity should include not only the sphere of education. It should be large-scale, systematic, having solid organizational and financial provision.

Programs aimed to neutralize the consequences of unfavorable effects in Russia may be diverse. They should take into account the specific features of a region, an ethnic group and educational situation. Such programs require objective and multilateral evaluation which will take into consideration potential possibilities and real limitations. The development of such programs requires careful forecasting of its consequences in various aspects. It may be predicted with certainty that they will bring varied results, including new contradictions which, in their turn, will demand their solution from society. Nevertheless this cannot be an argument against scientific analysis and practical activity. It is important that society should not increase the opportunities of some groups at the expense of limiting the chances of others. The obligation of a fair society is to promote equal opportunities for people from all groups.

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22

Republic of South Africa: An Enduring Tale of Two Unequal Systems

Shaheeda Essack and Duncan B. Hindle

Introduction

The goal of this literature review is to describe and critically assess how sociologists and researchers in related disciplines in South Africa (SA) have studied racial and ethnic inequalities in education from pre-1994 to 2017. The current chapter builds up on the first documented review on research carried out on race, ethnicity and educational inequality which was conducted in 2014 by Essack and Hindle (2014). The review identified eight research traditions that had dominated the field: (1) from oligarchy to democracy; (2) policy development – state versus resistance movements; (3) the impact of the removal of race-based policies; (4) racial (de) segregation; (5) (de)segregation and school resources; (6) curriculum studies; (7) teacher training and pedagogy; (8) charting inequalities in student outcomes. Some challenges identified in the previous review relate to identifying research paradigms that yield suggestions on improvement with respect to policy and impact to the embedded nature of learner experience within a school context to how inequalities can be addressed in former African schools and mixed-race schools. This chapter builds on the previous review, and read together they show the

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persistence of many of the issues raised in the previous chapter. Continued educational inequalities, and the challenges in realising the broader socio-economic gains of democracy, remain central themes. Consequently, the quantitative and positivist methods of analysis retain their dominance in the research traditions, and focus on the impact of the removal of race-based policies; racial (de) segregation; (de)segregation and school resources and inequalities in student outcomes. However, when supported by quantitative results, qualitative methods have also provided a deeper understanding of many issues. Newer traditions such as "rural education" reflects a shift from the period of instability while establishing the new democratic state, towards one that is more focused on universal issues of equity and quality in education. Altogether, nine research traditions have been identified in this review.

In several ways, the current review indicates a politically biased research agenda on racial inequalities in education, drawing largely from statistical data to highlight inequalities in pass rates, drop-out rates and grade repetition to the qualitative research incorporating methods and concepts such as "ethnography" and "humanizing pedagogies". Although some research does not draw strictly from the sociological perspective (and such research is limited), the political and economic dimensions invariably impact on the system as a social whole which in many ways perpetuate the structural functionalist framework which ultimately exposes the fault lines in both policy and practice.

The socio-political nature of education in SA cannot be removed from its historical past, as most research indicates. The enduring legacy of apartheid and the concomitant struggle of the state and its policies, within a neo-liberal economic system, have not necessarily fully addressed national systemic inequalities, regardless of the progressive policies.

Unlike the United Kingdom (UK), the United States of America (USA) and Europe, in SA the majority Blacks have been the victims of inferior education while the white minority enjoyed legal advantage. De-racialisation is therefore in part a peripheral issue, the mainstream issue remains the quality of education for the majority who are tacitly excluded from the integration project. Further, because studies cannot utilise control groups, direct comparative studies between racial groups on educational performance in a classroom setting are also not part of the research tradition.

The following discussion is divided into four parts: the national context, methods, the nine research traditions, conclusions and discussion.

National Context

This section offers a brief overview of the main characteristics of the SA educational system, the transition from education under apartheid to education under democracy, and key developments in policy from pre-1994 to 2017. In this description and analysis, it is necessary to invoke the terminology of apartheid, with four racial categories used, described here as (Black) African, Coloured, Indian and White. Where appropriate elsewhere, the (general) term Black is used to include African, Coloured and Indian groups compared to White groups. This is not intended to confirm any sense of racial classification, and the terms are used only for historical or analytical reasons.

The Educational System of the Country

The following discussion is divided into four parts: the apartheid, the resistance and the immediate post-apartheid period, as well as the period after two decades of democracy, from 2014.

The Apartheid Period

Prior to the advent of inclusive democracy in 1994, SA had a highly fragmented education system, divided on grounds of race (primarily), language (within racial groups), and region. In all there were 19 education Departments: national ones for White, Indians and Coloureds,[1] as well as a national department for Black Africans *"residing in South Africa"* In addition there were many Africans living in "homelands" or self-governing territories (including Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu and Venda), which each had their own Department of Education (DoE). On top of all this was laid a language determination, with White schools divided as to whether they used either English or Afrikaans (the two official languages) as the medium of instruction, and African primary schools on the basis of language (and hence ethnic identity). Sociologically, the basis for this was to avoid any notion of an *"African majority"* identity; the apartheid regime hoped that by imposing enough racial, ethnic and linguistic categories in society, SA would be a nation of many minorities.

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[1] Racial categories as defined in terms of apartheid legislation. Whites were of European extraction, Indians originally from Asia, and Coloured as people of mixed race. Black Africans were given various designations, including ethnic ones including tribal orogins (Zulu, Xhosa and so on). Post 1994, the term Black is used to describe all "non-white" persons, including Africans, Indians and Coloureds. These have reference with regard to affirmative action legislation and policy.

These divisions were not just organisational categories: there were specific layers of material and cultural advantage and disadvantage that went with each.

Resistance to Apartheid Education

Opposition to "Bantu Education" (as education for Blacks was officially known, where Bantu means "Black people") was extensive, and a core pillar of the broader anti-apartheid movement. Repression, intolerance and inequality were driven by the education system, with children socialised into their pre-determined role either as a "White boss" or a *"Black worker"* (Alexander 1990; Kallaway 2002). Besides the physical deprivation of poor facilities and under-trained teachers in most Black schools, the psychological trauma of being groomed for second class citizenship was profound, and has been described by former Education Minister Naledi Pandor (1994–1999) as *"one of the most enduring legacies of apartheid"*, resulting in a diminished sense of self-worth. A study by Mathonsi (1988) also showed how final school results were manipulated by the apartheid state in relation to the labour absorption capacity of the country: if fewer jobs were available more students were failed so they remained in school for longer. Success at school was thereby delinked from effort and achievement and subjected to a range of external factors, which further undermined the credibility of the system.

The student protests of 1976 are well documented (Baloyi 2004), including their origins in relation to a directive that half of all subjects should be studied in Afrikaans. Besides the fact that most Black children (and their teachers) did not speak Afrikaans, its association with the apartheid system was very strong, and the directive was broadly rejected. This sparked off a national revolt, which in turn became a catalyst for much wider civil disobedience and the final changes which came about in 1994 (Landman 1992; Muller 1992). In this way students have been characterised as having led the revolution, while their parents had been "too patient, too tolerant, for too long".

A large part of this resistance came from the teachers themselves, who for a long time had been passive agents of the apartheid state, despite their stated dislike of what was happening (Levin 1991; Moll 1991; Hartshorne 1992). The lure of professionalism prevented these teachers from taking direct action, and many (reluctantly) simply followed the prescripts. However, by the late 1980s a growing number of teachers, some of whom had been politicised and mobilised during the student protests of the former decade, began to organise outside of the traditional teacher organisations, and adopted a more militant and aggressive stance towards the apartheid authorities. Civil society organisations were formed around the issue of education, which coalesced in the formation of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) as the voice of

the progressive forces in regard to education. Its immediate agenda was the pursuit of a unitary and equitable education system. The broader goal was the democratisation of society, and this was captured in the slogan: "Peoples Education for Peoples Power" (Chisholm 2006).

The Immediate Post-apartheid Period: 1994–2010

After the first democratic elections of 1994, the Bill of Rights contained in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA 1996) was promulgated. This secured an inalienable right to basic education, including adult basic education, and to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must progressively make available and accessible. The first year of schooling is a "reception year", which is not compulsory. Grades 10, 11 and 12 are also not compulsory (in terms of law) although there is an expectation that children should complete Grade 12 and access is not denied. The national policy on inclusion, contained in Education White Paper 6, acknowledges and respects differences in learners, especially with respect to disability, and promotes an approach that responds to their needs. Special schools are provided for (although insufficient in number), but where possible learners with special needs are encouraged to attend mainstream schools.

Access to higher education is based on the National Senior Certificate (NSC) results at the end of Grade 12, and remains highly competitive.

Accountability issues have a complex set of approaches in South African public schools. A decentralized, liberal model informs the overall design of the system, where elected school governing bodies have extensive powers and functions, including those of teacher recruitment, the setting of school fees, and the determination of language and other policies. Some of these, like language, are used as exclusionary mechanisms, and fees in some over-subscribed public schools (especially former White schools) are beyond the reach of many.

The resourcing model is intended to be pro-poor, although there has been limited tangible progress for many poor and rural communities. The policy on school fees is justified on equity grounds: limited state resources are directed towards the poor, while the rich carry part of the costs themselves. Since non-personnel costs (around 20% of the total) are allocated to schools on a redistributive basis, the wealthiest schools receive only a small portion of their running costs from the state. This requires them to raise fees to maintain the facilities, and to privately employ additional teachers. The second ground is that there is provision for a fee exemption where the school fee is a certain proportion of the "family income". However, schools are minimally

compensated for granting fee exemptions, and have a strong disincentive to admit pupils who may qualify for this.

These school governing body powers and functions have not worked to the advantage of poorer communities, who are unable to collect fees from largely indigent parents, and are also limited in their choice of available teachers. As a result, the poorest 80% of schools are now declared "no-fee schools", and the power to recommend principals and teachers for appointment is under review.

Since the adoption of the National Development Plan, a rigorous system of monitoring and evaluation has been institutionalized, with a Department of Planning and Monitoring located in the Presidency. Targets and outcomes are monitored and reported on, which serves to identify blockages in service delivery, and a Technical Assistance Unit based in the National Treasury (GTAC) works with responsible departments to address these. Much of the research data that is available has come from these agencies.

In education, accountability approaches are held hostage by the continuing inequalities in resourcing, which defy reasonable comparisons between schools and teachers. In response to empirical research which has shown that teacher absenteeism and unprofessional conduct is a major problem, various mechanisms have been initiated by successive Ministers to improve the accountability of schools and teachers. These have included a Policy on Whole School Evaluation, a Policy on Systematic Evaluation, and an Integrated Quality Management System, but each has been undermined by the need for an even playing field on which to be judged. Teacher unions have been remarkably successful in invoking the legacy of apartheid (with its poor teacher training) and the current poor facilities at schools to render any form of summative assessment meaningless.

A body was established post 2010 to undertake schools evaluations (a national inspectorate in all but name), but it too was burdened with the need to undertake development as part of its function, and the intended National Education Evaluation Unit became the National Education and Development Unit (NEEDU). To date, it has produced a number of systemic reports, but no school or official has yet been held to account for the poor performance of learners.

A system of Annual National Assessments (ANAs) has been in operation since 2010, with universal standardized assessments at grades 3, 6 and 9. The results in many cases were shocking, indicating serious problems from early on in the system. These ANAs have recently been suspended, at the insistence of teacher unions, which were starting to experience parental pressure regarding school results. Again, the resistance has been phrased in terms of the

responsibility of the Department to act on the results, to provide training and support, which it has largely failed to do.

Despite initial caution, SA has opened itself to international evaluative studies, including both Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS[2]) and Progress in International Reading and Literacy Study (PIRLS[3]). The results of these are in the public domain, and confirm the poor performance of the system, with some pointers as to what should be remedied. SA is also a leading participant in the Southern and Eastern African Consortium for Measuring Education Quality (SACMEQ), which also conducts comparative assessments, but infuses a significant amount of "context" into the results. This identifies useful correlations between realities and educational outcomes, which may be used in policy and planning outcomes.

Although the school remains a central unit of analysis in tracking progress towards equity, as well as in regard to performance, the pressures of accountability are not felt at local level, where communities and District authorities are often tolerant of consistent failure. Accountability has become highly political, with provincial politicians and officials competing for prominence when the Minister reports to the nation on the Grade 12 results. Since 2010, the national pass rate has improved from around 60% to nearly 80% in 2016, raising some questions about the credibility of the examination and the standardization processes, and the possibility of political interference.

Two Decades After Democracy: The Period 2010–2017

After more than 20 years of democracy, the Constitutional and legal framework governing education is now well established, including the imperative for co-operative governance between the national and provincial spheres of government, each of which has designated powers and functions. Overall participation rates are high at primary levels, with high levels of gender equity. Retention rates are a problem, with some 50% of learners leaving school before completing the national exit examination, the National Senior Certificate (NSC). Performance levels, as measured in national and international assessments such as Southern and Eastern African Consortium for

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[2] Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS).

[3] Progress in International Reading and Literacy Study.

Measuring Educational Quality (SACMEQ[4]), TIMSS[5] and PIRLS,[6] have improved since 2011, although marginally, and from a very low base.

This period of relative policy stability (compared to the immediate post-apartheid period) has been beneficial for the system, allowing time for systems and procedures to consolidate, and to avoid the kind of policy overload experienced by teachers and schools. However, it has also allowed for a period of reflection, as the education system continues to reflect high levels of inequality (predominantly racial inequality), together with low levels of performance, especially in poorer and rural schools. The ambitions of the legislative and policy framework have not been achieved, and poor, rural Black children have hardly benefited, if at all, from the democratic dispensation of 1994.

Many efforts have been made to address these failures in delivery, but the predictive nature of the race, poverty and rurality nexus has hardly been eroded in terms of outcomes. Public schools are at least two-tiered – urban middle-class and poor rural; some have argued that peri-urban "township" schools constitute a third tier – between the above two. Migration into the urban centres has put enormous pressure on the relatively few former white "good" schools; those who do not get there seem destined to either leave school or achieve so poorly as to not proceed with any further education, despite being unemployed (Statistics South Africa Labour Report 2017).[7]

One major intervention has been the provision of at least one year of pre-schooling for all children, and near universal access has been achieved. This is a major achievement, which evidence suggests should have improved outcomes. However, the recent TIMSS study (2015) found that for the poorest 60% of the cohort, a year of pre-schooling has made no difference to later educational outcomes – suggesting that the structural burden of race and class inequalities is sufficient even to erode the benefits of an Early Childhood Development (ECD) intervention. Taylor and Shindler (2016) describe this as an "especially disturbing trend" and suggest that "far from ameliorating social inequality, the introduction of Grade R appears to be increasing it."[8] These structural inequalities are not only to be found in education – they pervade the home and the community in general – reinforcing a widespread culture of failure and alienation.

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[4] Southern and Eastern African Consortium for Measuring Educational Quality.

[5] Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS).

[6] Progress in International Reading and Literacy Study.

[7] Unemployment among school leavers is currently above 40% (StatsSA Labour Report, 2017).

[8] Taylor N and Shindler, Education Sector Landscape Mapping South Africa, December 2016. Table 22 (www.jet.org.za).

Evidence is therefore mounting to suggest that whatever interventions, capacity building programmes or other support mechanisms are introduced, these seem unlikely to bring about the equitable system envisaged in the Constitution, and certainly not at the pace required. SA has been told her policies are beyond reproach, but a policy that is poorly implemented has little benefit for its intended beneficiaries. The data is clear: after two decades of democracy, education is in crisis, and this poses real socio-political challenges for the country. In the past year, higher education has been under siege from students, and the country already has a history of school children leading a national movement.[9]

This suggests that the legislative and policy framework for education, developed more than 20 years ago, requires a fundamental rethink, based on the evidence of the immediate post-apartheid period, and considering the current socio-economic imperatives, which are not necessarily the same as in 1994. The Constitutional promise of an equitable, quality education has not been realised for most children: South African education remains highly inequitable, based largely on racial divisions, which in SA coincide with both class and a degree of rurality.

Main Migration Patterns and Composition and Size of Ethnic "Minority" (Majority) Groups

As indicated in the previous chapter, there is no documented research on the migration of non-SA people into SA schools though there is evidence of movement of people from other African countries to SA schools. The dominant research continues to be around the performance of learners with respect to the past racial categories as this is significant for purposes of monitoring equity. Research indicates that those learners who attend well-resourced schools continue to perform better than those who do not and this pattern of inequality goes hand in hand with race. White learners and those who can afford the more expensive schools from the other race groups continue to enjoy better schooling. Taylor as cited in Pendlebury and Enslin (2004: (34):31–50) claims that "…while a growing number of relatively poorly resourced African schools are providing education of high quality, the majority of the country's top schools are privileged institutions, formerly reserved for white and, to a lesser extent, 'coloured' or Asian children." Further, the remaining top performing schools fall into two groups: English-speaking

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[9] The 1976 student movement was begun by schoolchildren from Soweto near Johannesburg.

schools which enrol African learners in numbers which vary from 25% to 75%, and Afrikaans-speaking schools containing minimal numbers of African pupils. (http://www.jet.org.za).

This trend continues for the post-1994 period to current. Internal migration from neighbouring countries remains a major factor, as economic and political pull and push factors bring large numbers of people to South Africa, many of them children. The Constitution protects the right of every child to education, without reference to citizenship, so they are admitted to public schools. In conditions of poverty and scarce resources, socio-political conflicts do break out, with xenophobic type attacks against foreigners, especially foreign owned shops.

Internal migration is also a major factor in regard to education planning and resourcing. Migration to urban centres is a growing trend, with the Gauteng province receiving more than 80,000 additional learners from other (poorer) provinces at the start of the 2017 academic year. Even if these children are not getting access to the top schools (no more than 20% of the total), their education in an urban township is likely to be better than that in the rural area.

At a resourcing level, the financing principle is that "funds follow the learner". This means that poorer rural provinces, already losing pupils because of poor quality education, lose funds to those provinces that are able to attract them, thus aggravating an already problematic situation. This is further compounded by the ability of economically developed provinces (like Gauteng and the Western Cape) to get additional funding based on their contribution to Gross Domestic Profit (GDP), and for them to generate and use own revenue generated in the province. In 2016, Gauteng topped up their national allocation by over R2 billion, for an Information Communications Technology (ICT) rollout programme, while the Eastern Cape department was forced to borrow from other provincial Departments just to meet basic needs.

In addition there is a large migration of learners within provinces, as families move from the rural parts of the provinces to bigger towns, or as children move to live with relatives nearer town. The consequence of this is a growing number of financially unsustainable small schools in rural villages; schools which should be closed but which also constitute the lifeblood of the very limited local economy, and residents understandably fight for them to stay open, despite a generally poor standard of education. This becomes an additional burden to provinces with rural populations, where the costs of delivering education are much higher than in concentrated urban areas.

Despite this substantial pattern of migration, South African schools can largely be identified as "White" or "Black", mainly historically "African" schools and or historically "Coloured" or "Indian" schools. This is not only a reference to the racial composition; it is reflected in the infrastructure, location and design of the school. Almost all White children attend "White" schools, almost all African children attend "Black" schools, with perhaps 10% of them at the White schools. School admissions are governed by the schools themselves, and despite the best attempts of government to prevent it, schools inherently seek to replicate their complexion and institutional culture. Staff appointments are no different; where the school selects teachers it is bound to propose that that best match their view of the school. As a result, White schools have mostly (if not all) White teachers; Black schools have Black teachers, and the same applies in most Indian and Coloured schools, numerically and culturally. This is not just race based: Black teachers are most likely to be proposed from the same ethnic group as others at the school.

Disillusionment with the public school sector has resulted in an exponential growth in the independent school sector. This includes top-end schools, of international standing, as well as mid and low-cost urban and peri-urban private schools. Some of these are market driven and of questionable quality, but they are responding to an obvious and profitable demand. Many foreign teachers are employed at these schools, with conditions of service well below those of state employed teachers.

Developments in Terms of Relevant Educational and Social Policies

Discussion on policy developments within the education system is similarly considered in terms of the apartheid, the resistance and the immediate post-apartheid period, as well as the period after two decades of democracy, from 2014, each with their distinctive sociologically informed approaches. Any transition is a critical moment in the life of a society, and exposes many of the assumptions of that society.

The Apartheid Period

Key policy research in this period was large scale and state funded aimed at justifying structural inequalities. The key policy documents produced were the De Lange Report, The Buthelezi Commission report, the 1983 White Paper

on Education and the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS). These papers were mainly descriptive aimed at explaining the nature of educational inequality in apartheid SA with a view to justifying it. These reports are significant since they reveal how the state "manipulated" its position of authority to legitimate educational inequality based on perverse and crude notions of racial inferiority. These reports are discussed in greater detail under Tradition 1.

Resistance to Apartheid Period

The transformation of education was not simple, and this was well understood. In crude terms, the question was if "education for liberation", in which pupils would remain at school, be taught by "progressive" teachers, and use education to achieve a heightened, post-liberation consciousness, was a correct strategy, or whether political liberation needed to precede any kind of real transformation, in which case schools should be boycotted or even burnt down until the edifice of apartheid collapsed (Alexander 1990). This tension was never fully resolved; while significant efforts were put into trying to provide alternative curricula and materials to teachers, the mood in many schools was one in which education was willingly sacrificed in pursuit of broader ungovernability and the end of the apartheid state. This un-governability included the complete non-recognition of education authorities, including a refusal for principals or members of the "inspectorate" to do their work, which has left many schools still today without the requisite authority and discipline to be effective (Baloyi 2004).

The major policy development by pro-democracy forces was in 1992 when the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) produced a comprehensive, multi-volume report that provided a well-researched argument for a systemic overhaul of the education system towards a unified, democratic and non-racial system. In 1994, on the eve of assuming power, the African National Congress (ANC) *Policy Framework for Education and Training* was published, strongly influenced by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Training Board (NTB). They advocated the integration of education and training within a single qualifications framework, which could improve both the quality and relevance of educational knowledge and skills for the world of work and bring about greater equity and redress (de Clercq 1997: 151). Soon thereafter, the Minister of Education released the *First White Paper on Education and Training*.

The Immediate Post-apartheid Period 1994–2010

Post 1994, SA had a unique opportunity to define and build a new education system from scratch. But at the same time there was an increasing recognition that social institutions do not work this way – they change slowly, and they have to take account of what already exists. This challenge was highlighted during the long process of negotiations which led to the 1994 transition, in which education featured prominently (Hartshorne 1992; Baloyi 2004).

1996 ushered in the first of far-reaching policy and legislative changes. These included the promulgation of the *National Education Policy Act* (NEPA) which defined the powers and duties of the national and provincial education ministries (Carrim 2001: 101). However the outgoing apartheid regime had insisted on a maximum devolution of powers in the Constitutional framework with regard to education as a way of exerting control on some areas of governance. The function was therefore designated by NEPA as a "concurrent" responsibility of both national and provincial governments, with both having legislative and executive powers, but with provinces having the budgets and administrative responsibility for the management of schools.

Also in 1996, following an extensive set of consultations, the *South African Schools Act (Act No. 84 of 1996)* ("the SASA Act") was enacted, which dealt with the funding, organisation and governance of schools (Carrim 2001: 102). The SASA Act extended significant powers and functions to elected school governing bodies. Powers of admission, language policy and other crucial elements like selecting and recommending teachers for appointment were given to schools to determine. But most significantly, schools were given the power to set and collect compulsory school fees, with complicated exemption policies intended to protect poorer learners from being excluded. This liberalisation, which gave public schools more powers than their counterparts anywhere else in the world, has allowed privileged schools to remain so, with a careful selection of fee paying parents, teachers who reflect the historical traditions of the school, and the use of school fees to employ additional teachers and procure other teaching and learning resources. As a result, such schools perform substantially better than the majority, although whether they should be regarded as "public" schools is debatable, since they have effectively been privatised. Ironically, Taylor as cited in Paton (2008: 1) is of the view that: "Free education across the board will be the final nail in the coffin of the public school system".

In 2002, the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) was revised. The much awaited curriculum reform came in the form of Curriculum 2005, an

indigenous form of Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) which departed fundamentally from the apartheid based Christian National Education (CNE). This was underpinned by the values of democracy, equity and human rights as enshrined in the Constitution, and fundamentally altered the nature of education in SA.

In conclusion, SA has maintained a largely functional education system around the 1994 transition, with near universal enrolment, especially among girls. However, the country has not as yet achieved the equality goals required by the Constitution, and despite progressive policies has become a conserving force in society, confirming in most cases the racial and economic inequalities in society.

The Period After Two Decades of Democracy: 2011–2017

The Department of Education was split into the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) and the Department of Basic Education (DBE) after the 2009 elections, and the almost two-year transition period served to seriously interrupt the work of government, including that of policy formulation. The decision was intended to allow for a more focused approach to the transformation of the post-school and the Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) sectors, which remain poorly aligned to social or economic needs. It also relieved the school sector of the complexities of adult and further education and training.

Teacher education was significantly disrupted by the separation of function, given the rightful interests of each Ministry in the matter. Higher Education is responsible for this, and policy documents have been prepared to harmonise these interests, with the development of "Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications[10]" (MRTEQ, DBE, 2016) to ensure higher education teacher education programmes serve the needs of schools.

In regard to Basic Education (the school sector at both General and Further Education levels), there have been very few substantive legislative or policy developments in this time. Certain aspects of policy have been revised, some legal clauses amended, but there has been no significant change to current policy, including equity related laws and policy, in this period.

One development in this period has been on the refinement of the curriculum, through the publication of the new national Curriculum and Assessment

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[10] MRTEQ, DBE, 2016.

Policy Statement[11] (2012, CAPS, Department of Basic Education). This is the fourth iteration of the curriculum post 1994, and reflects a continuous trend of increasing specificity of content ad sequencing, and a retreat from the outcomes based approach of the first post-apartheid Curriculum 2005. Also under consideration are questions of a more differentiated curriculum, with distinct but equivalent qualifications, as well as the introduction of an exit qualification after 9 years of schooling. Both of these signify a concern about the relevance of the current curriculum, although the policy decisions have not yet been taken on either of these.

Several recent studies have demonstrated a new appetite for looking at the empirical evidence of the past twenty years in order to understand the impact of post 1994 legislation and policy on the achievement of equity and quality in education. This has been stimulated by the fact that more reliable and comparable data is becoming increasingly available, through research studies and from government information. These are showing identifiable trend lines, over time, and in terms of numerous variables, including race, class and gender. International studies as well as local national assessments are providing data about learner performance, including qualitative data about contexts, and these can be mapped against other known variables.[12] This has provided new insights into the impact of policy choices made over two decades ago, and a recognition that a fundamental re-assessment of some of the foundational legislation and policy on education may be required. This in itself could signal a return to increased policy making in the future, following a period of some stagnation.

In a recent commissioned paper, Crain Soudien (2017)[13] refers to the education system as a bifurcated one: one for the urban rich (which is mostly non-racial but a small part of the system), and another for the Black, mainly African, rural poor. Urban schools are effectively state-subsidised private schools, with significant own income raised from compulsory school fees, while rural schools are poorly resourced in terms of infrastructure, teachers and materials, are poorly managed, and generally perform poorly.[14] The paper was presented to an education policy symposium, convened through a collaboration between the government, business and professional bodies, which in itself is a signal that some new thinking is indeed required.

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[11] CAPS, Department of Basic Education, 2012.

[12] Schools do record the race of each child; this is required to measure progress towards racial equity.

[13] CEO of the Human Sciences Research Council, a statutory body.

[14] Furthering the Developmental Imperative? An assessment of the past 20 years of education legislation and policy in South Africa, National Education Collaboration Trust, 2017. Report available at www.nect.org.za

Taylor and Shindler (2016),[15] also in a commissioned report, recognise that

much has been achieved in pursuit of the fundamental rights to education enshrined in the constitution since the establishment of the first democratic government in 1994. Not only have realistic levels of universal access to schooling been achieved, but also, unlike many other developing countries, access to schooling in South Africa has been achieved equally for male and female children.

However, while significant gaps remain in the provision of education, particularly in the post-school skills development sector, profound questions regarding relevance and quality pose the greatest challenge to every sector. In addition, quality is inequitably distributed, adding a further brake on the life chances of poor learners in all sectors.

The very inefficient rate of learning in schools serving the poor is undoubtedly the greatest problem faced by the entire education system. Poorly educated primary school children battle when entering high school, university, TVET college and adult education programmes. They constitute the large majority of the youth, unable to access work or skills programmes.

Gustafsson (2017) at the University of Stellenbosch[16] has analysed the legislative and policy context governing education, and measured progress against these.[17] He begins with the National Development Plan (NDP)[18] as a point of departure for considering what should change in the basic education sector. The NDP provides guidance on "critical success factors", and advises that policy should be formulated on the basis of experience and evidence. The NDP also calls for a "vigorous national education discourse", which may be what is starting to emerge.

Gustafsson (2017) starts by identifying the policy priorities for education identified in the NDP, which include:

(a) Twelve years of compulsory schooling by 2030 (currently only 9 are compulsory);
(b) A more effective appointment process for school principals, together with better defined rights and responsibilities;
(c) More reliable national assessments of learning, with results reported to parents;
(d) Financial incentives for teachers, attached to standardised assessments;

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[15] ibid.

[16] www.us.ac.za

[17] Gustafsson M, Legislation and progress in basic education in South Africa, Unpublished report; Research on Socio-Economic Policy (ReSEP), University of Stellenbosch, May 2017.

[18] National Planning Commission, 2012.

(e) A second year of pre-school for all children; and
(f) Broadband access for all schools.

Gustafsson (2017) also identifies other significant studies which deal with the measurement of policy impacts, including the following[19]:

(a) A report titled "*Identifying binding constraints in education*", prepared by the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME, 2016);
(b) The Public Expenditure Review (National Treasury, 2012);
(c) The post provisioning report (DBE, 2013);
(d) The report on the use of information by districts (DBE, 2013);
(e) The Review of the Annual National Assessments (ANA) (World Bank, 2012);
(f) The Ministerial Committee Report on the National Senior Certificate (DBE, 2014); and
(g) The Review of Data Use in the Education Sector (DBE, 2017).

Each of these reports draws certain conclusions and makes recommendations, but few of these have been implemented to date.

Gustafsson (2017) concludes with a useful analysis on what government considers has contributed most to recent improvements in the education system, which may have future policy implications. First among these is better access amongst learners to textbooks. There is a stronger emphasis on textbook use in the curriculum, and increased spending on books. The TIMSS data point to the very dramatic changes that occurred: in 2002 as few as 30% of Grade 9 teachers reported using a textbook as their main classroom resource for teaching mathematics. By 2011, this figure had increased to 70%. In support of this theory of change is the finding, from a randomised control trial conducted by the Department in 2012, that delivering study guides to schools helped improve Grade 12 examination results substantially.

Secondly, more standardised testing, and in particular the introduction of the ANA programme, seemed to have sent strong and influential signals through the system. This would be in line with conclusions drawn in other countries, often supported by good empirical evidence. Given the amount of criticism that has been directed at the design of ANA, by teachers and even education researchers, it may appear strange to attribute educational gains to this programme. However, it seems that even a flawed testing system, whilst clearly not ideal, is better than having no standardised testing at all.

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[19] All reports available at www.dbe.gov.za

Thirdly, more suitable curriculum documents, and training associated with this, seem to have contributed to better classroom practices. The 2012 Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement has much greater specificity, with more content and more details on how to teach, as opposed to just descriptions of the learning outcomes to be attained.

The frustrations of the education sector, sometimes captured in the calls for the "de-colonisation of education", reflect a broader social unease with the slow pace of delivery against the promise of liberation in 1994. Recent call for "radical economic transformation" have attempted to tap into more populist sentiments, and included an attack on "white monopoly capital". An economic recession and record levels of unemployment are potent threats to the inclusive nature of society, as inequalities widen and poverty deepens. In 2017, the number of social grant beneficiaries (14.2 million) exceeded the number of people employed; the current path is simply unsustainable.

Methods

The literature review faced some restrictions. First, it was decided to include only studies that focused on SA as a research context. Second, the literature review was restricted to contributions between pre-1994 and 2017 from the discipline of sociology and related disciplines that focused on the relationship between educational inequality and race or ethnicity. For SA, the focus was mainly on race. Third, only research that focused on secondary education was included for analysis. As a result, studies that investigated other forms of education, such as preschool, family, primary, higher, or adult education were excluded. Finally, only peer-refereed journal articles, commissioned reports and (edited) books were considered or analysis. Although these four criteria for inclusion strongly guided the review process, studies were sometimes considered that did not fulfil at least one of these criteria, because they were perceived as valuable or important examples of specific research traditions, for example, this includes some of the critical policy documents consulted. The restrictions are not meant to marginalize other literature sources, disciplinary perspectives and/or forms of education.

The process of sampling specific research contributions involved a search of the relevant databases using specific research queries in seven selected databases for the period 2010–2017. These include (1) The library catalogue at the University of South Africa (UNISA) for books on http://millennium. ac.za/ and http://millennium.unisa.ac.za/airpac. (2) The SAePublications for South African Journal articles. (3) Google Scholar (http://scholar.google.

com). (4) The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) database. (5) The journal "Perspectives in Education". (6) The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). (7) The "Journal of Education". Thereafter, a manageable sample of articles were selected and systematically analysed. Additional information identified in reports, journals, books, and key researchers were included in the review process. The methodology has thus remained the same as for the previous comparable review.

Research Traditions

A literature review for the period 2010–2017 is a continuity of the eight broad research traditions from: (1) oligarchy to democracy; (2) policy development – state versus resistance movements; (3) the impact of the removal of race-based policies; (4) racial (de) segregation: causes and consequences; (5) (de) segregation and school resources; and (6) curriculum studies; (7) teacher training and pedagogy; and (8) charting inequalities in student outcomes. The research tradition of "rural education", which is an emerging tradition, is included as a ninth tradition. The following section provides a descriptive analysis for each research tradition.

Oligarchy to Democracy

Despite the progressive schooling policies and the Constitutional mandate that affirms equal schooling for all its citizens, 23 years after democracy, South African society remains deeply divided on the basis of race – inequality persists. The deep divisions and its manifestations in all spheres of life reflect most starkly in the schooling system and its impact on access to the labour market as well as potential opportunities.

Inequality Persists

Whilst this paper focuses on research from the period 2010 to current, it is worthwhile reflecting on some of the past studies as a means to provide continuity and context to the current study. A brief look at past and current research indicates that inequality in education does persist. In 2002, van der Berg (2002: 1) argued that: *"…while inequality is strongly rooted in the labour market, labour market race differentials has declined as a cause of inequality.*

While differentials in educational quality are large and small for residual earnings, education becomes the one factor amenable to policy." This issue goes to the core of this research tradition.

Census data, survey data, data from the Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (PSLSD), school level data and the Labour Force Surveys (LFS) have been used to gauge the improvement in schooling for mainly Black learners. In 2010, van der Berg (2010: 1–26) concluded that despite massive resource shifts to Black schools, matriculation results, in mainly Black schools, deteriorated in the post-apartheid period, but with high standard deviations as shown in regressions of matric pass rate obtained from school level data that identifies racial composition as the major explanatory factor alongside socio-economic background (as measure by school fees set by school governing bodies) and educational inputs (measured by teacher-pupil ratios and teacher salaries as proxy for qualifications and experience), teaching resources and the malfunctioning of large parts of the school system. The support for the persistence of inequality in schooling is found in research conducted by Keswell (2010a: 1–28) on data from the PSLSD, the first racially representative national survey of living standards to be conducted in SA, and the LFS of 2001/2002. The estimates are for individuals and not households. The results indicate that (a) despite improvements between race and gender, equal opportunity does not exist, progress towards levelling the playing field is slow and school quality *"…does not appear to have a marked impact on the racial differences in the return structure observed previously"* (Keswell 2010a, b: 13) and (b) whereas, at the end of apartheid the rates of returns for both Black and White stood at 11%, a decade later it stood at 43% for Whites and declined to 7% for Africans.

The implications are that race in earnings is no longer a strong factor in generating wage differentials between individuals but plays a strong role in determining how educational attainment comes to be valued in the labour market. In the end, *"Racial differences in the return functions might lead to an incentive structure facing Blacks that is at odds with the further acquisition of schooling. This may impede or possibly even reverse gains made over the past decade in the equalization of schooling attainment, thereby leading to a self-fulfilling racial poverty trap in which employers continue to pay the disadvantaged group a wage equal to the average marginal product of the disadvantaged group, leading to persistence of the unequal reward structure, and hence a continuation of inequalities in educational attainment"* (Keswell 2010a, b: 13).

While primary schooling is almost universal, advancement to secondary schooling nearly as high and disparities in educational attainment between the different racial groups has decreased, Whites continue to finish about two

additional grades compared to African and Coloured groups (Branson and Lam 2010: 101). Van der Berg (2007: 849) argues that an important question is: *"…whether changes since the transition have substantially ameliorated the role of race in education."* His study, which draws on census and survey data reveals that whilst qualitative educational attainment differentials (years of education) have been substantially reduced, qualitative differentials remain larger. Despite massive resource shifts post-apartheid, overall matriculation rates for Blacks did not improve. As a consequence, the school system does not support upward mobility for poor children in the labour market. The legacy of racial inequalities reflects in very poor pass rates especially in Black schools, which form the majority, with high standard deviations. Regression of matriculation pass rates from school level data shows that racial composition of schools (as a proxy for former school department) remains a major explanatory factor besides socio-economic background and educational inputs.

Van der Berg (2007) describes the problem as x-inefficiency rather than allocative efficiency.

Pedagogy, Democracy and Democratic Citizenship

In advancing the concept of democratic citizenship, the Department of Basic Education developed a practical guide for teachers that can engender democratic citizenship education in schools. Davids and Waghid (2012: 19–111) combined an analysis of this article with a post-graduate teacher training programme at a SA university and concluded that there is a need for a renewed and enhanced version of democratic citizenship education. Lange (2012: 110–111) looks at the concept of citizenship in the context of challenges brought about by globalization and neo-liberalism and focuses on the conceptual preconditions that need to underpin the idea of 'teaching' citizenship through the university curriculum. Combining the republican notion of citizenship and Hannah Arendt's contribution to thinking politics, citizenship and education to propose a political pedagogy that can help foster a citizenship identity that counters the individualist identities provided by the insidious influence of the market in higher education. Lange (2012: 110–111) concludes that Hannah Arendt's notion of understanding, action and purpose of education is a *"…useful starting point for the conceptualization of citizenship and pedagogy."*

The basis and conduit for engagement between the formal school structure and the pupil is the curriculum. Research indicates that the curriculum is the basis from which most engagement takes place. Spreen and Vally (2012:

88–111) analyse citizenship and education in SA through different phases over two decades including the xenophobic/Afrophobic attacks of 2008/2009 and discuss how ideas and values around citizenship are translated into classroom practice. The method of research includes looking at a number of studies such as the school-based research on values and democracy (Wits Education Policy Unit, 2001); discrimination in schools (Vally and Dlamba 1999); work which assesses implications of schools and teachers creating space for dialogical memory making in post-apartheid SA (Dryden-Petersen and Sieborger 2006), issues of nation and citizenship in history text books (Chisholm 2008); how respect and responsibility are enacted in schools (Hammett and Staeheli 2011) and an examination of the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy as supplied in the classroom (Pillay and Ragpot 2011) as cited in Spreen and Vally (2012: 89). They acknowledge that school communities face enormous challenges in meaningfully promoting human rights and critical thinking toward an emancipatory consciousness.

Pivotal to this is an understanding of inequalities in society which militate against social justice and the development of teachers as critical transformative intellectuals. They conclude that racial integration in schools continues to be a myth, relationships are superficial especially among those Black learners who migrate into White Schools. When mixed with notions of foreign nationality, they provide fertile ground for conflict. They propose an alternative form of critical citizenship that includes the 'ethics of care' and public participation towards a praxis of hope. The overarching argument is that there is a need to redefine citizenship education and the teaching of social justice, place it firmly in the curriculum in order to address inequality and contribute to the project of social transformation – a humanizing pedagogy which must accommodate social movements and political struggle.

In summary, the research indicates that the transition from an oligarchic to a democratic state has not resulted in the establishment of a racially equal or education or economic system, where educational outcomes translate into equal opportunity for Black and White learners. Racial integration in schools remains a myth. Significantly, access to the labour market continues to remain unequal and in favour of Whites. Census data, survey data, data from the PSLSD, school level data and the LFS continue to remain useful tools for analysis. Studies on democratic citizenship, human rights and social justice have emerged as a response to race-based inequalities in education. Such studies easily utilise the underpinnings of what constitutes pedagogy and curriculum to make the argument for a politically humanizing pedagogy and curriculum as tools for advancing citizenship, human rights and emancipatory consciousness. Through all of this, teachers are seen as critical

transformative agents and pedagogy is encouraged to accommodate social movements and political struggle.

Policy Development: State Versus Resistance Movements

Unlike the period from 1980 to 2010, where many educational policies were developed, from 2010 to 2017, there have been very few substantive legislative or policy developments. Certain aspects of policy have been revised, some legal clauses amended, but there has been no significant change to current policy, including equity related laws and policy. The policies developed in this period include the "Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications" (MRTEQ, DBE, 2016) and the publication of the new national Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (2012, CAPS, Department of Basic Education), a fourth iteration of the curriculum post 1994 which reflects a continuous trend of increasing specificity of content and sequencing, and a retreat from the outcomes based approach of the first post-apartheid Curriculum 2005.

The period 2010–2017 is characterised by a plethora of critique on the success or failure of policy implementation. Central debates relate to policy and its content which, according to du Plessis (2013: 87) establish the parameters and directives for implementation, the success of which depends on the support it generates among stakeholders. Furthermore, Christie (2008) highlights that despite the policy emphasis on structural changes, human agency and its influence on policy outcomes cannot be ignored. Akoojee (2010) makes a case for policy making to be understood within the context of a *"21st century developmental state"* and concludes that developmental challenges in post-apartheid SA remain daunting and must be identified and thus calls for a serious re-shaping of policy. Not surprisingly then, the focus on engagement at the grassroots is essential if the intended outcomes of policy are to be realised.

Policy and Its Failures

A chapter on education and training, written by Dr. Vusi Gumede (2015) for students of political economy at the University of South Africa,[20] notes that education is confronted by the need to address the continuously changing social and economic dynamics. He notes that the reforms that have taken place in South Africa's education system since 1994 were necessary for a newly

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[20] http://www.codesria.org/spip.php?article2625

democratic country that had inherited a racially segregated and dysfunctional education system. However he does question whether the imperatives that drove decisions at that time, which included the need for a negotiated transition phase, are still the same today, and whether the knowledge we now have would cause us to consider different options.

Gumede (2015) identifies the failures in education in SA as being in primary school literacy, mathematics and science education, which are all fundamental to the development of modern economies. In addition, poor school management systems, inappropriate curriculum changes as well as poor performing teachers, have resulted in poor performance and low academic standards. Gumede (2015) concludes by arguing that *"Although the reforms undertaken since 1994 have accomplished some of their intended objectives, they have not gone far enough."*

The Need for Re-thinking Policy

Much of the research during this period focused on the impact of educational policy on the system as a whole. Gustafsson's (2017) analysis of the legislative and policy context begins with the NDP as a basis for guidance on "critical success factors", and advises that policy should be formulated on the basis of experience and evidence calling for a "vigorous national education discourse", which may be what is starting to emerge.

Soudien (2017) describes the education system as a bifurcated one: one for the urban rich a small part of which is non-racial and one for the Black, rural poor. Soudien (2017) urges that new thinking on policy is required. Research undertaken by Davids and Waghid (2012: 19–111), Spreen and Vally (2012: 88–111), Nkoane (2012: 98–104), Zinn and Rodgers (2012: 76) and Taylor and Shindler (2016: 9) points to the need to consider questions of a more differentiated and critical curriculum and one that promotes human rights and citizenship. Clearly, all of the research emphasise the need to critique and understand the empirical evidence of the past twenty years in order to understand the impact of post-1994 legislation and policy on the achievement of equity and quality in education.

Data-Sets

One of the challenges facing effective policy-making and decision making is the lack of quality data which would help to identify what is working and what is not viable. Van Wyk (2015: 1–23) provides an overview of the datasets per-

taining to education in SA that inform or could inform policy making. He identifies the following data-sets: (a) education management information systems, (b) the learning outcomes data, (c) international test data such as PIRLS, TIMSS, SACMEQ, (d) ANA, and the National Senior Certificate. The master list of schools is a record of each school in SA which makes the learner-teacher ratio per school possible – a useful dataset for education planners. It provides information on the socio-economic status of the school, location of the school, school size match school data across years and link it to other data sets.

The annual SNAP survey contributes to EMIS of the province, with respect to management, administration, governance of schools and the supply of school resources to schools. It also informs allocation of funds per learner based on the National Standards for School Funding Norms, allocation of teachers to schools and the publication of education data. It gives a good indication of the trends and patterns in the entire education cycle in South Africa. However, the pdf format available on the website of the Department of Basic Education is difficult to manipulate (Van Wyk 2015: 1–23).

The Annual School Survey (ASS) provides information on overage, enrolment, repetition and dropout rates by gender and province which has profound value for future policy development. Performance data in the form of standardised test scores, ANA, PIRLS, TIMSS, SACMEQ and the NSC serve to measure school performance and determine quality and efficiency of the school system. The Schools Report is useful in so far as it provides data on official school number, quintile, number of students that wrote and the number of students that passed for individual schools. The School Subject Report is an important data source on the NSC since it includes key subjects with data elements such as year of examination, quintile of the school, number that wrote and number that passed for specific key subjects (Van Wyk 2015: 1–23).

Van Wyk (2015: 1–23) also makes a case for integrating data from multiple sources which can be merged through the use of a common field across a collection of data sources. Data integration adds value to the data, enhances the process of decision making and supports the creation of a longitudinal dataset necessary for research on grade repetition and dropout. The paper is useful as it provides a list of large-scale datasets and where to find them.

Trade Unionism

Whilst Taylor and Shindler (2016),[21] also in a commissioned report, recognise that unlike many developing countries universal access to schooling has been

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[21] ibid.

achieved, equally for male and female children, serious concerns on relevance, quality and the inefficient rate of learning in the poorest schools is the greatest challenge in the entire education system. Equally, the resistance movement that characterised the same period has subsided.

An assessment of teacher union movements conducted by Govender (2013: 77–88) indicates that: *"The development of teacher's labour rights in South Africa has mirrored the broader context of socio-political change, an integral part of which was the ideological tension between teacher professionalism and unionism."* The formation of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) in the 1990s formed part of the historical struggle for democracy and freedom. Militant in nature, it focused on teacher's labour rights and strikes as opposed to teachers' professional role. In contrast, the National Association of Professional Teachers Organisations of South Africa (NAPTOSA) adopted a professional approach whose organisations had been privileged pre-1994 apartheid state. SADTU and NAPTOSA emerged from the ideological tensions between unionism versus professionalism and federalism versus a unitary structure. The former insisted on the teacher's right to strike and became a unitary structure and the latter supported the learner's right to uninterrupted learning and became a federal structure.

Post-1994, teacher unionism was acknowledged as part of the democratic labour dispensation with the right to strike and collective bargaining which NAPTOSA began to support and has subsequently engaged in strike actions together with SADTU. The establishment of a professional body called the South African Council for Educators (SACE) and the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) served as a forum for broader policy discussion and debate thereby curbing militancy and resistance. At the same time many policies were developed and NAPTOSA was able to contribute to policy development far more effectively than SADTU. Seeing this as a weakness, SADTU began to correct this situation. Yet, it continues to maintain its ideological roots of unionism giving rise to tension with the Department of Basic Education (Govender 2013: 77–88).

By the mid 1990s, unions tended towards professional unionism. Teacher unions became far more involved in policy development and served on various committees from funding, governance and curriculum. The positive impact was a departure from confrontation to a focus on quality learning for students, accountability for school management and professional development. Despite the unions strength, the Department was able to maintain its position of dominance over policy development, which remains a source of tension between the state and the unions (Govender 2013: 77–88).

At the same time, resistance has also taken on a form of academic protest as evidenced in the writings of Pillay and Ragpot (2011) as cited in Spreen and Vally (2012: 89), Davids and Waghid (2012: 19–111), Spreen and Vally (2012: 88–111), Nkoane (2012: 98–104), Zinn and Rodgers (2012: 76), Davies and Steyn (2012: 29–38), Nel (2012: 1–12), Ngcobo and Martin (2015: 87–99), and Constandius and Rosochacki (2012: 13–20) who consistently make the case for the teaching of social justice to contribute to the project of social transformation – a humanizing pedagogy which must accommodate social movements and political struggle.

In sum, with few policy developments in this period, the focus has shifted to the success or failure of policy implementation which has been the subject of most research post-1994 and especially from 2010 to current. The critique focuses largely on failures in the system especially with respect to quality, or a lack thereof, and the minimal changes to policy and legislation. Policy making based on experience seems to be emerging with a strong call for placing the human rights discourse within the curriculum. Standardized tests seem to support the calls for accountability. Research on the importance of quality data-sets are emerging as they are seen to support substantive research and planning. While the resistance movement has subsided in its militancy, it remains as a crucial player in holding the state to account on various issues ranging from teachers' working conditions to professional policy making.

Curriculum Studies

Twenty three (23) years into democracy, studies on the impact of policy on social justice at all levels of education continue to dominate the research agenda. At the core of these studies is the link between social justice, race and the embedded inequalities that transcend the institution, its culture and its curriculum. Such studies can only be viewed positively for its inherent ability to highlight contradictions and guide the way forward.

Curriculum and Social Justice

The case for social justice in education are vigorously articulated by several researchers including Spreen and Vally (2012: 88–111) who claim and conclude that: *"…despite the legal imperatives of the Constitution, policies and curriculum, structural inequalities will continue to thwart attempts at social cohesion."* They argue that: *"…the values and rights enshrined in the Constitution*

remain contradictory and contested and cannot be separated from conflicting claims constitutive of social divisions in SA society." For example, in 2011, 1.6 learners in the Eastern Cape were denied their right to school nutrition and 100,000 from accessing state-subsidized transport" (Spreen and Vally 2012: 92). Clearly, the impetus for social justice in education derives from racial inequalities in the system (Ngcobo and Martin 2015: 87).

Framed within concepts such as social inequality, humanizing pedagogy, neo-colonial knowledge construction, citizenship, democratic education and racial integration, a range of studies have emerged. Interestingly, most of these studies adopt qualitative methods that delve deep into the individual and communal psyche of schools and institutions. For example, Nkoane (2012: 98–104) bases his research on the premise that inequalities in apartheid SA was created by crystallised colonialism and perpetuated by neo-liberal and neo-colonial forms of government. He maintains that social integration and democratic citizenship for social justice can only occur if the modes of constructing knowledge are socially just and if the research methods and interaction with participants is democratic. By drawing on the tenets of Critical Emancipatory Research (CER) as a tool to challenge, transform and empower to achieve social justice and democracy, he concludes that the narrative and the language of texts are significant and the communication between participants and the researcher is crucial as they interact with each other. Dialogue therefore becomes important in research striving for social justice based on democratic participation and citizenship Nkoane (2012: 103).

Different Types of Pedagogies for the Sub-Altern

Communication and dialogue as embedded in different types of pedagogies become the key conduit for realising educational equity. In focusing on a humanizing pedagogy against the legacy of educational inequality with respect to a lack of voice, agency and community, Zinn and Rodgers (2012: 76) found that the educational arena remains a battlefront. Mining stories is used as a form of pedagogy the results of which indicate voice, agency and community – given impetus through story – were keys to both individual and collective transformation, thereby providing a basis for further inquiry. Central to this process is the intertwining of dialogue and teaching which must give rise to growth and a sense of power with rather than over students. Davies and Steyn (2012: 29–38) adopt the framework of critical pedagogy to debate pedagogical approaches within social justice education in a university context among privileged White students. The results indicate that there is a

rationale for revising commonly held assumptions on social justice education, that resistance must be engaged with rather than avoided, create functional discomfort rather than safety, dialogue and personal experience as forms of intervention when dominant students engage in problematic ways, encourage educators to challenge, yet help students from privileged positions to understand the nature of oppression. Critical pedagogy therefore has the potential to create social justice. Similarly, in an ethnographic study conducted by Nel (2012: 1–12) using critical discourse and thematic analysis at a historically White Afrikaans university, the results indicate that Black staff members experienced discourses of fear, powerlessness, bitterness and non-engagement at the local, institutional and societal level. Ngcobo and Martin (2015: 87–99) explored through self-reflexive action research reports which form part of the assessment requirements for the Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) programme, how 20 teachers used social justice pedagogy as a conduit for making the curriculum accessible to all learners. The results indicate that these teachers conceptualised and understood social justice on a basis of a philosophy of education as transformation, which called on them to traverse political borders. For them, teaching for social justice meant breaking the cycle of social ills, victimhood and hegemony.

A case study carried out by Constandius and Rosochacki (2012: 13–20) premises that addressing social inequality and developing conditions for democratic flourishing is particularly important in the newly democratized SA. Through engaging students in university curricular with the intention of fostering global citizenship, the qualitative data obtained from participants in the module showed that despite the module's emphasis on exploring cultural difference, the predominant response from students was surprise at the feeling of commonality instead of 'otherness' that arose between learning partners. This outcome suggests both the existence of deeply entrenched cultural prejudices as well as the possibility of educating for tolerance and social cohesion.

In summary, the last decade has seen a growing interest in the area of educational inequality, race, social justice and the manner in which it intersects with the curriculum. Not surprisingly, the research methods lean toward the humanist form of pedagogy which engages concepts such as critical theory, emancipatory theory, transformative engagement, democracy and citizenship. The focus of these studies indicate the need for an education focused on citizenship and social justice aimed at addressing racial and other inequalities in the education system.

The Impact of the Removal of Race-Based Policies

Given the stark inequalities in the SA schooling system, it comes as no surprise that there are those who argue that *"While the rich get education, SA's poor just get 'schooling'"* (Spaull 2015b). No-fee schools make up 66–88% of the schools in SA – almost all of which are dysfunctional since, according to Spaull (2015a), they do not impart the values, skills and knowledge to succeed in life – a view supported by at least ten independently conducted, nationally representative surveys (Spaull 2015b: 2).

Two Schooling Systems

Fundamentally then, it can be argued that SA has two schooling systems. This view is supported by studies conducted by Spaull (2012, 2013a, b), and Harber and Mncube (2011). Significant in a study conducted by Spaull (2013a: 436–447) is the evidence that the primary education system in SA is dualistic in nature. First, schools that served White pupils under apartheid remain functional and schools that served Black students remain dysfunctional – incapable of imparting the required numeracy and literacy skills at particular levels. Spaull (2013a, b) uses the concept of bimodality of student performance and states that two sub-systems can be distinguished when splitting performance by former-department, language or socioeconomic status and when looking at government reporting econometric modelling, SACMEQ III dataset. When the two sub-systems are modelled separately, it was found that only five of the 27 factors are shared between the two models for mathematics, and 11 of the 30 factors for reading. *"This suggests a bifurcated system where the process which converts inputs into outputs is different for each subsystem. This means that observing averages is misleading – modelling a single schooling system when there are in fact two school systems can lead to spurious results and misleading policy decisions"* (Spaull 2013a: 436).

Why Two Schooling Systems?

Adopting development theory as a framework, Harber and Mncube (2011) make some conclusions that support the notion of two schooling systems. While race as a factor for admissions is illegal, high school fees serve to exclude the majority of poor Black, mainly African, students. Equal treatment as in the allocation of resources has been achieved yet unequal access to good qual-

ity schooling persists as a result of extreme poverty. Unequal access to quality schooling thereby perpetuates an unequal society. The contradictions and ironies prevalent in post-apartheid SA schools continue to influence and perpetuate all forms of inequality. For example, Hunt (2007) as cited in Harber and Mncube (2011: 4) found that schools did little to embrace a new culture based on non-discrimination. The 2006 report released by the South African Human Rights Commission further confirm that for the majority of poor Black students schools are dysfunctional and the opposite holds for the White minority. Dysfunctional schools are seen to be associated with apathy, depression, impotence, anxiety about safety, lack of agency, disempowerment and projection of blame onto others (Christie 1998: 4).

Statistics drawn from (Spaull 2012, 2013a, b) as cited by Wilkinson (2015) reinforce the notion of the two schooling systems. Only 4.1% of grade 6 pupils in SA's wealthiest 25% of schools were classified as functionally literate in 2007 whereas 25.6–43.3% are functionally literate in the remaining 75% schools. Results from TIMSS which was conducted in 2011 and tested 11, 969 pupils showed that the least poor 20% of schools significantly outperformed the remaining 80% of schools in both science and mathematics. In the wealthiest 20% of schools, 43.5% of pupils achieved an intermediate score for science whereas in the poorest 80% of schools, 1.6–7.6% of pupils achieved an intermediate score for science. In the wealthiest 20% of schools, 36.3% of pupils achieved an intermediate score for mathematics whereas in the poorest 80% of schools, 0.6–4.3% of pupils achieved an intermediate score for mathematics.

Two Schooling Systems, Race, Class and Culture

An ethnographic study of language study conducted in a public school in Cape Town that focused on how classroom practices regulate and school staff frame language diversity shows that the school offers stratified linguistic choices which correlate with social inequality indicative of most schools in SA. The concept of register thus becomes important as it enables a connection between social value and linguistic value in new ways. A register analysis allows for studying: *"… how racialized and class-based social differences become ideologically linked with language variation.",* and it examines how race and class *"…are evoked by language differences and language hierarchies"* (Collins 2017: 52).

The study adds to the body of knowledge for developing register theory and analysis. First, race is a critical issue for understanding the social dynamics of the current century, a necessary engagement for register analysis, given the

"…demonstrable ability of such analysis to integrate language variation, cultural categorization, and socio-historical processes." Second, registers and register processes are scaled. Their language linked cultural stereotypes and social domains frame and give meaning to language use in intimate settings as well as to global language hierarchies, but understanding register in scale requires ongoing theoretical and empirical efforts, as analysts examine and debate the communicative layering of human experience (Blommaert 2007; Collins 2017; Wortham and Reyes 2015).

The study also shows that attention to social processes of en-registering requires analysis of sociolinguistic scale, a conception of vertical relations of inequality that underlie sociolinguistic phenomena (Blommaert 2007; Collins and Slembrouck 2009).

Grade R provision which has been a policy imperative since 1994 and enacted in the National Education Act of 1996 proposed a universal Grade R (not a right and not free) as opposed to compulsory Grade R (not a right and not state funded) that targets children from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Feza 2013). In 2001, Grade R enrolment was 21% and increased to 62% in 2009 and 87.7% in 2011. The strategic plan for 2011–2014 produced in 2010 indicates that Grade R universality would be achieved by 2014.

In conclusion, in understanding racial inequalities in education, race, as a factor, cannot be de-linked from socio-economic status, culture and language and its impact on school performance. Similarly, schools weak on organisation, stability and quality only serve to reinforce inequalities, mainly for African learners. Whilst the statistical data provides factual data on performance, ethnographic and developmental approaches serve to advance understanding on the human experience. In the end, the qualitative impact of the removal of race-based policies has been contradictory, in some cases even more destructive and mostly it remains unreachable.

Racial (De) Segregation: Causes and Consequences

Whilst there has been improvement for African, Coloured and Indian South Africans post-apartheid, the racial disparities and inequalities remain. Educational inequality has a direct link to income inequality and has become the focus of much research in the third decade of post-apartheid South Africa.

Returns to Schooling

Salisbury (2016: 43–52) viewed data from the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) conducted by the South African Labour and Development

Research Unit (SALDRU), based at the University of Cape Town which interviewed 7296 households with a total of 21,406 adults over the age of 15. NIDS provides the first nationally representative survey with detailed information on grade repetition. The results indicate that whilst there is some improvements to the returns to schooling for Africans and Coloureds, returns by race shows that disparities between races are far greater than between genders. Salisbury (2016: 47) presents some of the findings in Tables 22.1 and 22.2 below which indicate that Whites earn far more than Africans and Coloureds and they receive a far greater return on their extra years of schooling.

The study concludes that White South Africans earn on average 369 percent more than Africans and 355 percent more than Coloureds (Salisbury 2016: 48). The returns for Asians/Indians are nearly identical to Whites though only 42 individuals in this sub-group had full data (Salisbury 2016: 47).

Branson and Lam (2010: 85–109) also affirm that education is significant in explaining inequality. They analyse data from NIDS and depart from the view that returns are high on income and employment with respect to completion of secondary schooling and post-secondary degrees. They focus on questions such as "*Is this child currently enrolled at school?*"; and for adults the question is "*What level are you currently enrolled in?*". Some of the information obtained from NIDS is similar to information contained in the LFS, the GHS and the Community Survey (CS). The study concludes that while there are significant improvements in the educational attainments for non-whites, leading to reducing educational inequality among the race groups, the study concludes that there are large increases in attainment in younger cohorts than in older ones and Africans spend one year longer in school, but attain about one year less schooling than their White counterparts (Branson and Lam 2010: 85). For example, completion in primary schooling is almost universal (92% have completed Grade 7) in the youngest age cohort (25–29) with secondary schooling completion (Grade 12) increasing from 17% to 42% between 60–65 and 25–29 cohorts. The results are consistent with other stud-

Table 22.1 Returns to one additional year of schooling by race

Race	Returns to schooling (%)	Mean years of schooling	Mean earnings (SA Rands/month)
African	15.9	8.8	3095
Coloured	18.8	8.4	3217
Asian/ Indian	25.1	12.5	7460
White	22.6	13.2	11,425
Full sample	18.7	9.2	3946

Table 22.2 Returns to one additional year of schooling by gender

Gender	Returns to schooling (%)	Mean years of schooling	Mean earnings (SA Rands/month)
Male	18.1	8.8	4470
Female	21.2	9.5	3356
Full sample	18.7	9.2	3946

ies (Anderson et al. 2001; Case and Deaton 1999; van der Berg 2007; Louw et al. 2005). They conclude that controlling for school fees as a proxy for school quality reduces much of the racial differences. A significant conclusion is that grade repetition continues to be correlated with race and income.

The Labour Market and Inequality in Education

Similar results can be found in a study conducted by Branson et al. (2012: 2–25) which shows that the labour market is the key driver of overall household inequality. In order to understand what drives the labour market inequality, they use national household data survey data to review changing returns to education in the SA labour market over the last 15 years focusing on the returns to gaining employment as well as the earnings returns for those that have employment. Data is drawn from Household Surveys collected by Statistics South Africa and the LFS from 1994 to 1999 on men and women aged 25–29. The results indicate that (a) whilst the distribution of schooling is very similar for both men and women in both racial groups and there are improvements for Africans in schooling over time, large racial differences in schooling remain where White men and White women have more years of schooling than their African counterparts though the percentage of White men and women with more than 12 years of schooling has shifted slightly. Further, women go through schooling somewhat faster than men in all race groups and the percentage of men completing 12 years of schooling has remained the same; (b) there is a slight improvement in African and White women completing 12 years of schooling noting that major changes for African men and women lie below grade 12. Returns to schooling are quite modest until the completion of secondary school; (c) consistent with the results from Keswell (2010a, b), there are high returns to post-secondary schooling in terms of earnings and employability which ironically has resulted in consistent levels of inequality. The earning returns to completing grade 12 (versus grade 11) for Africans are very high in both years; (d) the returns to post-secondary education are even higher and have increased over time. For

example, African men with two years of post-secondary schooling have earnings that are 40% higher than African men with grade 12 in 1997 and 70% higher in 2007 – a man with 14 years of education earned almost twice as much as one with 12 years of schooling; and (e) however, the difference between Africans and Whites is great – Africans with 15 years of education (a completed university degree) have similar earnings returns to Whites as grade 12 – which also persists over time. Further, African males with a Diploma or Degree are close to 20% points more likely to be employed than African males with Grade 7. The returns for employment from matric is relatively small at 4% points in 2007.

Grade Repetition

Grade repetition is a major issue in SA schools, resulting in resourcing inefficiencies and social disruption. The problem of overage children is well documented, and the Department follows a policy which allows for only one repeated year in every 3-year phase. This can still mean up to four extra years, and pupils as old as 21 in class. Failing Mathematics is a major reason for this repetition, and especially high levels at Grade 9 have caused the Department to "condone" students who get as low as 20% for the subject, and allow them to progress. Educationally, this is poor policy, but it does serve to retain pupils in schools, which is socially beneficial.

In 2013, the apparent intake rate (AIR) was 104.6%, a drop from 122.8% in 2009 (Taylor and Shindler 2016: 9). Also, in 2013, the gross enrolment ratios (GER) was 112.8% in Grade 1 and 106.6% in Grade 2 which indicates that a large number of children did not start school at the appropriate age or because of repetition (Taylor and Shindler 2016: 9). In a study conducted by Simkins (2013: 7) for the period 2010–2012, he notes that repetition rates are high in Grades 1 and 2, they drop through the rest of primary school and begin to rise in secondary school peaking at Grade 10 and remaining high in Grade 11. Results from the 2013 GHS show that the main reason for not attending school for 7–18 year olds are due to poverty followed by a perception that education was useless and pregnancy. Between 2010 and 2015, an increase of 18.6% was noted in Grade 12 enrolment which was attributed to the policy of only being allowed to fail once resulting in Grade 11 learners being promoted to Grade 12 even though they had failed Grade 11 (Taylor and Shindler 2016: 11).

Literature on retention, social promotion and its effects indicates that direct measures of grade repetition are rare in SA household surveys. Branson and

Lam (2010: 85) draw on information from census surveys, LFS on age distributions among currently enrolled students in a given grade and NIDS. They use multivariate regressions and linear probability models. Questions posed are direct questions on whether a grade was repeated, how many times it was repeated and the outcome for respondents under age 31. The results indicate that by Grade 10 over 50% of African males and 40% of African females have repeated at least one grade. Grade repetition is much higher among the lower quintiles where over 60% of males in the poorest quintile who reached Grade 11 repeated at least one grade. The level among Indian and Whites is low.

Table 22.3 below indicates the mean age of starting and ending school, number of years in school and the highest school grade completed (Branson and Lam 2010: 92).

Although males and females start school at approximately the same age, there are differences across racial groups. The mean age for starting school for the 20–24 age group is 6.2 years for Africans, compared to less than 6 years for Coloureds, Indians and Whites. There is also a systematic decline in age in starting school across cohorts for Africans, with more than 1.5 year decline between 55–59 and 20–24 year old cohort. The above compares to 17.1 years for Coloureds and 17.7 years for Indians and Whites.

The age of school leaving appears to have declined over the past 1.5 decades, driven by large declines among Africans – respondents from 30 to 34 cohort completed school on average at age 20.3 compared to age 18.8 in the 20–24 group, a decline of 1.5 years. Similar declines are seen for Coloureds, while the age at which Indians and Whites complete school increases.

According to Branson and Lam (2010: 95), the specific results on grade repetition show that (a) males are much more likely to repeat almost all grades than females with the greatest gender difference apparent in the younger grade; (b) 13.2% of African males repeated Grade 1 compared to 6.7% of African females; (c) grade repetition is highest in Grades 1, 10, 11 and 12 for males, and remains low, below 7%, for females until Grade 10; (d) since the sample includes all those respondents under 1 who had attempted the grade; the sample decreases at the higher grades and is selective of those who have not dropped out; (e) grade repetition is especially high in Grades 10 and 11. Fifty eight (58%) of the learners leave the schooling system without completing matriculation (Murtin 2013); 70% of learners who started in grade 1 dropped out before completing grade 12 (Uys and Alant 2015: 20–39); and nearly one third of learners are re-enrolled in school after having been disenrolled for at least one year (Pugatch's 2012).

Table 22.3 Age of starting and ending school

Age group	Age start school						Age end school					
	Male	Female	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Male	Female	African	Coloured	Indian	White
20–24	6.12	6.10	6.18	5.86	4.99	5.97	18.80	18.49	18.83	17.05	17.79	17.66
25–29	6.33	6.32	6.47	5.63	5.26	5.75	19.16	19.06	19.39	17.65	17.74	17.41
30–34	6.53	6.44	6.66	5.86	5.21	5.67	19.60	19.87	20.28	17.84	17.39	17.26
35–39	6.76	6.63	6.96	5.93	5.10	5.54	19.77	19.41	19.96	18.32	16.26	18.72
40–44	6.60	6.61	7.07	5.95	5.02	5.14	19.00	18.91	19.56	16.69	17.56	18.06
45–49	6.58	6.74	7.08	5.64	5.56	5.69	18.56	19.34	19.96	16.42	18.26	17.70
50–54	6.81	6.84	7.33	5.83	7.69	5.07	18.81	19.46	20.46	17.16	17.99	17.45
55–59	7.09	7.07	7.74	6.27	6.00	5.18	17.96	17.05	17.62	16.21	15.20	17.88
Total	**6.52**	**6.51**	**6.76**	**5.85**	**5.51**	**5.49**	**19.11**	**19.09**	**19.56**	**16.21**	**15.20**	**17.88**

Age group	Number of years in school						Highest school grade completed					
	Male	Female	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Male	Female	African	Coloured	Indian	White
20–24	12.74	12.41	12.71	11.09	12.72	11.7	10.07	10.67	10.33	9.93	11.03	11.46
25–29	12.81	12.72	12.91	12.04	12.48	11.68	10.03	10.3	10.06	10.14	11.07	11.23
30–34	12.82	13.26	13.37	12.08	12.22	11.6	9.79	9.88	9.62	10.2	11.51	11.48
35–39	12.48	12.8	12.78	11.82	11.28	13.19	8.91	9.11	8.56	9.81	10.38	11.6
40–44	11.84	11.67	11.74	10.3	12.58	12.2	8.36	8.23	7.6	7.97	10.63	11.39
45–49	11.74	11.88	11.81	10.7	12.64	12.24	7.79	7.57	6.61	8.33	9.95	11.68
50–54	11.07	11.17	10.74	10.42	10.2	12.23	7.13	6.68	5.85	6.45	10.02	11.23
55–59	11.1	10.47	9.33	10.65	10.04	12.52	6.44	5.59	4.34	6.42	7.18	11.46
Total	**12.44**	**12.44**	**12.62**	**11.4**	**12.04**	**12.18**	**9.03**	**9**	**8.65**	**9.02**	**10.41**	**11.44**

Notes: Sample intended to be 20–59 year olds who were not studying at the time of the survey. The age start school and number of years in school numbers should be considered with caution since these questions were poorly answered. Missing values are imputed to the average value within age group and population group cells. The probability of non-response on these variables increases with age, at an increasing rate which is in line with recall difficulties. In addition, young, white better educated men are less likely to have missing data. The number of years in school is calculated using the age start and end school variables. Weighted means presented

Drop-Out

A new procedure for estimating promotion, repetition and dropout rates for learners in SA schools is proposed. The procedure uses three different data sources: data from the SA GHS, data from the Education Management Information Systems, and data from yearly reports published by the Department of Basic Education. The data from the GHS are utilised to estimate repetition rates for learners in three different age groups. Keeping these repetition rates fixed, the data from the other two sources are used to estimate dropout and promotional rates, which are based on a birth-year-cohort approach for the different age groups. This procedure involves minimising the difference between actual flow-through rates and simulated flow-through rates for both the birth-year cohorts and age groups. The procedure gives different results when compared to published literature. Key results on drop-out and grade repetition are summed up as follows:

(a) Learners who are one year older than the normal age for a certain grade, have higher repetition rates than learners who are in the other two age groups.
(b) The dropout rate for learners who are one year younger in than the normal age in each grade is relative compared to those who are a year and two years older.
(c) Dropout rates for the norm+ age groups for grades 8 and 11 are higher relative to the same age groups for the two age groups.
(d) The dropout rate in grade 7 for all three age groups is zero, which is an unexpected result.
(e) The promotion rates for the norm + age group are lower for grades 8–11, if compared to the other two age groups. This is expected since higher repetition and dropout rates were estimated above for this age group in grades 8–11.
(f) There is a steady increase in the dropout rates from grades 9–12. The repetition rates reach a maximum at Grade 10, and decline then towards grade 12. Reasonable stable promotion rates are observed from grades 1–7, followed by a steady decline from grade 8 towards grade 12.
(g) Crouch (2005) suggests that the correct way to calculate dropout is to consider age-specific and grade-specific enrolment ratios from the SA GHS. By using the proportion of learners enrolled, and applying this to the total population, the number of learners not in school can be calculated.

(h) Modisaotsile (2012) reported on very high dropout rates and low literacy and numeracy levels, claiming that 50% of the learners enrolled in grade 1 complete grade 12. He also stated that sexual abuse, pregnancy and abuse are factors that increase the dropout rate in secondary schooling. In a study conducted in the KwaZulu-Natal province of SA, Grant and Hallman (2008) affirmed this by finding a strong correlation between school performance and pregnancy-related school dropout of female learners.

Repetition rates should not be considered in isolation, but within the context of dropout and flow-through rates. Repetition rates can also be estimated from data sources other than GHS. Crouch (2005) cautions that repetition rates are poorly reported and thus poorly estimated, that 60% of the learners enrolled in grade 1 do not reach grade 12 or its equivalent in Further Education and Training colleges.

In summary, empirical data indicates that there is differential return to schooling for Whites and Blacks with grade repetition and a high drop-out among Black, mainly African, learners militating against any form of redress. Data obtained from research on income, household and labour market surveys, national and international assessments provide the basis for understanding the phenomenon of the differentials in return to schooling with the potential to impact on major policy reforms.

(De) Segregation and School Resources

Research points to the link between high drop-out and quality of education – the latter informs the former. Impacting on drop-out and repetition are issues of access and quality. Chisholm (2005) claims that despite government's best efforts to improve access and quality in education, learner performance is still low, (Fleisch and Shindler 2007) claim that access to education is lower than what most published sources suggest, the quality of basic education for a large proportion of Black learners is substandard (Murtin 2013) and there is no quality in access to resources, such as laboratories and computers, between previously disadvantaged schools.

Quality, Access and Performance

Spaull (2015a: 34–41) argues that poor quality of education reinforces an intergenerational cycle of poverty where poor kids (mainly Black) inherit the

social standing of their parents and/or guardians irrespective of ability and effort. He addresses key questions on the level of learner achievement, when inequalities in learning outcomes emerge, the links between education and the labour market and most importantly why learners drop out. He argues that neither the matriculation results nor the ANA are reliable indicators of what learners know and can do. The former only reflects the performance of 50% of learners who started schooling 12 years earlier because they drop out of school before reaching matric – mainly in grades 10 and 11. The latter is still in its infancy.

He draws on data from SACMEQ (2007), TIMSS and PIRLS and concludes that local grade 6 learners performed worse than learners in many poorer African countries whereas 41% of rural grade 6 learners were functionally illiterate compared to only 13% of urban learners in the same grade.

PIRLS The pre-PIRLS study of 2011 showed large linguistic inequalities, that is, for those learners whose language of learning and teaching was Xitsonga, Tshivenda or Sepedi, one in 2 (50%) could not read by the end of grade 4 (the grades in which reading is the focus) compared to one in 10 (11%) English and Afrikaans children. Such learners would not be able to engage meaningfully with the curriculum in later years and would therefore lag behind.

TIMSS TIMSS studies show that the performance of grade 9 learners improved by approximately one-and-a-half grade levels of learning between 2003 and 2011. Three-quarters (76%) of grade 9 learners in 2011 had not acquired a basic understanding of whole numbers, decimals, operations or basic graphs. In TIMSS 2003, 90% of learners had failed to acquire these skills.

GHS The GHS of 2011 shows that only 44% of Black and Coloured youth aged 23–24 had attained matric compared to 83% of Indian youth and 88% of White youth. The inequalities in learning outcomes are large and already entrenched by the age of eight. Referred to as "cumulative learning deficits" these learners are disadvantaged when trying to compensate at the high school exit level (Getting Schools Working).

Surveys Multiple nationally representative surveys reveal that by grade 3 children in the poorest schools are already three-years-worth of learning behind their wealthier peers and as this gap grows, they are 5 years' worth of learning

behind their wealthier peers (Spaull 2015a: 36). Given the phenomenon of lagging behind and the terminal nature of grade 12 (learners cannot go beyond grade 12 regardless of knowledge and skills), there is widespread drop-out at grades 10 and 11. NIDS also supports this view and correlates it with socio-economic status and school quality in SA. Grade repetition is not sufficient to address the problem and other alternative need to be found. Fifty percent (50%) of grade one learners make it to matric. In 2014, only 532,860 learners wrote matric (and 403,874 passed) even though there were 1,085,570 learners in the cohort that started grade one twelve years earlier. He argues that rather than looking at the matric pass rate as a measure of success, an appropriate measure would be to calculate the proportion of a cohort that started school 12 years ago, passed matric – which would be about 36% in 2014, down from 40% in 2013. Household surveys, by Gustaffson, indicate that the four most prominent reasons why students drop out are: (1) lack of financing; (2) wanting to look for a job; (3) falling grades; and (4) pregnancy (for female learners). The Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) confirms that an unequal education system feeds into and perpetuates an unequal labour market: +35% of the labour force was unemployed, one in five (+18%) were employed in unskilled occupations, +32% were employed in semi-skilled jobs and +15% in highly skilled jobs.

In the end, at least 75–80% of learners come from poor households, do not have access to quality pre-school education, enter school unprepared, attend low quality primary and secondary schools with a high drop-out. Such schools have poor coverage of the curriculum, weak subject and content knowledge among teachers, low cognitive outcomes and poor educational outcomes. The opposite holds for the minority privileged group (mainly Whites and Indians).

Resources

As stated under the research tradition from Oligarchy to Democracy, Van der Berg (2007: 849) maintains that qualitative differentials remain large and describes the problem as x-inefficiency rather than allocative efficiency. Van der Berg's (2008: 145) study also indicated more resources did not necessarily improve school performance. He claims that international tests indicate that SA educational quality lags far behind even much poorer countries. Historically Black schools constitute 80% of enrolment and van der Berg claims that educational quality in these schools has not improved since political transition. Key questions in his study include: *"What factors inhibit performance in poorer*

(mainly Black and Coloured) schools?" and *"What is the role of school effectiveness, socio-economic status (SES) and resources in determining educational performance at Grade 6 level in SA?".* He draws data from SACMEQ II, 2001, school and pupil performance using ordinary least-square (OLS) regressions for analysis, regressing test scores on various SES measures, school inputs for the full and reduced sample, controlling for SES and teacher inputs and using survey regression and hierarchical linear models (HLM). Key to the study is how effectively schools convert resources into educational outcomes and how effective are poor schools in overcoming socioeconomic disadvantage (van der Berg 2008: 145–154). The results indicate that the high interclass correlation coefficients (rho) reflect far greater between –school variance than for other countries as reflected in the proportion of overall variance of 0.70 for reading scores and 0.64 for mathematics scores in SACMEQ II.

Quintile 5 schools (the richest quintile) outperformed the other quintiles with marks above 500 (the SACMEQ mean), or below 400 (one standard deviation below this mean). Further, below a certain SES threshold, individual reading or mathematics score did not improve much with higher SES – most schools were not able to turn SES into educational advantage.

Regression Analysis

The regression analysis on the full sample indicates that the effect of pupil SES appeared non-linear with SES playing an increasing role at higher levels and that pupil attendance, grade repetition, parent education and household resources were important determinants of academic success. School equipment and infra-structure impacted positively including mathematics (van der Berg 2008: 148). The regression analysis on the reduced sample (where 10% of the richest schools were dropped followed by another 10%) indicated that the major part of educational disparity in SA schools was between rich (mainly historically White and Indian) schools and other schools – possibly due to their ability to convert their resources and efficiency into performance (van der Berg 2008: 148). Regression analysis using quintile regression indicates that the relationship between scores and explanatory variables were stronger and higher in richer schools. Regression analysis at the school level indicates that most regressors were school level equivalent, a strong negative impact for under-age children, the proportion of male children impacted negatively on reading, school equipment played a positive role, sharing text-books did not bring benefits. Regression analysis within hierarchical linear modelling models and the nesting of pupils within schools indicates that at the average SES

level of 0.00, rich schools outperformed other schools meaning that attending an affluent school yielded returns in terms of reading and mathematics.

Parental Background

The involvement of parents in their children's schooling has come to dominate some of the research on factors that influence parental involvement in their children's schooling. Ndebele (2015) conducted research on eight public primary schools, two each from different geographical and socio-economic areas such as the inner city, suburban and township where six hundred parents formed part of the study. The focus of the study was parental's involvement in homework at the Foundation Phase. Ndebele (2015) highlights that the concept of 'parents' in SA is complex found in different family structures such as the nuclear family, extended families, child-headed households, single-parent families and multi-generational households (Amoateng et al. 2004). The study draws on the cultural capital theory of Bourdieu (1977), Bandura's (1977) theory of Social Learning, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory of the ecology of human development and Epstein's theory of school and partnerships. The results indicate that the majority of the parents from across the socio-economic divide held a positive view towards homework yet parents from low income groups have fewer homework resources, the majority of whom report that they only supervise their children's homework. Yet, at least 70% of parents mainly from the city-centre, peri-urban and township areas did not supervise, check and sign their children's homework. Parents from higher socio-economic groups are more engaged and involved in their children's homework than parents from the poorer township and inner city schools. A lack of assistance in Mathematics was more pronounced among parents in the two township schools (3 and 8), compared to those in peri-urban and upmarket areas. The highest percentage of parents who read aloud to their children was in the upmarket suburban school 6 (49%) whereas township schools 3 and 8 had the lowest percentages, with 18. 9% and 22.7%, respectively. The highest percentage of parents who listened to their children was at school 6, with 76.5% whereas township schools 3 and 8 had the lowest percentages at 31.5% and 28.6%.

McKeever (2017) adopted inequality theory to examine educational inequality at the end of the apartheid era and focuses on major transitions during students' educational careers. The multinomial regression models show that strong relationships between race and educational achievement where non-Whites are less likely to make the transition into lower secondary

school and Africans are the least likely to go to secondary schools that included studies in Mathematics and/or the Sciences. Further, non-Whites are less likely to have made the transition to upper secondary school. Overall, Coloured respondents are much less likely to attend upper secondary school across all types of schooling than all other groups and Asians are more likely to attend rigorous schooling than other non-Whites. The respondent's level of educational achievement is related to the occupation of the parents and also the quality of that education. Respondents whose parents had better education were more likely to obtain more and better educational levels. Those whose fathers were working class or lower middle class were less likely to have attended lower secondary school, while those whose fathers were working class were less likely to have taken mathematics and/or science than children of lower middle-class fathers.

The study also found that parental background is crucially related to educational achievement for Africans in SA. The most common outcome for those whose parents had low education and lower educational attainment is not attending lower secondary school, whereas respondents whose parents had less education but held better jobs are most likely to attend a lower secondary school. Among those African students whose fathers attained only a lower level of education, not attending higher secondary school was the most common outcome. Among the children of more highly educated fathers, African men with fathers who held working-class jobs were most likely to not attend secondary school at all (McKeever 2017: 127–128).

Other research has shown that the level of education of caregivers and economic resources of the home are major predictors of educational success (Anderson et al. 2001; Liddell and Rae 2001; Sibanda 2005; Thomas 1996; Townsend et al. 2002). The study supports the idea that qualitative differences matter even when quantitative differences are pervasive (McKeever 2017: 128).

In summary, quality appears to be measured against performance on national and international assessments with Black learners in mainly poorly resourced schools performing far worse than their counterparts in the historically White and better resourced schools. Whilst reasons for poor performance are attributed to a lack of resources and the home and community environment, an important observation is the inability of weak performing schools to convert resources into equitable outcomes. An enduring feature is that the culture of learning from the apartheid era still remain (Fiske and Ladd 2004; Smith 2011).

Teacher Training and Pedagogy

Teacher training and pedagogy continue to play a critical role in what is perceived as the most salient conduit between the process of policy-making and implementation. Emerging studies focus on aspects of placing the teacher at the centre of the community with the intention of providing a holistic teaching and learning experience.

Teacher Training, Community and Rurality

With respect to teacher education, Islam (2012: 19–29) draws on an evaluation experience of a teacher education preparation project in a rural school in SA and explains the need to focus on teacher education with strong connections to the local context including broader socio-political and cultural perspectives. He relies on Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) theory of Communities of Practice (CoP) which emphasises the social process of learning which is shaped, re-shaped and mediated by members of a community within the larger socio-cultural environment. The data was collected using participatory evaluation and analysed using the abductive and constant comparison method. Some of the results indicate that the perception of rural schools being poverty-stricken was challenged by the sense of community and care displayed by in-teachers. Pre-service teachers also involved themselves in after-school activities thereby broadening their view on teaching and learning in a rural context. Some pre-service teachers were motivated to teach in rural schools while others were shocked at the inequality between the urban and rural setting. Whilst one pre-service teacher stated: "*I discovered a very good teacher in myself. I am confident that I can bring a positive change and hope in the lives of the students affected by poverty, gender violence and HIV and AIDS*" another stated: "*I am discouraged to see that rural schools do not have electricity, drinking water and sanitation. I cannot teach in this situation.*" Finally, pre-service teachers were of the view that a discourse on rural education was absent in the *"…existing dominant curriculum and practices"* Islam (2012: 25). Striking in this statement is the perceived lack of awareness by university departments on the inequalities between urban and rural schools.

In developing a model for understanding student teacher learning in a rural project, Pennefather (2016: 216–229) focuses on three interconnected and complementary aspects: situated learning, rurality and early professional learning against the challenges presented by the unequal and diverse nature of the SA schooling system. The question was whether a supervised teaching

practice in a rural context could contribute to the development of student teachers' professional learning and their preparation to teach in a range of contexts. A case study method within an interpretive paradigm was used focusing on meanings, descriptions and multiple realities of student learning based on data sources, interviews, focus groups, questionnaires and document analysis with students enrolled on the Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) (Pennefather 2016: 219). The results indicate one danger where student's existing views of rural education could be reinforced or for them to reproduce examples of poor teaching. Be that as it may, such a study has the potential to explain challenges and opportunities student and novice teachers face in rural contexts as well as to understand the enabling conditions under which these opportunities can be exploited.

In their study of what it means to be a teacher in a rural school, Pillay and Saloojee (2012: 43–52) use data techniques from life history and collage compositions with one teacher where they focused on his daily lived experience and the social realities of working in a context of rural education. The results indicate that the lives of teachers in rural schools cannot be studied and explained in simplistic terms, that personal history in intertwined with teacher identity, that endurance and improvisation are required by teachers and that: "…a teacher's capacity to disrupt and challenge stereotypical meanings of rural schooling involves ongoing dialogue with the self, with teachers, with learners and the wider community" Pillay and Saloojee (2012: 43).

Continuous Professional Development and In-Service Training

Continuous professional development (CPD) or in-service training of educators is the state's key instrument in improving school performance. Yet, Taylor and Shindler (2016: 12) are of the view that not much has been achieved with CPD and that in-service training *"…does not appear to have any significant effect on student performance."* and that internal supervision by the principal or another teacher is more effective (Raudenbush et al. 1993). They conclude that the priority is to evaluate individual programmes and build a knowledge base that guides effective policy, programme design and classroom practice.

As a consequence of aligning its teacher education policies with international requirements, teacher education, initial professional education of teachers and CPD has attracted unprecedented attention as seen in the policy documents (a) National Policy Framework for Teacher Education (NPFTED), and (b) the Integrated Strategic Planning Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa (Diko 2013). Relying on secondary data

such as the report titled "Trends in Teacher Education 2008–2009" (2010) and the National Teacher Education Audit, Diko (2013) found that whilst a number of teachers have upgraded their qualifications mainly through the distance mode (a) there was a reduction in the number of students who enrolled on teacher education programmes, (b) a shortage of qualified teachers in Mathematics, and (c) initial teacher education providers were concentrated in the richest provinces. Furthermore, while disaggregated data assisted in identifying areas of specialization, concerns remain around (a) regulating CPD for delivery at the provincial, regional and district levels, (b) the regulation of CPD by the South African Council for Educators, (c) ownership of research by universities and the inclusion of international collaboration to inform policy formulation and implementation, (d) the majority of foundation phase teachers are White females, and (e) early childhood development is not given the same value as general education and training. HIV/AIDS continues to impact negatively on teacher supply.

Research Paradigm

Not only is there an absence of rural education in the teacher education curriculum, Moletsane (2012: 1–8) argues that a lack of social change is due in large part to the dominance of research paradigms that ignore the voices of the most marginalised and the intended beneficiaries of the interventions. Framing the study within critical theory, Moletsane (2012: 1–8) reflects on the nature of rurality, maps the issues that face rural communities, explores the limitations of dominant research paradigms and their impact on social change. Some deficits identified in research paradigms are that the researcher and researched are separated as "us" and "them" which leads to unequal power relations. The tendency is to focus on what is lacking rather than what is not in rural communities. For example, either the learner's background (rural) or school/teacher performance are used to explain poor performance when the reasons are far more complex. A significant resource is the resilience and strength displayed by learners in rural communities that need to be harnessed *"… in developing interventions to effect social change in these communities.",* which in the end must inform policy and transformation. In this regard, the studied must themselves study themselves and the researcher must become participants by studying rural schools from the perspective of all those who inhabit such spaces. Another resource is the use of participatory visual methodologies (e.g. writing, drawing, visual mapping, participatory video and photography) as they foster research aimed at social change, engage partici-

pants as active agents of change (especially at the grass-roots) and produce interventions informed by strength (Moletsane 2012: 5).

In summary, the research highlights a lack of recognition of the marginalised in the manner in which research paradigms are conceptualised in that they ignore the voices of those it studies and the intended beneficiaries. In this regard, the researcher and the studied must engage in a transparent and equal manner where the *"…studied must themselves study themselves…"* and the researcher becomes fully immersed in the lives of those he researchers. Such a practice, as indicated in the discussion, would lean towards methods born of critical theory, social processes of learning, mediation, participatory visual methodologies, situated learning and the daily lived experience. Such methods are useful in so far as they foster research aimed at social change, engage participants as active agents of change at the grass-roots and produce interventions informed by strength. Information on student learning based on data sources, interviews, focus groups, questionnaires and document analysis serve to capture both the qualitative and quantitative experience. Early professional development of teachers and pre-service teaching are essential.

Charting Inequalities in Student Outcomes

In South Africa, basic education consists of nine years of schooling. It is compulsory for all children aged between 7 and 15 years of age from Grade 1 to Grade 9. The figures on enrolment indicate that universal access to education has been achieved with 98.8% participation rate for those learners who fall within the compulsory age group (7–15 years of age). The participation rate for 7–13 year olds is 99.3% and 90.3% for 14–18 year olds (Taylor and Shindler 2016: 9). However, the situation for learners 16–18 year-olds who are no longer subject to compulsory education is a cause for concern. In 2013, 86.1% of 16–18 year olds were attending an educational institution – an increase of 3.1% from 82.9% in 2002 (Taylor and Shindler 2016: 9).

Mathematics, Science and Literacy

The 2008 SACMEQ scores for Mathematics at Grade 6 show that SA is outperformed by eight surrounding countries whose Gross Democratic Product is much lower than SA clearly illustrating that poorer countries with lower resources than SA achieve higher quality (Taylor and Shindler 2016: 9). Twenty percent of the richest schools are outperformed by Kenya and

Mauritius and the scores for the rest of the schools fall below those of the SACMEQ all-country means (Taylor and Shindler 2016: 10). The 2007 SACMEQ scores show that SA came tenth out of 15 countries for reading and eight for mathematics. The SACMEQ 2010 test scores do show an improvement (Taylor and Shindler 2016: 10; Spaull 2013a, b). The TIMSS 2011 tests indicate an increase from 285 in 2002 to 352 in 2011 in Mathematics and from 268 to 332 in science (Reddy et al. 2015). However, SA still lags behind other countries at a similar stage of development (Taylor and Shindler 2016: 10).

Several government led policies, programmes, interventions and strategies to improve the state of mathematics and science in schools have been in place since 1994. In the 2008/2009 financial year, the private sector spent approximately R2 billion (1.4% of the total spend) to support these initiatives (Reddy and Juan 2013: 41). The Dinaledi project is one such example.

Reddy and Juan (2013) analyse school mathematics through an analysis of the performance of learners by drawing on empirical studies such as TIMSS, ANA and SACMEQ. The results indicate that (a) in TIMSS 2011, the average performance in Dinaledi schools is around one grade higher [(392) (SE 10.8)] than public schools [(348) (SE 2.5)]; (b) constant curriculum changes cause confusion and anxiety for teachers; (c) high levels of training of teachers have not yielded expected outcomes; (d) a lack of suitably qualified mathematics and science teachers; (e) the requirement that students at the Further Education and Training phase participate in mathematics literacy or mathematics; (f) teachers lacking subject knowledge; (g) the 2002 NEIMS data shows that 79.3% of schools did not have libraries, 60.2% did not have laboratories and 67.9% did not have computer labs; (h) improving teacher qualifications for mathematics literacy; (i) from 2008 to 2012, there was an increase in participation in mathematics literacy at Grade 10 from 47% to 56%; (j) the national mathematics mean scores are low; (k) the national average mathematics achievement score at different grades across the schooling system has not shown any improvement, except for 2011; (l) the performance of students is dependent on their socio-economic backgrounds which requires a disaggregation of the performance scores into relevant groupings; (m) the emphasis for a school level analysis; (n) few top performing students are globally competitive; (o) from 2002 to 2011, the national average mathematics and science score for public schools increased by 63 points and 60 points, respectively, indicating an improvement by one and a half grade level over two cycles of TIMSS; (p) from 1995 to 2002, the South African score distribution for both mathematics and science, from the 5th to 95th percentile, was one of the widest for all countries participating in TIMSS – reflecting the wide disparity in

society and schools; (q) the achievement scores at the lowest levels (5th percentile) come from learners from low-income households, the most disadvantaged schools, African schools and quintile 1, 2 and 3 non-fee paying schools, thereby indicating that disaggregation of mean scores by different categories is essential for analysis and interventions; (r) learners from African schools showed great improvements in achievement in TIMSS from 2002 to 2011 (s) there is an inequitable performance at provincial level; and (t) the school must be a unit of analysis as it substitutes for a lack of cultural capital and home support.

In a study carried out by Reddy and van der Berg as cited in Reddy and Juan (2013: 51) on school performance in mathematics for the period 1998–2003 based on an examination of the database, it was found that some schools consistently produced high quality mathematics passes over a six year period (established schools), some schools showed potential to produce high quality mathematics passes (emergent schools) and some schools consistently produced low results. Table 22.4 below provides a breakdown for two provinces, that is, Gauteng and Free State.

The figures clearly illustrate a wide disparity among the former White and Black schools. Reddy and Juan (2013) concludes that enduring quality and predictability are required to produce high quality mathematics passes and that a greater focus should be on what happens inside classrooms and schools for any intervention to be effective. Despite a great deal of resources spent on teacher training, the nature, quality and outcomes are questionable and aspects like work-ethics, work values and cultures are not necessarily accounted for.

The result of PIRLS 2006 and 2011 indicate that achievement of Grades 4 and 5 students fall below the international norm, despite being tested in eleven official languages, and speakers of African languages achieve the lowest scores. Further, South African students were one or two years older than their international counterparts (Heugh 2013: 11). Despite reports produced after an evaluation of the 'The Status of the Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) in South African Public Schools' and the 'Colloquium on Language in the Schooling System' in 2010, Heugh (2013) is of the view that no new and substantive language policy was put into place. In other words, there appear to be no attempts to address the issue of language in the school curriculum with respect to linguistic diversity and multilingualism.

A study conducted by Sosibo (2016) using a questionnaire and interviews and triangulated with students' academic records on the effect of language on African student teachers' excellence in mathematics taught through the medium of English as a second language revealed that (a) linguistic capital facilitated an understanding and excellence in mathematics; (b) some saw no

Table 22.4 Established, emergent and low performing schools in Gauteng and Free State

	Gauteng				Free State			
Ex-department	Number of schools	Established base	Emergent base	Low performer	Number of schools	Established base	Emergent base	Low performer
Black	262	3	45	214	228	11	47	170
White	168	119	35	14	42	22	8	12

Reddy and Juan (2013: 15)

relationship between linguistic capital and mathematics; (c) competence in mathematics was attributed to intrinsic attributes such as human agency; and (d) human agency can lead to success in mathematics regardless of a predisposition to the cultural-linguistic capital of English. The implications of the results are that African students who learn Mathematics through English as a second language have the ability to excel if intrinsically motivated.

In conclusion, international tests such as SACMEQ, TIMSS and PIRLS are an important measure of South Africa's performance in mathematics, science and literacy both regionally and globally. Whilst the results do not look promising, indications are that SA would be closer to the TIMSS centrepoint by 2023 (Reddy and Juan 2013: 53). The distinction made between high performing and poor performing schools in mathematics and science serves to steer policy and interventions potentially in the right direction. The study conducted by Sosibo (2016) is a positive signal on how human agency can transcend barriers and limitations to the successful study of mathematics by African learners for whom English is a second language.

Rural Education

According to the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) 2004–2005 annual report, between 60% and 70% of school age learners in Africa are enrolled in rural schools. In SA, more than 14 million people live in rural contexts (SA National Statistical Office 2014) as cited in Pennefather (2016). As already indicated, the inequalities that find its roots in apartheid manifest in what is called a bimodal schooling system where infrastructure, resourcing and results from national and international benchmarking tests are distinctly unequal for the former White and Black schools (Spaull 2012 as cited in Pennefather 2016). The African Learning Barometer indicates that only about half of sub-Saharan Africa's 128 million school-aged children attending school are likely to acquire the basic skills needed for them to live healthy and productive lives. There are continuing disparities in learning between urban and rural schools with rural children being the most disadvantage when it comes to access and quality education (Agbor 2012: 1–2).

The challenges of social justice, poor and/or absent infrastructure and poor quality emerge in most of the research conducted. Most of the studies are framed in the discourse of human rights. Many view that education as a human right remains elusive for most South Africans, especially Africans Hlalele (2012: 111–118).

Resources, Poor Quality and Breaking the Cycle of Poverty

In a case study conducted by Mentz et al. (2012: 70–78) on the empower-ment of Information Technology (IT) teachers in Black rural schools in the North West province, involving only two Grade 10 teachers in a Black rural school, and a qualitative comparative study involving semi-structured inter-views, it was found that teachers experience problems around access to inter-net, lack of technical support and learners not having computers at home. In some cases there is a lack or absence of electricity, shortage of text-books and insufficient software. The recommendations are that continuous support is required from the Department of Basic Education, as once off provision is inadequate and partnerships need to be forged between Department of Basic Education, the provincial Departments of Education (DoE), the school and the teacher.

Moreover, Ebersohn and Ferreira (2012: 30–42) found that although simi-larities existed in the way in which teachers promoted resilience, rural schools took longer to implement strategies to garner and sustain support. As part of a longitudinal intervention study called (STAR) which stands for Supportive Teachers, Assets and Resilience, the results indicate that the variables of space, place, time and agency hampered resilience initiatives but through relation-ships teachers were able to prioritise needs and be aware of available resources. With the reconfiguring of place and agency teachers were able to negotiate the challenges of these variables.

Balfour (2012: 9–18) uses the generative theory of rurality as education research and considers the three variables of forces, agencies and resources. He draws on data from the Rural Teacher Education Project (RTEP) to indicate the insights elicited such as *"…consisting of three mutually affecting and dynamic variables, can be used successfully to account for the extent to which the context in (rural) education can be effective, transformative or dysfunctional depending on how teachers regulate the relationship between space, place and time; and second, data from RTEP might be read in terms of the provisions made in such a theory."*

Far-reaching questions emerged on a study conducted by De Lange et al. (2012: 79–80) on a farm school which explored children's views of family life in a rural area. Data was obtained using drawing as a visual participatory methodology with 16 primary school children, aged between 6 and 10. The questions that emerge seek to understand the rural environment as a either a deficient space or one that is full of possibilities for the development of chil-dren. *"What can be done in terms of resources to break the cycle of poverty? How*

can the DBE provide quality teachers (including multi-grade teaching), encourage a culture of learning and complete homework. The position of the school as a centre for community development where children and families are enabled to acquire appropriate knowledge, skills and values for making a goodlife." Research indicates that rural children are heterogeneous and have the capacity to navigate their localities in complex and autonomous ways (Morojele and Muthukrishna 2012: 90–100). Twelve children, 6 were male and 6 were female, from three different rural villages in Lesotho took part in individual and focus group interviews which were preceded by participatory research techniques such as family drawings, route mapping and diamond ranking that engaged children in dialogue and discussion. The results indicate that children *"…actively define and re-define the varied places, power-laden spaces and social relations embedded in a journey."*

Social Justice, Community and Culture

A study framed in a distributive paradigm that looks at social justice as a proper distribution of social benefits and burdens among members of society acknowledges diversity as an inherent feature of education and existence, that rural education needs to embrace difference, shape demands and model social benefits in accordance with the reality of a particular setting (Hlalele 2012: 111–118). The implication being that social justice should be perceived as a humanizing process – a response to human diversity in terms of ability, socio-economic circumstances, choice and rights.

Since AIDS is a huge threat in rural communities, Khau (2012: 61–69) studied the need and impact of sexuality education and HIV and AIDS education in rural classrooms. The focus was on how eight women teachers experienced teaching sexuality and HIV and AIDS. Focus group interviews and thematic inductive analysis reveal that there are obstacles to such teaching in the form of cultural, traditional and societal taboos on sexuality teaching to young 'innocent' kids, the focus of sexuality teaching with respect to safety and the teacher's fear of addressing issues of sexual pleasure. Furthermore, there is no link between traditional and formal schooling. In the end, the curriculum needs to consider the interplay between *"…gender dynamics and cultural politics"*, with the involvement of parents and traditional leaders as resources.

Whilst it may appear that rural learners are backward or inferior, Mahlomaholo (2012: 101–110) found that there were equal numbers of early school leavers from the rural and urban parts of the North-West province who

left early for similar reasons. The implication is that rural learners are not backward or inferior but that they are excluded from curriculum practices that do not address their circumstances directly. The study is framed on Yosso's (2005) theory on community cultural wealth, which seeks to establish the level to which schooling provided in rural schools is relevant, meaningful and rooted in learner's experiences Mahlomaholo (2012: 102). From a study commissioned by the North-West Education Department (Mahlomaholo et al. 2010), 15,695 out of 53,000 English second language learners who started school in Grade 1 in 1998 but did not reach Grade 12 in 2009 were traced with a focus on two districts which were the most rural and two urban schools. Focus group interviews which were tape recorded, transcribed and translated only from the Setswana texts into English were subjected to critical discourse analysis and interpreted at the level of discursive practice and social structures (Van Dijk 2009: 104). Whilst there are no differences between urban and rural students, problems experienced in these rural schools range from poor infra-structure, under-resourced schools, absence of transport, modes of teaching that depart from the learner-centered approach, teacher and learner fatigue, teachers required to reach a number of grades in one class, absence of parents, parents who cannot assist with homework and teachers lack of subject content knowledge and teaching methodology. A positive feature is the resilience of rural learners, which, Mahlomaholo (2012: 108) views as cultural wealth which can be capitalised on through the creation of sustainable learning environments.

In summary, there is growing and credible research on the nature of education in rural schools, the factors that contribute to inequalities, how and why they lag behind and the role of various stakeholders. Longitudinal and explorative studies, distributive and generative paradigms, linked to social justice and distribution of benefits indicate that for the most part, children in rural schools, mainly African, are excluded from the curriculum and the broader project of schooling. Challenges revolve around poor quality of teaching to poor infra-structure, a notable feature being that rural learners are resilient. Justifiably, recommendations are made on teacher education linked to sociopolitical and cultural perspectives, the inclusion of rural education in the curriculum for teacher education and challenging stereotypes of rural education. Moletsane (2012: 1–8) makes the important observation of "…*the dominance of research paradigms that ignore the voices of the most marginalised and the intended beneficiaries of the interventions*", as a factor that must be guarded against.

Conclusion and Discussion

The substantive, detailed and specific empirical data on racial inequalities in education points to a deeply divided and unequal education system based on race, class and an inescapable legacy of historical exclusion making even the most progressive policies almost impossible to implement. These conclusions are a continuation of those drawn in the previous chapter. However, there are some gains with respect to universal access. Not surprisingly then, there is an emerging set of research in the research tradition, from oligarchy to democracy, that focuses on social justice and policy reform and a special emphasis on rural education. In a sense, the 1976 revolution led by students for a better education has come full circle finding its fullest expression in the concept of bimodality of student performance and forcing policy makers and stakeholders to interrogate the continuing contradictions and inequalities inherent in a system whose main focus is redress. Whilst the concept of bimodality was not recurrent in the previous chapter, it has come to occupy a central role in the current research, extending the notion of inequality from mere exclusion to explain the absence or lack of social cohesion in the schooling system. The culture of learning among Black schools which collapsed in the apartheid period, from 1948 to 1994, continues to haunt Black schools and quality or the lack thereof has come to be a defining reason for poor performance of learners in predominantly Black schools, especially in Mathematics and Science. An unacceptable and unproductive pattern of behaviour among Black learners is the high rate of grade repetition and drop-out. Family background and the low level of parental education and involvement are contributory factors. As a consequence, the low return to schooling find many Blacks trapped in a cycle of poverty thereby perpetuating inter-generational poverty. For those learners who are fortunate enough to migrate to the former better performing White and Indian schools the chances of success does improve. Whilst the research traditions are rich on the nature of the inequalities, there is very little substantive data, at a systems level, on the way forward. Ultimately, it must be acknowledged that the cleavage between policy and its implementation is at a point of no return, especially for poor Black learners.

Given the systemic nature of the pervasive inequalities, the general survey, the national survey, the income survey, the community survey, the household survey, the labour force survey, the quarterly labour force survey, census data and statistics on living standards and development, data from the Education Management Information Systems, reports from the Department of Education and case studies serve as useful tools in gathering data on performance and its

association with learners' socio-economic background. By far, these studies yield rich data which should be beneficial for policy-makers. Results from assessments such as the NSC, ANA, PIRLS, TIMSS and SACMEQ consistently point towards poor performance among Black learners even when compared with learners from the poorest countries. These results are consistent with those produced by sophisticated methods such as the ordinary least square regressions for analysis and regressing test scores on various SES measures, survey regression, hierarchical linear models and multinomial regression models. It is noted that these quantitative methods of analysis dominated the research and its findings in the previous chapter.

Various theories of development incorporating notions of community frame much of the qualitative research pointing towards the need for a transformative rather than a quantitative approach towards understanding inequalities. These include the cultural capital theory, theory on community cultural wealth, communities of practice, social learning theory, theory of the ecology of human development, Epstein's theory of school and partnership, inequality theory, generative theory of rurality and the distributive paradigm. Methodologies are informed by notions of voice, agency and human rights such as the visual participatory methodology, focus group interviews, language study and ethnographic study. A key feature of these methods is the focus on human rights as noted in the pedagogies described as humanizing, critical, empowering, transformative and democratic. Democratic participation is seen to serve a human rights and citizenship discourse. This being the case, language and its texts form the bedrock of meaningful dialogue that must encourage students to engage in curricular creating modes of knowledge that are just. The inclusion of new forms of theory such as "community cultural wealth" and "ecology theory" expand on the conclusions drawn in the previous chapter paving the way for policy makers to make more informed decisions.

Moletsane (2012: 1–8) makes the significant contribution that in a context of the strong versus the weak one needs to guard against research paradigms that: *"… ignore the voices of the most marginalised and intended beneficiaries."* This being the case, research methods that consider, regard, respect and acknowledge the "other" are essential noting some concerns that racial integration in schools is a myth and that schools have been incapable of promoting human rights, critical thinking and a sense of citizenship. Social justice becomes more prominent when looking at rural schools which are poorly resourced with poorly qualified teachers and which take longer to implement strategies. The call for a humanizing research methodology contributes to and

reinforces the need for social justice as understood and sometimes "not known" by the marginalised.

The dominant research traditions focus largely on the failure of the system to promote social cohesion and redress, which were similarly noted in the previous review. In the main, the research tends to focus on the deficit model rather than what can be harnessed in the context of severe poverty and inequalities. The critical research traditions can be summed up as follows:

(a) Despite the progressive policies and massive resource shifts, systemic and historical inequalities endure resulting in differential returns to schooling with Whites continuing to be privileged over Blacks as evidenced by the statistical data drawn from surveys and the census. That efficiency rather than allocation of resources is a causal factor cannot be ignored. The emancipatory project of democracy post-1994 has not benefited its intended beneficiaries.

(b) To measure success on the basis of a single schooling system is misleading since, in reality, there are two schooling systems. These are the former White largely functional schools and those who have the means to access it and the former Black largely dysfunctional schools and those who cannot escape them. The apartheid continuity thus prevails over the schooling system within the context of racial, social, cultural, geographic, class and language differences.

(c) Grade repetition and drop-out continue to be correlated with race and income even though there has been improvement for Africans in schooling over time. White men and White women continue to spend more time in school than African men and women noting that returns to schooling increases on completion of secondary schooling and is the highest after post-secondary schooling. By Grade 10, over 50% of African males and over 40% of African females have repeated at least one Grade and it is much higher among the lower quintiles. Fifty percent (50%) of learners enrolled in Grade 1 complete Grade 12. Social issues such as HIV-AIDS, sexual abuse, pregnancy, lack of or weak parental involvement and child headed households cannot be ignored. Repeating a grade is not necessarily a solution and other solutions need to be sought. Research has also proposed different ways of estimating drop-out with specific reference to the use of age-specific and grade-specific ratios.

(d) Invariably, quality or the lack thereof occupies a central place in all of the research undertaken. Key issues relate to efficiency of the system and the school in converting inputs into outputs, resourcing rural schools, teacher development, school management development, compensating for a lack

of parental involvement and weak socio-economic background. There is the continued emphasis on building Mathematics and Science education among African learners.

(e) The emergence of research on social justice and policy reform are in direct response to the continuing inequalities noting that the social divisions in society are so great that attempts at social cohesion and redress are almost futile. This then challenges the critical role of education in a racially divided society whose main Constitutional mandate is redress. The curriculum and the focus on different types of pedagogies then becomes the site of contestation for concerns on citizenship, democracy, transformation and empowerment.

(f) A major challenge is the quality of schooling in rural communities that constitute 60–70% of school age learners in Africa. Perhaps, the western model of education as applied in developed societies has limitations with respect to values, culture and ethos when applied to rural contexts in the developing and under-developed societies. There is thus a definite need for a re-conceptualisation of applicable models of education in rural contexts and the associated tools used to measure success.

In many ways, the conclusions drawn in the current chapter are similar to those drawn in the previous chapter. First, progressive policies and massive resource shifts have not led to greater social cohesion. Second, a bimodal system of education differentiated along the lines of Whites and Blacks continues, if not in law then in practice. Third, efficiency, quality, repetition and drop-out rates continue to be highly correlated with race and income. Fourth, there is the continued reliance on statistical data drawn from surveys and census. Newer research continues the focus on the phenomenon of the "two schooling systems" and the danger in measuring success on the basis of a single schooling system. There is also growing research on social problems that affect schooling in poor communities, social justice and policy reform.

A major challenge is the quality of schooling in rural communities that constitute 60–70% of school age learners in Africa. Perhaps, the western model of education as applied in developed societies has limitations with respect to values, culture and ethos when applied to rural contexts in the developing and under-developed societies. There is thus a definite need for a re-conceptualisation of applicable models of education in rural contexts and the associated tools used to measure success. The challenge around education, race and equity is an all pervasive systemic national issue that affects almost 90% of the population. All of the research undertaken in the previous and current review consistently point towards the enduring inequalities in educa-

tion between Black and White learners: from the problematic implementation of policy to the widening gap between the centre and the periphery, all of which is embedded within a global neo-liberal economic system.

Some of the research undertaken provides useful suggestions such as teacher development, placing the curricular on par with citizenship education, adopting humanizing pedagogies, getting universities to include rurality in their teacher education programmes, including social issues in the curriculum, repositioning the school as the centre for community development and forcing provincial and national departments to review its policy and implementation.

In light of the above, the role of national research agenda must focus on the (re)-development and (re)-implementation of educational policy. Specific to this agenda must be a focus on how inequalities in education can be reduced noting that the number of social grant beneficiaries exceed the number of employed people. The first key challenge would be to identify research paradigms and research questions that go beyond stating the obvious inequalities and yield suggestions on improvement. Alongside the large quantitative data-sets that provide valuable statistics on academic (under) performance, current research has provided useful suggestions on redress, even if it is at the micro-level. The embedded nature of learner experience within an impoverished context is critical. The current research traditions, especially the ones on social justice, policy reform and rural education provide suggestions on "how" inequalities can be addressed. This tradition needs to be further developed.

Finally, seven factors are critical for any assessment of performance. First, the unit of analysis must be the school, as a sub-system, within the provincial and national systems. Second, the impact of the development and implementation of policy must account for the bimodal nature of SA education. Third, the imperatives of policy implementation, must, when the situation demands, be closely regulated and accounted for, especially by the recipients. A lassez faire approach cannot be allowed. Fourth, in a developing society, whose economy is currently unsustainable, the role of "whole" communities with respect to any form of education and development cannot be ignored. Fifth, in cases where there is widespread poverty and struggles around adaption to newer forms of learning, as in SA, inter-generational studies have the potential to provide useful insights on how previously marginalized people overcome inequality. Sixth, international and national studies such as TIMSS and SACMEQ II are also valuable sources of information measuring educational outcomes at an earlier level, but must be treated cautiously. Seventh, qualitative studies that seek the real nature and cause of inequalities need to be developed as evidenced by some of the research undertaken.

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23

Sweden: The Otherization of the Descendants of Immigrants

Alireza Behtoui, Fredrik Hertzberg, Rickard Jonsson, René León Rosales, and Anders Neergaard

Introduction

This chapter presents and reviews research on the schooling and educational inequality of the offspring of immigrants in Sweden and critically examines how different research traditions explain ethnic inequality. The review covers research conducted between 1990 and 2016.

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The chapter is organized as follows: in section "National Context" we describe the key characteristics of the Swedish education system, followed by an overview of the main migration patterns – which highlight that Sweden has one of the highest percentages of foreign-born inhabitants in Europe – and ending with a brief illustration of the children of large immigrant groups. In section "Methods" we briefly outline the methodology we employed to find the relevant literature and criteria for inclusion. Section "The Descendants of Immigrants and Educational Inequality in Sweden", the main part of the chapter, is a presentation and discussion of the central research traditions that engage with issues of educational inequality and ethnic background in Sweden. Inspired by the previous volume and the overview of different research traditions (Stevens and Dworkin 2014) we cluster together research on Sweden based on theoretical, methodological and thematic perspectives, delineating the following themes:

- political arithmetic (quantitative data on the unequal educational achievements of immigrant children);
- culturalism, discrimination and racism in schools;
- school choice and school segregation;
- language proficiency; and
- cultural and social capital and socio-historical contexts.

The chapter ends with a short conclusion.

National Context

The Education System

In Sweden, all children between the ages of 6 and 15 are required to follow ten years of compulsory schooling, divided into three stages: Years 0–3 (*lågstadiet*), Years 4–6 (*mellanstadiet*) and then Years 7–9 (*högstadiet*). At the same time, all children are guaranteed a place in a 'pre-school year', starting in the autumn term of the year in which they reach the age of 6. Although this 'pre-school year' (*förskoleklass*) is not compulsory, almost all children attend it.

Grades are given for students in the last year of mellanstadiet and during högstadiet (years 6–9). A grade is given each semester at the end of the autumn and spring terms. In Year 9 a grade is given at the end of the autumn term and a final grade at the end of the spring term – the basis on which applications are made for upper-secondary school (*gymnasium*) (see Table 23.1).

Table 23.1 The Swedish education system

Age group in years	School year group or grade	Type of education		
17–19	Years 10–12 upper-secondary school (*gymnasium*)	Academic and professional	Vocational	*Introductory programmes*
13–16	Years 7–9 (*högstadiet*)			
10–12	Years 4–6 (*mellanstadiet*)			
7–9	Years 1–3 (*lågstadiet*)			
6	Pre-school year (*förskoleklass*)			
1–5	Kindergarten			

All young people who have completed compulsory school are entitled to a three-year upper-secondary school education. Upper-secondary school in Sweden, Years 10–12 (*gymnasium*), is optional and young people can choose whether or not to attend it. Only those between 16 and 20 years of age can attend *gymnasium*. Those older than 20 have the possibility to complete their upper-secondary education in 'adult education' (*Komvux*).

There are different, regular, national programs of 3 years' duration to choose from, some of which are preparatory for tertiary (*academic and professional*) education – with 57.3% of students in the 2015–2016 school year – and others which are vocational (about 24.2%). The entrance requirements vary between programs but all students must accomplish a pass grade in *Swedish*, *English* and *mathematics* in their final year of compulsory education (Grade 9) to be able to enter a national upper-secondary program.

Students who do not qualify for a national program instead follow a separate, special program – an *introductory program*. When they have successfully completed their grades in this complementary/alternative track, they can then transfer to one of the regular national programs. In the school year 2015–2016 (according to statistics published by the National Agency for Education) about 18.5% of pupils participated in these introductory programs.

The curriculum for the different levels of education in primary and upper-secondary schools is uniform and nationwide, even though it is the municipal authorities who are responsible for pre-school, compulsory and upper-secondary-school classes.

All education is free and is funded entirely by municipal budgets, derived from local taxes and the national government's municipal equalization system. However, regional economic differences and priorities, which affect how much money each municipality can spend per pupil, can vary by as much as SEK 50,000 (around £4700).

Although the majority of compulsory schools in Sweden are run by the municipal authorities, there are also private schools known as 'independent

schools' (*friskola*), which are funded by public money (*skolpeng*) from the local municipality based on the number of pupils they have enrolled, in the same way that Swedish public schools are. While non-profit, parental and employee cooperatives exist, the majority of these non-public schools are for-profit ones, owned and run by incorporated companies. Sweden is unique among OECD countries in allowing for-profit primary and secondary schools (Erixon Arreman and Holm 2011). During the school year 2015–2016 about 15% of pupils in compulsory school and 26% of students in upper-secondary school attended them.

Education reforms during the post-war period had a strong focus on equality, thus promoting equality of opportunity and outcome through a system which delivers education of the same standard to everyone. During the 1990s, however, the Swedish education system underwent substantial changes when a number of reforms were carried out. First of all, decentralization – i.e. the shifting of *responsibility for schooling* from central government to the municipalities. The ideological tenets of neoliberalism and the ideals set out in the New Public Management (NPM) agenda gained ground in the education policy and educational reforms of 1992 and 1994 and led to the establishment of many quasi-markets for education at primary and secondary level (Lundahl 2002; Lundahl et al. 2013). As '*freedom of choice*' became the overriding principle in official discourses on education, the ethos of equality lost its appeal. Education became a private good, and an instrument for individual 'human capital' acquisition, rather than a public good (Englund 1993). Parents were given the right to decide which school their children should attend, and a voucher system was introduced, giving parents the right to choose between public and private schools (Bunar 2008). Reforms in the field of education, in combination with segregation on the housing market, led to school segregation becoming an urgent problem. Now Sweden's urban landscapes are marked by overlapping patterns of ethnic and economic segregation. The poor neighborhoods of large cities are inhabited by a population whose backgrounds are predominantly in non-Western countries (Östh et al. 2014). The processes leading to this situation have been described as the racialization of the city (Molina 1997).

Migration Patterns and the Children of Immigrants in Sweden

In an historical overview of Swedish migration, post-World War II migration stands out as a symbolic era in which Sweden went from being a country of emigration to one of immigration. While emigration essentially dominated the flows of people prior to WWII, there was also immigration and incorpora-

tion through internal and close by colonialism that, today, is often framed through national minorities (Svanberg and Tydén 1998). Sweden has today recognized the Jews, the Roma, the Sami, the Swedish Finns and the Tornedalers. The national minority languages are Yiddish, Romany Chib, Sami, Finnish and Meänkieli. For many years these groups were oppressed in a national state-framed discourse. However, the Jewish and Finnish communities succeeded in starting a few schools aimed especially at reproducing knowledge of their respective languages, cultures and religions.

From the end of World War II, Swedish migration was increasingly characterised by immigration. While the first migrants were war survivors and refugees, the bulk of those following this route were labor migrants. With an intact and growing economy, fuelled through Keynesian economics and international exports, there was a growing demand for labor. Labor migrants came individually, on work permits and through bilateral agreements. They came from the Nordic countries – mainly Finland – and from Southern and Eastern Europe (particularly from Yugoslavia and Turkey), until labor migration was almost fully curtailed in 1972. The refugee migration which had started in the context of WWII and continued as a consequence of coups and dictatorships in Eastern and Southern Europe (in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Greece) was overshadowed by labor migration until the early 1970s. From this time on, refugee migration increasingly shifted from a European to a global scale, with refugees arriving from Latin America, the Middle East, Indochina and the Horn of Africa. The dissolution of Yugoslavia produced the most intense refugee migration flows, up until the refugee and solidarity crisis of 2015. Labor and refugee migration was often followed by family reunification migration.

With its extensive immigration after the Second World War, Sweden turned into a multi-ethnic society with a large proportion of individuals of immigrant background. Based on data from Statistics Sweden (SCB 2014), almost two million of the country's population or about 21% were either foreign-born or native-born with two foreign-born parents. The largest foreign-born groups were immigrants from Finland (64,000), Iraq (128,000), the former Yugoslavia (126,000), Poland (75,000) and Iran (65,000).

According to statistics published by the National Agency for Education (Skolverket 2016a), during the school year 2014–2015, about 23% of students in their final year of compulsory schooling in Sweden were of immigrant origin – of whom about 10% were the Swedish-born children of immigrants, 5% the children of immigrants who migrated before their offspring were of school age and 8% those who migrated after the start of schooling (Tables 23.2 and 23.3, Fig. 23.1).

Table 23.2 Immigrants and their descendants in Sweden, December 2012

Country of origin	Number	%
Born in Sweden	8,082,637	84.6
Foreign-born	1,473,256	15.4
Born in Sweden with both parents born abroad	501,980	5.3
Subtotal: Foreign-born and born in Sweden with both parents born abroad	1,979,646	20.7
Total	9,555,893	100.00

Source: SCB (2014)

Table 23.3 Immigrants from different parts of the world and their descendants in Sweden, December 2012

Country of origin	Foreign-born persons		Born in Sweden with both parents born abroad		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Nordic countries (excluding Sweden)	110,804	145,352	52,026	49,782	357,964
EU27 (excluding Nordic countries)	144,198	143,529	37,025	34,557	359,309
Europe (excluding EU27 and Nordic countries)	115,004	117,434	54,884	51,263	338,585
North America and Oceania	20,287	17,811	2904	2786	43,788
South America	32,105	34,004	10,189	9571	85,869
Africa	70,480	62,708	26,798	25,670	185,656
Asia	221,806	230,783	74,334	70,191	597,114

Source: SCB (2014)
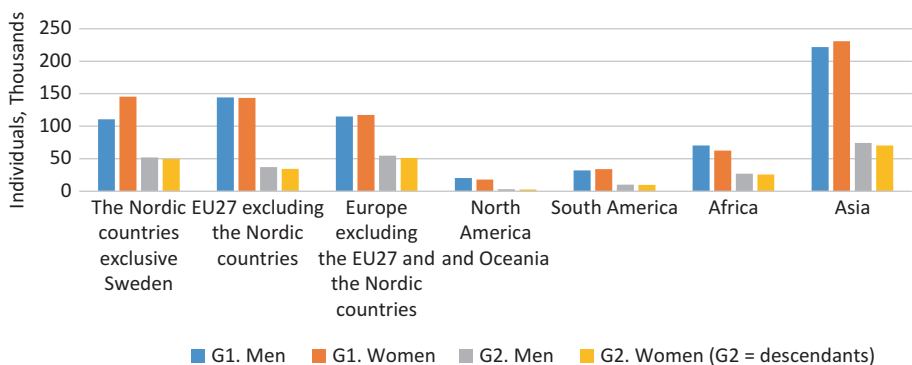
Fig. 23.1 Immigrants and their descendants in Sweden, different parts of the world

Methods

In sampling the relevant literature for this review, we have restricted our choice to contributions that studied educational inequality and ethnicity between 1990 and 2016. Our review focuses only on primary and secondary education. Consequently other forms of education – such as pre-school and higher or adult education – are not included.

The literature search was conducted to capture peer-reviewed (Swedish and English language) texts after 1990 within pedagogy and the social sciences. The search strings used (in both Swedish and English) were ethnic,* migrant or minority,* racial* or racism* and school or education and Sweden or Swedish. Since there is no Swedish database in this field, the texts in Swedish were taken from Swedish PhD theses and academic journals in this field; *Pedagogisk Forskning* (Educational Research), *Utbildning och demokrati* (Education and democracy) and *Educare*. The search strings in English were applied on two databases – Scopus and ERIC. In addition we also used government and state-authority commissioned research compilations. The literature search was conducted by the Linköping University Library, Norrköping Campus. The content of these publications was systematically analyzed to find further relevant material for this review. Due to the sheer volume of documents found, not all are referenced in this chapter; however, the relevant additional material such as theses, books, policy papers and reports was found and included in the review process. Although educational research is increasingly shifting to writing in English, the majority of texts are still written in Swedish. Apart from Swedish peer-reviewed journals and the government and state-authority commissioned research compilations, this also goes for the majority of the theses. As a consequence, based on a rough estimation, about four-fifths of the texts were in Swedish. The two major areas with a lower share in Swedish were quantitative studies and those inspired by mainly UK and US Critical Race Theory.

The following traditions were distinguished based on the research questions and methods used. First, the 'political arithmetic' tradition, which is based on quantitative data that describe the current inequalities in the educational achievements of young people in Sweden, with a focus on their ethnic/migration backgrounds. Secondly, the research tradition that explores 'culturalism, discrimination and racism in schooling'. Third, research focusing on school segregation as a critical factor affecting the educational outcomes of the children of immigrants. Fourth, the 'language proficiency' tradition, consisting mainly of qualitative studies that try to understand the centrality of a knowledge of the Swedish language for school achievements. The final tradition is

studies exploring the inequality of resources (particularly Bourdieu-inspired publications centering on the importance of economic, cultural and social capital).

The Descendants of Immigrants and Educational Inequality in Sweden

The Political Arithmetic Tradition

Quantitative sociological research analysing the association between parental characteristics and educational attainment in Sweden has mainly focused on class background (measured by the education and occupations of the parents). In Erikson and Jonsson's (1993) comprehensive report on 'social origin and education', we find only a few pages about the descendants of immigrants. As Erikson and Jonsson (1993, p. 118) write, an immigrant background is associated with 'socially uneven recruitment to higher education', because 'the majority of young people in this category have a working-class family background. Consequently they have a poor start even if we disregard the cultural barrier they encounter in Sweden'. They mention, therefore, the risk of a 'social handicap' that can be transmitted over generations. Following our own research, Erikson and Jonsson write we have found that few studies have focused on the educational attainment of the descendants of immigrants, because (a) the number of individuals in this category has not been sufficient for a national random sample of young people and (b) this category contains very heterogeneous groups – 'from intellectual Czechian and Hungarian refugees to the poor peasants from Turkey and Greece with rudimentary education' (Erikson and Jonsson 1993, p. 118). According to the authors, the results from these few studies suggest that, when other relevant variables such as social background are controlled for, the immigrant background of pupils does not have a negative impact on their educational attainment.

Studies that follow this tradition in Sweden show that the children of some immigrant groups do face educational disadvantages compared to the children of natives but that this is largely related to their class background. In other words, the children's educational disadvantages reflect the social and economic position of their parents (Arai et al. 2000), although disadvantages remain for some immigrant groups even after controlling for socio-economic background. Compared with the children of natives, Similä (1994) shows that the descendants of immigrants from Nordic countries are less likely to continue their education after compulsory schooling.

Dryler (2001) researched all students in Sweden who completed their compulsory studies between 1991 and 1997. Considering the 'final grade' at the end of this period as the first outcome variable, her study demonstrated that, after controlling for relevant variables such as socio-economic background, gender, etc., Sweden-born pupils with parents from Nordic countries (Denmark and Norway), Southern European or Latin American countries had a lower final grade than the children of natives, while those whose parental background was from Poland or Asian countries had a higher final grade in comparison to the reference group. The second outcome variable in her study was the 'likelihood of attending the academic track' (versus the vocational or the school-leaving track). With the exception of the offspring of Nordic immigrants, all other groups with an immigrant background had a higher likelihood of following the academic track in comparison with the reference group (the children of native Swedes). The third outcome variable of Dryler's study was the risk of being one of those with the 'worst educational results', that is, those with low/incomplete final grades from compulsory school who are not eligible for a national program at the upper-secondary-school level. The results of estimations on this third variable demonstrated that neither migrant background nor – in some cases – pupils who had parents from Turkey, Asia or Africa, had any impact on their lack of achievement and that the risk was lower for the offspring of immigrants compared to the reference group.

Using register data, Behtoui (2006) studied all individuals born between 1969 and 1973 who had completed secondary school in 1990. The sample in his study (85,447 individuals) was divided into (a) the reference group – the children of native-born parents, (b) those born in Sweden with two parents born outside Sweden and (c) those who migrated to Sweden as a child (before school age). Among the individuals not included in the reference group were those who originated from North-Western countries (NW), the *global West*, non-North-Western countries (ONW) or the *global South*. The results of the (2006) study showed that, after controlling for the socio-economic background of the parents, there were no significant differences in final grades from secondary school between the reference group and those born in Sweden who had an immigrant background. The final grades of young people born outside Sweden and originating from NW countries were 2% lower than those of the reference group. For those born outside Sweden and originating from ONW countries, this difference was about 0.5%. Compared to individuals in the reference group, those in the immigrant groups largely followed an academic track (rather than vocationally oriented ones). Following the same population groups 12 years after their completion of upper-secondary

school, the 2006 study showed that, after control for their socio-economic background, the total years of education of those originating from NW countries was slightly lower, while those from ONW countries had higher educational attainments compared to the reference group.

Jonsson and Rudolphi (2010) studied all Swedish-born students who left comprehensive school between 1998 and 2003 at the age of 16. According to their study, compared to the reference group (pupils born in Sweden of two native-born parents) those with an immigrant background were, to a great extent, students with non-complete grades at the end of compulsory schooling. After controlling for the education and class background of the parents, and for family structure, they found that those with parents from Nordic countries, the Middle East and the Mixed West were at greater risk of having non-complete grades compared to the reference group. However, and quite the reverse, those with parents from the West and from Asian countries had a lower probability of being in this achievement group compared to the reference group. The results for other groups (Southern and Eastern Europe, Africa and South America), did not differ significantly from the reference group.

Jonsson and Rudolphi's second indicator of educational performance was the 'grade sum' of students in the last year of compulsory school. After controlling for the relevant variables, the results demonstrated that those with parents from Nordic countries, South America and the Mixed West had a lower grade sum than the reference group, while the descendants of immigrants from Western, Southern and Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia had a higher grade sum. As the authors (2010, p. 16) wrote, when studying the performance of the descendants of immigrants, a lower school performance could be observed but that 'much of the ethnic disadvantages reflect the social composition of the immigrant groups', even though some differences remained after controlling for parental characteristics.

Behtoui (2013) studied a sample of children, from register data, who were Swedish-born residents of Stockholm County with two parents from Turkey, and who were between 18 and 36 years old in 2008. He compared them with a randomly selected reference group consisting of 20% of all young people in the same age groups from Stockholm who had two native-born parents. After controlling for gender and family background, the results of this study demonstrated that the educational achievements of the children of immigrants from Turkey were comparable to those of young people with native parents of a similar socio-economic background (see also Westin 2015).

Behtoui and Olsson (2014) examined how early-age immigrants to Sweden, who arrived in Sweden in the last decades of the 1900s, from Bosnia-

Herzegovina, Chile and Somalia performed in Swedish schools in comparison with the children of natives. The sample used in this study include young people aged 20–30 years old who were selected from 2010 Swedish register data. Descendants of migrants in this study had migrated to Sweden from their origin countries, before their fifteenth birthday. A randomly selected group consisting of 10% of all young people born in Sweden with two Swedish-born parents was also included, to act as the 'reference group' in this study. With no control for background variables, the results show that, compared with the reference group, those from Bosnia had higher educational attainment levels, while the offspring of immigrants from Somalia and Chile had fewer years of schooling. When taking the socio-economic position of the parents and other demographic characteristics into account, the advantage for Bosnians relative to the offspring of natives was even more pronounced while the disadvantaged position of the Chileans and Somalis compared to the reference group decreased significantly.

The NAE (National Agency for Education or *Skolverket*), as the central administrative authority for the public school system, regularly publishes official statistics in the area of education. In these publications (which have considerable media impact), the NAE offers, *inter alia*, descriptive statistics on the educational achievement of young people with a migrant background, from kindergarten through primary and secondary education and on to higher education. The NAE mainly uses information from register data administrated by Statistics Sweden as its main source of information for these publications, in which individuals with a 'migrant background' are defined as those (born in Sweden or abroad) who have two foreign-born parents.

These NAE reports look very much like other publications in the political arithmetic (PA) tradition in that, according to Heath (2000, p. 314), they are 'relatively modest in their theoretical ambition', and prefer 'description to explanation, and hard evidence to theoretical speculation'.

However, following Bourdieu et al. (1991), we could argue that 'the most objective "data" are obtained by applying grids' (e.g. of age or ethnic groups) and involve some theoretical assumptions. Many times these kinds of descriptive, quantitative data fulfil 'a deeply conservative function of ratification of *doxa*' (a society's taken-for-granted, unquestioned truths). In the 'descriptive data' presented in the NAE's reports, individuals from different immigrant groups and with diverse social backgrounds are lumped together as 'students with immigrant backgrounds'. The NAE state that these reports present 'hard statistical evidence' of how young people in this group lag badly behind those of 'Swedish background' – that is, the children of natives. Whether used consciously or not, such descriptions hide internal variability between and within

Table 23.4 Average total scores and other educational results according to statistics presented by the Swedish National Agency for Education

Background	Average grade, final year of compulsory school	Pass in English, maths, Swedish (%)	No pass, one or more subjects (%)	Pass in 16 subjects (%)	Completed 3 years secondary *gymnasium* (%)	Completed 3–5 years secondary *gymnasium* (%)
Swedish	216,1	91.0	18.6	85.0	73.0	80.6
Foreign	191,6	74.1	39.3	69.1	49.7	61.5
Of these:						
Born in Sweden	207,1	85.3	29.6			
Born abroad, migrated before school starting age	208,2	84.4	28.8			
Born abroad, migrated after school starting age	159,2	51.9	59.4			

Source: Authors' compilation based on data from *Skolverket* (2011)

ethnic minority groups and indicate the 'racial inferiority' or 'cultural backwardness' of people in the first category.

To give one example, Table 23.4 replicates some of the 'findings' in the recent publication in this series (*Skolverket* 2011). This statistical report differentiates between a Swedish and a foreign background and, sometimes in the latter category, separates those who were (a) born in Sweden, (b) born abroad but migrated to Sweden before school starting age and (c) born abroad and migrated to Sweden after school starting age.

A recent publications in this series, *The Importance of Migration for School Results*, from 2016 can be considered as the climax of a particular way of framing ethnic differences in educational outcomes (*Skolverket* 2016b, p. 34). This report explains the poor performance – which is now considerably lower than the OECD average – of Swedish pupils in the international PISA study, stating that it is the 'students with an immigrant background' who 'on average have lower school achievement than students with a Swedish background'. The report further clarifies that the 25% drop in performance in the natural sciences and the 22% drop in literacy and mathematics in the PISA tests during the period 2006–2012 are associated with an increased number of students with immigrant backgrounds.

The report goes on to explain the reason for the increased proportion of Swedish pupils – up from 10.6% to 14.3% – who failed to obtain the grades

needed to enter upper-secondary school during the same period. Once again, 'students with an immigrant background', according to the report, is the main explanation. About 85% of this fall is caused by students of immigrant origin who migrated to Sweden after the school starting age and a further 8% is due to other students with an immigrant background.

As is to be expected, unfortunately, the descriptive statistics in these reports – widely broadcast in the media – give the reader an image of students of immigrant background being those who always achieve less in school than native pupils, thereby putting a strain on Sweden's educational system (and international standing). Thus, one additional 'source of criticism' is added to the literature on anti-immigrant attitudes, besides the 'economic burden' and 'cultural threat' which this group represents.

As the above review of the academic literature in this field reveals, such a homogenous picture is not supported by empirical findings in scholarly research. These state agencies' reports tend to consider only one feature of the polygonal characteristics of a social category (their migrant background) and to disregard other features (like socio-economic background – the most important characteristic in many cases); they consequently provide a somewhat skewed picture of students with immigrant background in the public sphere.

To sum up, there are two different types of published material in this tradition; first academic articles and then administrative reports. Publications in the first group try to be rigorous, to control for different background variables such as social class, family structure etc., and to differentiate between the diverse subgroups among them. However, state agencies' reports, by their one-dimensional presentation of the educational achievements of young people with immigrant backgrounds reproduce the dominant prejudicial image of this group. Some background factors of these young people (such as the socioeconomic position of their parents) are crucial explanatory factors in their educational attainment.

Racism and Discrimination

The study of racism and discrimination in Swedish schools is a fairly new research field. To the extent that there have been studies of discrimination, the prejudice perspective has been a point of departure. It was in the mid-1990s that we first saw studies – such as the national survey *Exposure to Threats of Ethnic and Political Violence and the Dissemination of Racist and Anti-Racist Propaganda as well as Attitudes to Democracy etc. among Schoolchildren* – describing how power relations in the Swedish school system work out and

the different expressions of racism present in schools (Lange et al. 1997). The results of this survey showed how pupils with a foreign background experienced violence, racism and discrimination by their peers and teachers. The same study revealed that a remarkably high percentage of pupils reported that they were not convinced that the Holocaust really had occurred. In another survey (Lange and Hedlund 1998), 51.5% of teachers in elementary and upper-secondary schools reported that racist, anti-Semitic or Nazi propaganda material had been spread around in their schools over the previous five years. More than 41% of teachers in this survey agreed fully or partly with the statement that 'some cultures are so different from the Swedish culture that people from these other cultures can barely adapt themselves to Swedish society'.

Reviewing later research in this field, we can distinguish the following trends; firstly those which continue the *prejudice perspective* tradition. Here discrimination and xenophobia are regarded as the irrational behavior of some deviant individuals. The second approach, *culturalization*, explains that, due to their divergent culture, the descendants of migrants and minorities are treated differently – a situation which could be corrected through an assimilation approach. The last perspective departs from the argument that societies are structured not only by class and gender but also by race or racialization – *critical race theory*. According to this standpoint, the history of the indigenous peoples in Sweden (the Sami) and other national minorities like the Roma, Jews, Swedish Finns, Tornedalians and Kven is testimony to how the Swedish national school system worked during the period of nation-state construction as a central instrument in processes of coercive assimilation of the country's minorities (Catomeris 2004; Lindgren 2002).

In an analysis of school curricula over time, Brantefors (2015) argues that two dominating values have governed cultural relations – 'the culture of others' and 'the cultural heritage'. She goes on to argue that, in spite of different rationalities and discussions over time, cultural thinking has never progressed beyond an unarticulated 'we' and a well-defined 'them'. Thus we can conclude that 'the Swedish curriculum is a curriculum of othering' (Brantefors 2015, p. 302). Other studies examine the role of the curriculum and highlight how these texts, in different ways, made it easier for the children of natives to identify with the teaching materials used and the stereotypes reproduced about the racial, cultural and religious 'Others' such as Muslims and black people (Otterbeck 2006; Tholin 2014).

The role of policy – and especially how policy is used to combat discrimination and racism and to foster antiracism – has been explored in a number of studies. Arneback (2012), studying local plans for the equal treatment of all

school pupils, argues that, even though these plans focus on 'non-violence' and forbid expressions of racism among students, they pay little attention to the expressions of racism that occur in the organization of schools. In later research Arneback (2014) studies the role of moral imaginations as a way in which teachers can deal with hate speech in education. James' (2001) study reveals a paradox between teachers' stated desires to accommodate the diversities in culture of their students and their ideology of integration, which indicates a preference for maintaining a culturally homogenous Sweden in order to avoid the ethical dilemmas, problems and conflicts which this diversity creates. Dovemark (2013) finds that teachers did not address the everyday practices in which ethnic discrimination, Swedish privilege and supremacy were articulated. According to her, discourses about 'weak immigrant groups' simply make minority groups aware that they are different in a negative way in the eyes of others. Consequently, immigrant status is automatically associated with social disadvantage. Runfors' research findings (2003, 2004a, b, 2006) reveal the dilemmas that school staff are confronted with when they work with pupils of migrant origin. On the one hand, they attempt to combat the exclusionary and subordinating effects of social structures, including racialized discrimination and segregation. On the other hand, however, in trying to overcome these inequalities, school staff often tend to reproduce these same structures through an ethnocentric and unproblematized understanding of the meaning of integration.

Grüber (2007) describes complex everyday life in schools where the teachers, despite their good intentions, are working within an institution that is always (re)creating pupils with an immigrant background as a fundamentally problematic category. She emphasizes that Swedish schools are now heavily influenced by the idea of competition (which follows from the establishment of 'quasi markets' in the field of education, cf. above), in which league tables are important for a school's reputation. In this context, two pupil categories stand out as central: 'Swedish' and 'immigrant' pupils. While the former category is regarded as highly desirable and a guarantee of the upkeep of the school's good reputation, the latter is regarded as a cause for concern because, according to the staff, when there are too many 'immigrant' pupils in one school, then 'Swedish' (middle-class) pupils are not attracted to it. To account for pupils' performances in school, teachers tend to link 'Swedish' pupils' outcomes to their middle-class background. However, they associate the lower grades obtained by 'immigrant pupils' with their 'culture' rather than their lower socio-economic background. In line with Grüber, Granstedt (2006) describes how teachers link 'immigrant students' with 'problems', and portray them and their families by what they are 'lacking'. Haglund (2015) – through

narrative analyses of how school officials understand and explain the work they do in supporting students exposed to domestic violence – shows that, while the mistreatment of children with Swedish parents was explained through social and psychological frames of interpretation, they tended to explain away similar behavior in parents with a migrant background by using culture and ethnicity as the main frame of interpretation.

Sawyer (2006) concentrates explicitly on studying counselors and ethnic discrimination. Starting from earlier research (e.g. Knocke and Hertzberg 2000) which emphasized stereotypical understandings of pupils according to their race/ethnicity, religion and gender, Sawyer found that counselors tended to accuse the parents of pupils with an immigrant background of, according to them, having a negative and harmful influence on their children through their expectations for and promotion of an 'unrealistic educational plan' for their children. According to Sawyer, counselors often work with implicit understandings of what are the 'natural' careers for the various groups in terms of pupils' gender, class and ethnic background. They try to 'bring down' students' expectations to what they feel to be a 'realistic level'. This is in defiance of the results from recently published research (Behtoui 2017), which displays higher educational expectations of the children of immigrants relative to their native peers with the same class background.

In his PhD thesis, Bouakaz (2007) presented the results of his research into how Swedish schools evaluate parents with a migrant background through a stereotypical lens. He compared the way in which parents of Arabic origin and teachers view parental involvement in the work of the school. Bouakaz found that, while the parents identified their lack of knowledge of the Swedish language and of the school system as something that hindered their involvement, yet showed a great willingness to learn in order to get closer to the school and help their children, the teachers spoke not only about the parents' language deficiency but also about other barriers such as cultural and religious factors. These differences were connected with the parents' development of an attitude of resignation with regards to the school – based not on a lack of interest on their part in getting involved in their children's education but on the desire to avoid a feeling of humiliation in their contacts with teachers.

Another body of research has highlighted how racism and ethnic discrimination are experienced by and affect students with an immigrant background. Parszyk (1999) describes students' feelings about what they called 'invisible racism'. They articulate their experiences of being discriminated against based on the attitudes and statements that teachers and other pupils make in relation to their ethnic background, parents and religion. According to Parszyk, this 'invisible racism' was a source of insecurity in their day-to-day school life

for the descendants of immigrants. This type of racism was more problematic than 'open racism' since the victims could not really defend themselves against it. Young people perceived to be Muslims (Otterbeck and Bevelander 2006) and Afro Swedes (Schmauch 2006) were among those who were more often subjected to racist practices in schools. Kalonaityté et al. (2009) conclude that racism is expressed through both verbal and physical harassment. As these young people do not appear to receive support from their teachers or other adults in schools, they are forced to develop their own strategies of coping, survival and struggle. Hällgren (2005) illustrates how these young people from minority groups develop various strategies for dealing with and challenging everyday racism through silence, laughter or overt confrontation.

To summarize the key findings presented in this section, research has shown how pupils and parents from ethnic minorities are submitted to processes of othering in schools at various levels, from curricula and policy to everyday interactions in schools. Teachers are reported to reproduce an unproblematized ethnocentric understanding of pupils and parents of migrant origin, even while attempting to counteract the effects of discrimination and segregation. Minority cultures are perceived by the dominant group in Swedish society as a deficit and even as the cause of underachievement. Students and parents from ethnic religious minorities experience discrimination, often in a more hidden way, in schools, and develop a variety of ways to challenge everyday racism. Research exploring racism and discrimination within education is a relatively new field in Sweden, especially where international publications are concerned; however, a growing interest is developing and an increase in publications. To further expand and consolidate this research, there is a need for conceptual developments, encompassing research programs and theoretically structured mixed-methods approaches.

School Choice and School Segregation

As mentioned above, education reform during the post-war period in Sweden had a strong emphasis on equality between children of different class backgrounds. The guiding principle of this reform was thus the promotion of an equality of opportunity through a system which delivers education of the same standard to everyone. However, in the early 1990s, a shift in educational policy occurred. Several educational reforms changed the organization and outcomes of primary and secondary education in a fundamental way.

As research in this field suggests, the development of segregation is the consequence of a complex process. Rising income inequality over the previous

four decades, together with changes in housing policy in the 1990s – which involved prioritizing private housing over rental apartments – resulted in housing segregation becoming more widespread.

In such a situation, increasing numbers of quality-of-education-conscious middle-class parents withdrew their children from schools which they considered to have deteriorated. With this 'exit' of middle-class students, the schools lost those parents who would have been the most motivated and determined to put up a fight against the deterioration in strands (Hirschman 2004). The parents of those who had no choice but to stay lacked the resources – the time, knowledge, skill and self-confidence – of the former group to have a 'voice', to attempt to improve the education context/policies. Consequently, students in the extremely segregated Swedish school system achieve radically distinct educational results.

A number of scholars (Östh et al. 2013; Söderström and Uusitalo 2010) provide empirical data which show that the ethnic segregation of the school system has also been strengthened, while others emphasize that this trend is primarily the consequence of an increase in socio-economic segregation (Öhrn 2011). According to Lund (2008), regardless of their background, parents and students wish to avoid schools located in poor, stigmatized areas, normally with a high proportion of inhabitants with a migrant background. As Bunar and Ambrose (2016, p. 45) put it: 'To parents, a good school is an arena in which their child will have the opportunity to interact with children from socially strong and ethnically Swedish families on a daily basis. These two categories are perceived as providers of strong networks, correct cultural values, correct Swedish language and a strong internal school culture prioritizing learning and academic success'; similar motives are found among their children. However, as Spaiser et al. (2016, pp. 23–24) state, 'Ethnically mixed schools are less affected by a downward trend in the proportion of Swedish students if the (immigrant) students have a rather affluent background or if the ethnically mixed schools are high performing schools'. Thus the most vulnerable young people who suffer from school segregation are children from economically disadvantaged and immigrant families who have become concentrated in schools with poor academic standards (Beach and Sernhede 2011).

As León Rosales (2010) shows, children in 6th grade in a school situated in a multiethnic, deprived suburb of Stockholm are already aware of the territorial stigmatization of their neighborhood and school. They articulate a view of themselves as problematic and deficient in relation to 'Swedish children' in other schools. The author shows how these pupils have internalized a norm of Swedish privilege. The teaching they receive in school, the socio-economic

conditions which they endure and the effects of the segregation that characterizes the urban landscape they live in, all make it harder for them to live up to the characteristics of the 'ideal pupil' as articulated in schools' official curricula.

The patterns and divisions that characterize racialized urban segregation in the Swedish housing market are often reproduced, if not intensified, in school. Although a free-school choice policy was introduced in Sweden, framed in notions of fairness and freedom of choice, it has resulted in intensified patterns of segregation in education and in housing (Bunar and Ambrose 2016). In the most socio-economically disadvantaged neighborhoods, schools have to deal with the consequences of racialized stigmatization and new forms of poverty.

Here, Sernhede and Broman (2014) calls attention to the actuality of informal learning arenas outside the formal educational system (that excludes and subordinates certain groups of students). He shows, through participation in these activities, that the marginalized and racialized children of immigrants develop a positive identity for themselves which differs from the identity projected on to them by a history of colonialism and dominant discourses on migrants as social 'others'.

To conclude, therefore – a number of segregating processes have, according to recent research, been discernible in the Swedish school system in recent decades. These processes have been fuelled by increasing residential segregation and changes in educational policy, and above all by the implementation of a voucher system and the introduction of school choice. Educational choice turns out to be something that is most successfully employed by the middle and upper classes. Economically disadvantaged and immigrant groups have ended up concentrated in the same schools, primarily within the public sector in marginalized areas. These schools have been avoided by upper- and middle-class families since the possibility of choosing became an option.

Language Proficiency Tradition

An important strand of Swedish research on migration and education concerns language proficiency and linguistic practices in multilingual classrooms. This tradition is related to that of discrimination and racism, outlined above, but deserves its own discussion – thanks to its focus on exclusionary practises through linguistic norms and language ideologies. As Blackledge (2005, p. i) argues, 'In a world where explicitly racist discourse which describes particular groups of people in negative terms is no longer permitted, symbolic means of

discrimination will be found'. Languages other than Swedish – and multilingual youngsters' linguistic practises – may emerge as such symbolic markers of difference in the classroom.

To understand the status of multilingualism in Swedish schools, a contextual backdrop of Swedish language politics is crucial. A milestone in the acknowledgement of multilingualism in Sweden was the ratification, in 1968, of the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education, which acknowledged immigrants' right to maintain and develop their home languages (*hemspråk*). In practise, this 'pluralist turn' (Milani 2008) had its most palpable outcome in the introduction of state-financed mother-tongue instruction in 1977. Since then, a *rights rhetoric* shapes Swedish political discourse on multilingualism. This was also made manifest in 2000, through ratification of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, as well as the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which included the proclamation of five 'national minority languages' – Finnish, Meänkieli, Romani, Saami and Yiddish (SOU 1997a, b). The discourse of linguistic rights was further emphasized in the language law of 2009, which aimed primarily to clarify the position of Swedish and other languages in Swedish society. The law proposal suggested that it should enshrine 'everyone's right to language: Swedish, mother tongue, and foreign languages' (SOU 2002, p. 27).

In light of this contextual information, one might conclude that Swedish language politics acknowledges multilingualism both through legislation and by providing instruction in home and minority languages through the education system. Indeed, the right to multilingualism is enshrined in the language law, and the state is responsible for 'providing the individual with access to language through education'. However, as Hyltenstam and Milani (2012) state, the view of multilingualism in the Swedish education system is characterized by a paradox: at a policy level, the country has formulated advanced objectives in its progressive laws and documents. However, the implementation of these documents 'does not even come close to the intentions in the regulations' (Hyltenstam and Milani 2012, p. 11).

This gap can be understood in terms of the ideology of a Swedish monolingual standard, demonstrated in much ethnographic classroom research – where the idea of 'good Swedish' is treated as a sign *par excellence* of both a successful integration and school success. Bunar (2011), for example, has shown that one of the main reasons – raised by parents and students in multilingual settings – why they apply to prestigious upper-secondary schools in Swedish urban centers is the expectation that their children will acquire 'proper Swedish'. This idea of a good standard of Swedish, spoken by specific

students at particular schools, may be understood as a form of a *language ideology*, i.e. a normative conception of a good or proper language, as well as perceptions about whom the speaker of the (non-)standard language is (Kroskrity 2010). Whilst this ideology of standard Swedish may construct a fantasy of a common Swedish national identity, speaking one homogenous language simultaneously both suppresses the existence of a heterogeneous society and devalues multilingual practises. Moreover, standard Swedish is often treated as a measurement for integration. As Sjögren (1996) wrote, over two decades ago now, the requirement of good Swedish can serve as a way to define what Swedishness is and who is to be included in the category of 'the Swede'.

Ethnographic research on education and second-language acquisition demonstrates that such a monolingual ideology is often reproduced by Swedish school institutions. Haglund's (2005) ethnographic study in multilingual suburban schools identifies how young people relate to a standard Swedish norm articulated in their education, while simultaneously showing an awareness that multilingualism is not ascribed an equal value. Åhlund (2015) explores a language introduction program for newly arrived refugee youth, designed to facilitate their integration into the mainstream school system. However, as the author shows, students are positioned and marked as non-Swedish through this same education. Paradoxically, the institutional construction of an inclusive school – which celebrates diversity – simultaneously draws on a discourse of 'otherness'.

Another case where normative Swedishness is being played out through language ideologies in educational contexts is the linguistic youth style that has been called *Rinkeby Swedish (rinkebysvenska)*. Rinkeby Swedish is a label under which academic scholars, the mass media and laypeople alike have grouped together the very diverse linguistic practises characteristic of young people's interactions in multilingual urban environments in Sweden (Boyd 2010; Bijvoet and Fraurud 2010). The existing literature on media representations surrounding Rinkeby Swedish (Jonsson 2007; Jonsson and Milani 2009; Stroud 2004, 2013) testifies to a process whereby linguistic practises among urban youth seem to have turned them into icons of social and educational problems, and an aggressive and threatening 'immigrant young man' stereotype. Stroud (2004) therefore argues that negatively laden representations of *Rinkeby Swedish* 'are not about language alone' (Woolard 1998, p. 3) but constitute a *metaphor* of broader processes of social categorization in a society like Sweden where an 'explicitly racist discourse which describes particular groups of people in negative terms is no longer permitted'. Milani and Jonsson's (2011, 2012) work in multilingual classrooms shows how language ideologies

surrounding so-called Rinkeby Swedish are constantly being reproduced – as well as contested – in mundane classroom talk. The linguistic style may be a target for moralizing comments and treated as a sign of the ethnic 'other' in the classroom; however, it may also be employed as a recourse for constructing identities, ethnicities, masculinities and friendly relations between students.

A Swedish monolingual norm also surrounds other forms of non-normative linguistic practise. Lindberg (2002) critically discusses the general perception that bilinguals must keep their languages separate in order to learn them properly – which has influenced the debate on mother-tongue and second-language acquisition in Swedish schools. Such a normative view of languages does not capture the whole complexity of bilingual students' language skills, which may involve switching between languages, accents, loanwords and many other forms of linguistic mixing and effects. While code-switching has often been regarded as a sign of a lack of language skills, Lindberg argues that it should be understood as a linguistic resource, highly valuable in communication.

Overall, much of this research show that multilingual or non-standard linguistic practises in school institutions are treated as icons of ethnic 'otherness' and associated with various educational problems to be dealt with – rather than as valuable linguistic skills. Non-standard styles spoken by youths in multilingual settings often acquire their meaning through a monolingual language ideology taught in the classroom. As Doran (2004) states, while this ideology of the standard may construct a fantasy of a common national identity and one homogenous language, it simultaneously seeks to suppress the possibility of a heterogeneous society, devaluing non-normative linguistic practises and rendering them incomprehensible. This, in turn, is an example of the symbolic means of discrimination, hidden in language norms, that Blackledge (2005) talks about.

Cultural and Social Capital and Socio-Historical Contexts

As the above review of quantitative studies in the political arithmetic tradition shows, the main gap between the educational attainments of the children of natives and the descendants of immigrants can be explained by the lower socio-economic background of the latter. In other words, such a gap is primarily due to the unfavorable social and material conditions in which young people of immigrant background grow up, especially when we consider the educational attainment of young people from specific immigrant groups.

Obviously, those who immigrated after school starting age (arriving in their adolescence), have experiences that resemble those of adult migrants. The time spent in the new country's education system obviously affects their educational outcomes. As Rumbaut (2004) states, the earlier one arrives, the more 'socialised' one becomes in the new country's language and cultural norms. Consequently, young people of immigrant background arriving in adolescence should acquire the cultural capital pertinent to the demands of the education system in Sweden. The process of their incorporation requires the learning of the language and the acquisition of the behavioral values and norms of the new society, which is like being born again. They encounter a complex process of belonging and identity formation in the receiving country, since they live between two worlds – between the 'old' and the 'new', between 'here' and 'there' between homes and between languages (Huang et al. 2008, p. 8). They straddle the new and the old countries but are not full members of either (Zhou 1997).

According to Jonsson (2001), the habit of reading books can be an important indicator of *cultural capital*. He used three questions to operationalize the 'reading tradition' in a family – (a) their access to books and encyclopædias, (b) the number of books in the young person's home, (c) the reading habits of the informants and their parents and (d) how often the informants' parents go to the theatre, to concerts, to museums and/or to exhibitions. The results showed that the children of parents with lower-class positions or with foreign-born parents have access to cultural capital (an index which combines all these indicators) to a lesser extent than other family groups. Johansson and Olofsson (2011), using a narrative-sociological approach, describe how four young people of immigrant background recounted in their interviews their attempts to 'raise their cultural capital' through *dis*identifying themselves 'with a subordinated migrant position' and with the socially degraded position of the parents (unemployed or working-class), through finding friends with a Swedish background, moving to more affluent Swedish areas, becoming more Swedish and staying 'inside' Swedish society. According to the authors, these young people have 'considerable cultural capital in their families, but it seems difficult to transform this capital into a suitable career in Sweden' (*ibid.* p. 197), because of the difficulties which their parents encountered in reproducing the same social positions that they had in their homeland; therefore, with their present 'stigmatized positions', they are living in stigmatized urban spaces.

Considering the friendship networks of young people of immigrant background as part of their social capital, Edling and Rydgren (2012, p. 8) found that 'friendship among Stockholm 9th-graders in the early 2000s was highly

homogeneous' with respect to ethnicity – i.e. that young people who said that a majority of their friends had an immigrant background 'were themselves mainly of non-Swedish origin'. As Behtoui (2015) writes about the results of a survey, an overwhelming majority of the best friends of young people with native parents were themselves the children of natives. The majority of the best friends of the descendants of immigrants from Turkey, on the other hand, were the children of immigrants from non-Western countries. At best, only 25% of young people from the latter group had native-Swedish friends.

In recent years, some Swedish studies in the field of education have investigated the relationship between differential access to *social capital*, educational attainment and migration background. These studies are inspired by Bourdieu's (1986) conceptualization of social capital (the *social stratification* perspective) and Coleman's (1988) definition of the concept, emphasizing the role of the family.

Jonsson (2001) examined the impact of social capital by using some of the indicators suggested by Coleman (1988) – such as family structure and parental involvement in children's studies (help with homework and making time for the child). The results of his study showed that access to more social capital (measured according to the study's variables) was positively correlated with greater educational success. Concerning migrant background, the results showed that foreign-born parents did provide 'help with homework' to a lesser extent than the native-born, but this shortage was compensated for by their other children (siblings).

In a study by Behtoui and Neergaard (2016) 'immigrant background' includes individuals with two foreign-born parents from countries outside North-Western Europe and North America (ONW). Young people *born in Sweden* with parents born in ONW countries are labeled as ONW2 (second-generation immigrants from the Global South), and those who were *born abroad* but emigrated at an early age to Sweden with parents from ONW countries are labeled as ONW1 (first-generation immigrants from the Global South). According to the results of this study, *within-family* social capital (structure of the family and some aspects of the interactions between parents and adolescents regarding their education) has a positive association with students' school performance. Moreover access to three types of *extra-familial* social capital (social capital generated by parental networks, active membership in social organizations, and attitudes of best friends towards education) all contributed to an improvement in the educational attainments of students. An interesting finding of this study is that, after controlling for class background, the children of racialized immigrants from ONW countries in Sweden had access to more extra-familial social capital which, in turn, improved their

educational results. This advantage is quite contrary to their place in the hierarchy. Therefore, their access to greater levels of social capital has a 'counter-stratification' effect (Stanton-Salazar 2001).

Behtoui's (2017) study examines the impact of the different types of social capital (both within-family and extra-familial), on the educational expectations of these young people. Immigrant background, in his study, is sorted into the following regional categories, either based on the country of birth of the respondent (first generation) or country of birth of the parents (second generation): (1) North-West European countries (the EU 15), North America and Australia (NW), (2) other European countries, (3) Asia, (4) Africa and (5) Latin America.

The findings in this study demonstrate that class and/or migrant background, health problems and gender can explain some of the variance in the educational expectations of young people. The bulk of young people of immigrant background reported higher educational expectations than those of native background. Within-family social capital in general, and parents' expectations about educational attainment in particular, had a positive impact on young people's educational aims. The results regarding school-based social capital demonstrated that teachers' support (i.e. how they treat their pupils) and, more importantly, their expectations for the educational achievements of the students, had a significant impact on forming the future educational plans of these young people – boys and several groups of pupils of immigrant background reported less support from and fair judgment by their teachers.

All three dimensions of extra-familial social capital (having a resource-rich family social network, friends with a positive attitude towards education and participation in social activities in mainstream society organizations), showed a positive impact on the educational expectations of young people. Even in this study, after controlling for class background, several groups of young people of immigrant background reported higher rates of participation in certain leisure activities and therefore more access to these types of extra-familial social capital, compared to the offspring of natives.

As Behtoui and Olsson (2014) write, hitherto the socio-economic position of the parents, family structure and other demographic characteristics of individuals explained some of the differences between the descendants of natives and young immigrants. They suggest that we should examine the impact of the socio-historical contexts into which these immigrant children arrive and settle, and of the processes of migration on young immigrants' educational performance.

To do this, they studied how early-age immigrants to Sweden from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chile and Somalia performed in Swedish schools in comparison

with the children of natives. What they found was that the 'in-between' generation who migrated from these countries to Sweden was not a homogenous category. Quite the reverse, at both the individual and the institutional levels (context of migration), they had different resources which generated diverse outcomes. The context of migration in their study was defined as (a) the government's policy towards the different immigrant groups, (b) the reaction of civil society and public opinion towards immigrants and (c) immigrants' resources in their co-national social network, expressed as the 'diasporic' community.

The results demonstrated that Bosnians were more highly educated than the children of natives. The immigrants from Chile and Somalia, on the other hand, carried a 'gross' disadvantage. Controlling for the class background and demographic characteristics of the respondents shrank the gap between groups. The inclusion of 'context of migration' variables demonstrated that they had a significant impact on the school performance of early-age migrants.

As is evident from the studies presented above, this tradition is a rich one regarding the elucidation of the educational attainments of descendants of immigrants in Sweden. An important finding of these studies is the *counter-stratification* effect of social capital, which means that, by providing more possibilities for young people from less-privileged families and the children of immigrants to have access to this kind of capital (through their leisure activities or closer relationships with adults in the schools, they can be embedded within social networks with resourceful relationships, and connect them to informal mentors and pro-academic friends. Further research in this field should demonstrate how access to these alternative resources may help these young individuals.

Conclusions and Discussion

Studies on the education and educational inequality of immigrants and their children in Sweden became a major area of research from the beginning of the 1990s onwards. In our review we have distinguished between five clusters of research:

- political arithmetic tradition;
- racism and discrimination;
- language proficiency tradition;
- school choice and school segregation; and
- cultural and social capital and socio-historical contexts.

The 'political arithmetic' tradition, which starts mainly from a positivistic approach and employs large-scale, quantitative research strategies, has focused on the individual and demographic characteristics of pupils. The impact of family background (parents' education and position in the labor market, and family structure), and the gender and immigrant background of young people are the main focus of these studies, which seek to explain the inequality in the educational attainment of young people. This line of research mainly explains the lower educational achievements of immigrant and racialized students, with reference to their social class. However, how shifts in educational policy (macro-level factors) or social relations with other individuals in the surrounding environment (meso-level factors) affect the educational outcomes of these young people are seldom addressed in these studies. One reason is possibly the difficulty of conducting empirical inquiries on subjects like social relations based on data from large register databases. In recent years, however, other topics such as 'school effect' and 'neighborhood effect' have added to these kinds of inquiry, but there are very few studies of this type to date (Bygren and Szulkin 2010). The main assumption of these studies is that the contextual effect can also have an impact beyond the individual factors. Thus, the 'concentration of disadvantaged families in neighborhoods and schools will have negative consequences for children's school achievement' (Szulkin and Jonsson 2007, p. 2) and restricted interaction with other individuals from the same ethnic group in a neighborhood can negatively affect the educational aspirations and study habits of young people of immigrant background (Hällsten and Szulkin 2009). Neighborhood or school effects in these studies are measured as, for instance, the extent to which inhabitants of the neighborhood participate in the labor market, the concentration of individuals from the same ethnic group in an area or the density in the number of children of immigrants in a school.

One serious problem in the 'political arithmetic' tradition, as mentioned above, is the non-nuanced 'statistics' provided by government agency reports about the 'educational underachievement' of the descendants of immigrants in Sweden. In these reports, all immigrant offspring are lumped together as one homogenous group and labelled as 'students of foreign background'. As our review shows, according to scientific publications, the offspring of immigrants in Sweden are a very heterogeneous population in terms of, among other things, country of origin, class background, age at arrival, length of residence in Sweden, the treatment of public opinion and the authorities, the scale of their exposure to racism and the resources that their communities make available to them. Without considering these factors, government agency reports convey an image of the group as a 'problem' and a 'great burden'

for Sweden's education system. As Jenkins (2004, p. 47) correctly states: 'The *classification* of populations as a practice of state and other agencies is powerfully constitutive, both of institutions and the interactional experiences of individuals'. In this case, stigmatization and the negative labelling of young people of immigrant background by state agencies have serious consequences for these young people.

The main assumption of the other research clusters is that there are important contextual circumstances (beyond individual factors) which decisively affect racialized students' educational achievements. While often dominated by qualitative approaches, these types of research do sometimes include quantitatively designed studies. These research traditions argue that, in addition to the individual characteristics of immigrants and their children, the importance of paying attention to the meso- and macro-level factors in studying the educational attainments of these groups is vital. These types of research are influenced by various theoretical perspectives (from social constructivism to phenomenology) and data-collection methods (from ethnographic classroom research to interviews and discourse analysis, and a few with quantitative and mixed-methods approaches).

These clusters have particularly contributed knowledge in different forms. One is the importance of recognising that the discrimination against and subordination of immigrant students in the Swedish education system is and has been an important contributory cause of the lower educational outcomes of these young people. However, as the results of many enquiries demonstrate, there is sometimes a paradox in this process; despite the good intentions of many teachers, their ethnocentric and unproblematized understanding of the meaning of integration can turn into 'symbolic violence' and force these young people to see themselves as part of a defective problematic category. In other situations, stereotypical understandings by school staff of the 'natural' educational careers and future position of these young people on the labor market can generate a seriously harmful influence on their pupils. The findings from these studies, moreover, demonstrate both how the descendants of immigrants experience discrimination and the ways in which they adopt strategies to cope with racism in schools.

What has been emphasized by the 'language proficiency tradition' is primarily the ambition of an educational system that, as a rule, strives to 'equalize things' in relation to the language learning and speaking ability of these young people. When teachers treat non-standard linguistic practises in schools as indications of 'otherness' associated with various educational problems – rather than regarding multilingualism and other linguistic practises among

urban youth as valuable linguistic skills –they then create a further deficit which should be managed and prevented.

Some internationally well-known research issues in the field of education and the descendants of immigrants and minority groups are under-developed in Sweden. Future Swedish research would benefit from employing a broader range of inter-related subjects such as the identification problem (i.e. how ethnic minority students, experiencing varying degrees of discrimination and racism, orient themselves towards and identify with Swedish society) and how such an identification can have an impact on their educational success or failure. Another under-developed issue is the leisure activities and extra-curricular involvement of these young people within and outside school. How the characteristics of the different immigrant communities can help young people from minority groups is another less-explored subject that future research needs to focus on more.

A final major issue highlighted by recent research was the impact of severe policy changes in Sweden from the beginning of the 1990s. These changes, largely driven by neoliberal ideas, seriously affected educational policies. This transition ushered in a heightened degree of segregation by which the children of families from vulnerable groups (economically disadvantaged and immigrant groups in marginalized neighborhoods) were increasingly concentrated in schools with limited resources. As the research results demonstrated, the social degradation working in these segregated schools, rather than promoting equal opportunities or social mobility, actually reproduced students' social position at the same level as that of their parents, undercut the unity of the country and froze and expanded the existing hierarchies of power and privilege rather than challenged them. This is because, as Kahlenberg (2001, pp. 5–6) notes, segregated schools are 'the fountainhead of countless discrete inequalities' and adds 'In determining school quality, the people in the school community are more important than average expenditure for each pupil or physical facilities'. According to Kahlenberg, classmates act as a 'hidden curriculum' which can provide lower-class children with richer vocabularies, greater knowledge and higher educational ambition; highly educated native-born parents have a greater ability to put pressure on administrators to recruit experienced teachers and ensure adequate funding. There is a serious need for more research on the consequences of recent school segregation in Sweden in order to provide a deep understanding of how this macro-level education system formation influences ethnic and/or racial inequalities.

As we can see, there are considerable differences between the 'political arithmetic' tradition and other traditions in this field, especially regarding forms of data collection and theoretical analysis. Sometimes different forms of

research take place in a parallel way in these different traditions and there is an apparent absence of communication between them. More interaction between the various traditions in answering research questions and a greater integration of different methods for data collection in research projects are necessary in order to strengthen the power of knowledge in this field. As an example we can mention studies which explore whether and how school social and ethnic composition (mainly an effect of macro-level factors of educational policy), and interpersonal relationships between students, their families and adults in the schools (the meso-level factors of school-based social capital) may predict the various academic achievements of students with different backgrounds (class, gender, ethnicity and learning difficulties).

Following the 'refugee' or 'solidarity crisis' of 2015, Sweden received more asylum-seekers *per capita* than any other country of the Global North. Consequently, the education of the children of immigrants in Sweden is likely to become a central topic for upcoming research in the field of education. There are at least three central issues that need to be integrated in this research. One concerns the particularities of migration as a transition process. A second concerns issues of integration and discrimination, not the least in a context of rising nationalism, xenophobia and racism. The third concerns our understanding of the effects of educational policies, and how other policy areas can affect (positively/negatively) the incorporation of these young people. While studies centered on the individual do provide important knowledge, we envisage the need for more contextually focused research – using both qualitative and quantitative approaches – which takes on these huge challenges of societal importance.

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24

Taiwan: An Immigrant Society with Expanding Educational Opportunities

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Introduction

Taiwan, lying some 180 kilometers off the southeastern coast of mainland China across the Taiwan Strait, with its small islands Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu, has an area of 36 thousand square kilometers and a population of 23 million. It was ceded by the Qing Dynasty to Japan in 1895 and returned to China at the end of World War II. After the Chinese Civil War, the leader of the defeated Chinese Nationalist Party (also Kuomintang, abbreviated as KMT) Chiang Kai-shek moved his political base, the Republic of China, founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen upon the overthrowing of the Qing Dynasty, to Taiwan in 1949. In the very same year, the Chinese Communist Party established People's Republic of China on the mainland. Ever since then, the two regimes continued their governances across the Strait.

Taiwan is an immigrant society. The indigenous peoples, the Austronesians, lived in Taiwan as early as 6000 years ago, and now there are 16 recognized

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Table 24.1 Estimated population distribution of the four major ethnic groups in Taiwan

Year	Southern Min	Hakka	Mainlander	Indigenous
2004	73.3%	13.5%	8.0%	1.9%
2008	73.2%	13.9%	8.9%	1.9%
	(with the 4% who describe themselves as Taiwanese people excluded, the original percentage is 69.2%)			
2011	75%	13.6%	7.1%	1.8%
	(with the 7.5% who describe themselves as Taiwanese people, the original percentage is 67.5%)			
2014	74.7%	13.5%	7.0%	1.8%
	(with the 8% who describe themselves as Taiwanese people, the original percentage is 66.4%)			
Average	74.34%	13.34%	8.08%	1.9%

Source: Data compiled from Hakka Affairs Council, Executive Yuan (2004, 2008, 2011, 2014)

tribes of them, each with their own language, custom and culture. During the Ming-Qing dynastic transition around 400 years ago, immigration of the Southern Min people from southern Fujian Province (Min for short) and the Hakka people from Fujian Province and Guangdong Province to Taiwan began for political and economic reasons. Basically, the Southern Min and the Hakka are language groups. As WWII ended, especially around 1949, millions of soldiers and civilians followed KMT to Taiwan. They and their offspring are called the Mainlanders. Up to date, there are, thus, four major ethnic groups in Taiwan: indigenous peoples, Southern Min, Hakka, and Mainlanders; the latter three collectively are called the Han people.

According to the official estimates, the majority of Taiwan's population are Southern Min (73%–75%), followed by Hakka (13%–14%), Mainlanders (8%) and indigenous peoples (2%), as shown by Table 24.1.[1] However, it is important to note that being majority did not guarantee advantage. In fact, at least during the second half of the twentieth century, it was Mainlanders that enjoyed predominance in the political, economic and educational systems. For example, the analysis of Lin and Lin (1993), based on 1991 Taiwan Social

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[1] Population censuses by the Ministry of the Interior, R. O. C. (Taiwan) tend not to distinguish the four ethnic groups. However, based on recent surveys conducted by the Hakka Affairs Council, Executive Yuan, with sample size of 30–70 thousand, the estimated population distribution of the four ethnic groups are displayed in Table 24.1. It should be noted that the three surveys (2008, 2011 and 2014) pointed to a decline of the percentage of Southern Min from 69.2%, 67.5% to 66.4%, while interestingly enough, there is a rise of the percentage of people describing themselves as 'Taiwanese people', from 4% to 7.5% and then 8%. This may be because the Southern Min who migrated to Taiwan before WWII like to identify themselves as 'Taiwanese people', and claim their language, Hoklo, to be 'Taiwanese language.' Accordingly, the percentage of 'Taiwanese people' is added to that of Southern Min people in Table 24.1.

Image Survey and Taiwan Social Change Survey, showed that Southern Min and Hakka born before 1969 tended to work in primary and manufacturing industries, private sectors, and small and medium enterprises, while Mainlanders in service industries and public sectors, educational institutes in particular, and they outnumbered Hakka and Southern Min in large enterprise management positions. Lin and Lin (1993) concluded that Mainlanders ranked the highest in social and economic status, with Hakka coming second and Southern Min third. As for indigenous peoples, they were always overrepresented in the lowest (Chiu 1983). Three-fourths of indigenous peoples worked in agriculture, whereas less than one-third of Taiwan's population worked therein. Besides, the education gap between indigenous peoples and the Han people was widening. The disparity was more obvious in upper secondary education and higher education levels.

In addition to the four major ethnic groups mentioned above, a distinct group has emerged since the 1990s. It's the new immigrants, or to be more specific, the female foreign spouses.[2] The vast majority of them come from China (with Hong Kong and Macao included) and Southeast Asia. According to a 2017 statistics report, of the 480,000 female foreign spouses, 327,050 are Chinese, and 96,024 Vietnamese, 28,507 Indonesian, 8126 Pilipino, 5827 Thai, and 4280 Cambodian.[3] In patriarchal societies, these new immigrants, married mostly to husbands from lower class, may not meet the criteria for definition as an ethnic group, though, their adaptation problems and those of their children's raise concerns from academia and the government. So, after an account of educational researches on the four major ethnic groups, there would be a brief analysis of those on the new immigrants and their children as well.

As a democratic society, there has been a gradual expansion and universalization in all levels of education in Taiwan from the 1950s to date. Yet, whether education really served as the great equalizer to the elimination of educational and economic inequalities among ethnic groups remains a great concern for the public. To respond to this concern, this study begins with an introduction of the development of Taiwan's education system, its selection mechanisms and policies related to ethnic education. Secondly, based on relevant literature, especially scholarly journal articles, it analyzes different research traditions and the main findings of them of ethnic (in)equality in education. Thirdly, it assesses the policy implementation from existing research outcomes.

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[2] The majority of these females came to Taiwan and got married to Taiwanese men (usually of lower socioeconomic status) through the introduction of international marriage agencies. In a sense, they are like mail-order brides in the last century. Of course, we don't use that term because it is derogatory.

[3] Retrieved February 18, 2017, from the National Immigration Agency website https://www.immigration.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=1326384&ctNode=29699&mp=1

School System, Selection Mechanisms and Ethnic Policies

Since 1945, there have been three major education expansions in Taiwan. When KMT moved to Taiwan, the government launched, according to the Constitution, the Six-Year Basic Education, which started the first-wave education expansion in 1950s and made the primary education compulsory. The second-wave expansion, the Nine-Year Compulsory Education was put into effect in 1968, making the lower secondary education compulsory for all. The third-wave expansion took place after the April 10 Educational Reform Movement in 1994. The administration at that time accepted the public opinion in making upper secondary and higher education more universal. The three major education expansions[4] have produced a substantial rise to the number of students in all levels of education. Table 24.2 summarizes this rising trend from 1980 to 2015. Generally speaking, the enrollment rate has been consistently high in primary and secondary schools. For tertiary education, the net enrollment rate exceeded 50% during 2000–2005 and in 2015

Table 24.2 1980–2015 gross and net enrollment rate by levels of education

School Year	Primary education (aged 6–11)		Secondary education (aged 12–17)		Tertiary education (aged 18–21)	
	Gross %	Net %	Gross %	Net %	Gross %	Net %
1980	100.80	97.56	80.34	70.99	16.18	11.07
1985	99.43	96.30	89.73	78.29	20.79	13.88
1990	100.46	98.04	95.00	85.45	29.65	19.36
1995	101.39	99.06	95.66	88.84	39.44	27.79
2000	100.49	98.78	99.23	92.19	56.14	38.70
2005	100.34	98.46	97.91	93.63	82.02	57.42
2010	99.68	97.97	100.30	95.59	83.77	66.71
2015	99.13	97.50	101.20	95.95	83.73	70.86

Source: The Ministry of Education (2016a, 58–61)
Notes:
Gross Enrollment Rate = enrollment in a specific level ÷ population of official school-age group for that specific level × 100
Net Enrollment Rate = enrollment of the official school-age group in a specific level ÷ population of official school-age group for that specific level × 100

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[4] Although in 2014, the government put into practice a '12-Year Basic Education Plan', it was not to extend compulsory education to upper secondary education. The Plan encourages junior high school graduates to attend senior high school or vocational high school in their school districts by providing large exam-free admission quotas and tuition fee exemption. The policy aims at 'normalizing' the teaching activities in primary and junior high schools and reducing students' pressures of drastic competition in taking entrance examination for the next level of education.

reached a new high of 70%, by far higher than that of the developed countries in the West. These expansions no doubt have promoted education equality, at least in terms of quantity.

School System

The school system or the formal education system in Taiwan has long maintained a 6-3-3-4 pattern (Fig. 24.1), including 6-year primary education, 3-year lower secondary education, 3-year upper secondary education, and 4-year tertiary or higher education. All the people, regardless of their ethnicity, receive education in the same schooling system.

Fig. 24.1 School system and selection mechanisms in Taiwan. (Source: Drawn by the author with reference to The Ministry of Education 2016a, 225, 235)

The implementing agency of primary education is primary school, and that of lower secondary education is junior high school. Education of these nine years (primary grades 1–6 and junior high grades 7–9) is compulsory de jure. After completing junior high school, students are selected to academic and vocational tracks. Academic-track schools include senior high schools and some six-year high schools with affiliated junior high department. Vocational education on the other hand is carried out in vocational high schools and the five-year junior colleges (the first three years are equivalent to vocational high, and the last two years are considered the tertiary education) that admit graduates from junior high school. Also, there are comprehensive high schools which offer college preparatory program and technical and vocational education program to students in different tracks.

As students complete their upper secondary education, they may go on to undergraduate programs of tertiary education. Typically, undergraduate programs take four years to complete, but some specialized programs require more. For example, dentistry programs and medical programs are six years in length, and architecture programs and post-baccalaureate medical program require five years of study. Tertiary education is offered at (1) universities and colleges that admit senior high school students in the main; (2) universities and institutes of technology that accept senior vocational high school students in the main; and (3) two-year junior colleges. For those who has a bachelor's degree (or equivalency), there are master degree programs, which take between one to four years. Entry to doctoral programs (last two to seven years) is usually based on a master's degree.

Selection Mechanisms

Considering selection mechanisms in each level of education, compulsory level is relatively non-selective compared with upper secondary level and above. Primary school and junior high school are mandatory for youngsters aged six to fifteen, regardless of their ethnic background, gender, social status, and ability. When children reach the age of six or twelve, they have to enroll in public primary or junior high schools in the school district where they have their households registered. At this stage, students receive nine years of common basic education and aptitude assessment/career exploration. However, some parents, usually those from middle or upper class, send their children to prestigious private schools, or move their children's household registration to where their children can attend the ideal, albeit across-district, public schools.

In the past, those students who completed compulsory education and would like to further their studies in upper secondary schools had to take the Joint Entrance Examination sponsored by Local High School Recruitment Commission. After the enactment of the Multi-Opportunities for School Entrance or the Multi-Admission Program in 2001, however, students had to attend The Basic Competence Test for Junior High School Students and through one of the following methods to get admitted to upper secondary schools. They included admission by registration and placement, recommendation by the applicant's school, and a direct application by the student, with the test result and all the required documents submitted. In 2014, when the 12-Year Basic Education Plan was launched, qualified school leavers, and students with an equivalent of a junior high school diploma could apply for exam-free admission to senior high schools, vocational high schools or five-year junior colleges in specific school districts. Also, students could attend entrance examinations administered by individual schools which offer specialized programs, or get admission through recommendation. Noted that the purpose of the Comprehensive Assessment Program for Junior High School Students in mid-May each year is to assess learning quality of junior high school seniors, rather than make the result one of the admission criteria. According to official statistics, 82% of students went to senior high and vocational high schools through exam-free admission in 2014 (Ministry of Education 2015, 7), and the number hit 85% in 2015 (Ministry of Education 2016a, 7). The 12-Year Basic Education Plan aims for a provision of tuition-free vocational high school education (including the first three years of five-year junior college) and senior high school students whose family income meet certain eligibility requirements could enjoy the tuition exemption too.

Before 2001, high school graduates who planned to continue their education could only take the Joint College Entrance Examination sponsored by College Recruitment Commission, but starting from 2001–2002, they could be admitted through the Multi-Opportunities for College Entrance or the Multi-Admission Program. The current policy (which may be modified in the near future) requires qualified applicants for universities and colleges to take the General Scholastic Ability Test between January and February each year, and then with the test result and the required documents submitted, seek admission through individual application or school recommendation. Students who are not satisfied with the result or did not apply at all can participate in the Advanced Subjects Test in every early-July. With the exam result, students apply for admission by registration and placement. Qualified applicants for universities and institutes of technology sit for the Joint College Entrance Examination for Technological and Vocational Education in every

May. With the exam result and application materials, students seek admission through application or by registration and placement. Students who have been awarded in a skill competition or obtained technician certificate(s) of level B and above can apply for special achievement-based admission. If permitted by the Ministry of Education, individual universities, even specific departments/programs, could organize admission examinations on their own. In general, admission to master's degree programs and doctoral degree programs is through examination and application.

On the whole, the competition for academic advancement before 1990s was extraordinarily intense. Yet, after 1990s, with the extensive establishment of senior high schools and universities, the competition became less intense and since the late 1990s, under the impact of falling birth rate, almost everyone could go to college, and more and more colleges face the challenges of inadequate student enrolment. The competition for admission to elite senior high schools and colleges is, however, still very fierce. It is worth noting that the seemingly New Right education reform movements starting in the 1990s in Taiwan were in fact more deregulation oriented, hoping that it would allow students to study in a less pressured manner. It is believed that the education system in Taiwan is not a thorough accountability system, and as a result does not apply market mechanism in an extensive way, such as in particular western countries (such as the UK and the USA). In general, school leaders only encounter increased anxiety when they face the problem of inadequate enrolment.

Ethnic Policies

Ethnic policies in Taiwan, including ethnic education policies, have been changing considerably with time. The lifting of martial law[5] in 1987 was usually taken as the watershed. From late 1940s onward, Taiwan implemented assimilation policies that stressed on the identification with the Chinese nation. In 1990s, nationalism as such faced serious challenges from the rise of Taiwanese consciousness and multiculturalism, and under the pincer attacks of both, its influence has been diminishing. Now, it no longer holds sway over social thoughts.

With equality as a cornerstone of our Constitution, we have Article 5 that says, 'There shall be equality among the various ethnic groups in the Republic

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[5] To counteract the upheaval caused by the Chinese Civil War, the martial law was announced on May 20, 1949, throughout the island. Later on, KMT retreated to Taiwan and began its cross-strait confrontation with the Communist China, and the martial law thus continued. It was lifted on July 14, 1987 by president Chiang Ching-kuo. During the imposition of martial law, freedoms of assembly, speech, the press and movement were banned.

of China.' and Article 159 'All citizens shall have equal opportunity to receive an education.' However, ethnic policies work on different premises, so the realization of 'equality' varies. Overall, the level of ethnic equality is higher after the lifting of martial law than before.

Take language as an example. Not long after KMT restored Taiwan, the policy of 'Beijing dialect or Mandarin as official language' was put into force[6] and Mandarin has been designated as the medium of instruction at schools of all levels ever since. Familiar with Mandarin at a very young age at home, Mainlander children had an edge over their peers from other ethnic groups in that they comprehended the course content much more easily. Moreover, most of the Mainlanders who followed KMT government to Taiwan were single, landless, and were soldiers, public servants and teachers. Most of all, they had no estate to pass down; therefore, they hoped and encouraged their children to receive more and better education. In order to help these Mainlanders settle down in Taiwan, the government provided substantial amounts of subsidies, including those for their children's education. These advantages allowed Mainlander children to outperform their peers at school. After the lifting of the martial law, Taiwanese consciousness rose, and after decades of incubation and modification, Hoklo, Hakka and Austronesian languages became compulsory elective subjects in primary schools since the Grade 1–9 Curriculum came into effect in 2001. Primary school students from grade 1 to grade 6 have to choose one from these so-called native (or local) languages courses (one class per week); in junior high school, however, native languages became an optional course.[7] The status of native languages has been improved, though, Mandarin still enjoyed the dominance as medium of instruction. In recent years, there are suggestions of making these native languages the official languages in Taiwan, but the result remains to be seen.

The contemporary multicultural policy in Taiwan can trace its origin to the First Five-Year Plan for the Development of Mountain People's Education[8] promulgated in 1992 by the Executive Yuan (the term 'Mountain

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[6] Beijing dialect or Mandarin was set up as official language in the early years of the Republic of China. After the restoration of Taiwan, the Chief Executive Office launched the 'Policy for the Implementation of Official Language in Taiwan' in 1946. People in Taiwan were made to learn Mandarin. In 1956, the government urged schools of all levels to use as much Mandarin as possible and restricted the use of other languages. This 'Speaking Mandarin Movement' reached its peak in the 1960s. In 1965, the government introduced the 'Plan to Strengthen the Implementation of Mandarin as the National Language', requiring teachers and students to use Mandarin all the time. Violators were to be punished (Chen 2009; Huang 1993).

[7] Please refer to 'Notes on the Launching of Native Languages as Elective Courses' released by the Ministry of Education in 2014 at: http://edu.law.moe.gov.tw/LawContentDetails.aspx?id=FL039252&KeyWordHL=

[8] The Plan has reached its fifth phase. For more information, please go to: https://www.edu.tw/News_Plan_Content.aspx?n=D33B55D537402BAA&sms=954974C68391B710&s=0F1D3AAB61372569

People' was changed to 'Indigenous Peoples' in 1994). In the background paragraphs were some remarks about emerging social situations, in which for the first time in official documents the idea of multi-culture was mentioned. More specifically, it read: 'The value of multiculturalism is gradually being recognized'. As for formal legal provisions, it was in 1997, in the 9th paragraph of Article 10 of the Amendment of the Constitution: 'The State affirms multiculturalism and shall actively preserve and foster the development of indigenous languages and cultures'. The Education Act for Indigenous peoples enacted in 1998 was based on this paragraph. According to Chang (2002a), the rise of the concept of 'multi-cultures' was due to the fact that political elites in Taiwan hoped to reconstruct a collective basis for common good, on which political confrontation might be eased and ethnic reconciliation sought. However, for the lack of adequate discussion, what political and philosophic implications multiculturalism carried ended up in a process of discursive formation, and the concept itself remained multifariously confusing, which may lead to unforeseen problems (Chang 2002b). This said, multiculturalism as a national policy in Taiwan, as stated in the Constitution, offices in charge of indigenous affairs and Hakka affairs are established from central to local governments. There are also indigenous and Hakka television channels. Some universities even set up colleges and research centers of indigenous or Hakka studies. In doing all these, it is hoped that the socio-economic development, and language and cultural sustainability of the two ethnic groups would be improved.[9]

Last but not least, affirmation action or positive discrimination policy in Taiwan has been mainly intended for indigenous students, besides a very small number of Mongolian and Tibetan students. From the past to date, indigenous primary and secondary school students receive government grants and subsidized meals and accommodations. For college and university level, indigenous students attend school free of tuition and other fees, and they are given hiring priority for on-campus part-time job opportunities. In applying for admission, except for doctoral, masters and post-baccalaureate programs, indigenous students enjoy affirmative action admission or admission preference as the follows. (1) 10 percentage points are added to the raw scores. This applies not only to high school students admitted through exam-free admission, or through entrance examinations administered by individual schools which offer specialized programs, but

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[9]Taiwan has not yet established any organization in charge of the affairs of Southern Min people, nor launched any TV channel exclusive for them. It is likely due to the fact that most residents (nearly three-fourths of the population) in Taiwan are Southern Min, or that there are two former presidents: Mr. Lee Teng-Hui and Mr. Chen Shui-Bian, who speak Hoklo and ruled Taiwan for 20 years in total.

also to college students admitted through examination or by registration and placement. For the Indigenous Language Proficiency Certificate holders, 35% is added; (2) 10 percentage points are added to the raw scores for high school students admitted by passing special skill tests; (3) For those admitted by other pathways rather than exam-free admission or by registration and placement, universities and colleges can make their own admission preference decision.[10] All the indigenous students who are admitted through the above affirmation actions are additionally recruited (not included in the admission quota for each school) and the total number is limited to 2 percentage of the originally approved admission quota. The past experiences show that the aforementioned measures are of great help in improving the admission rate and the school attendance rate of indigenous students.

Research Traditions and Major Outcomes

This study set up a keyword search of journal articles after the 1980s[11] using keywords such as 'Ethnic Group' (or indigenous peoples, new immigrants), 'Educational Attainment', 'Educational Achievement' and 'Status Attainment' in the PerioPath Index to Taiwan Periodical Literature System, National Central Library Periodical Information Center and CEPS of Airiti Library. The search covered all levels of education, from primary school to higher education, and since it focused on the case of Taiwan, the journal articles found were all written in Chinese. To increase the credibility of the study, it referred too to books by renowned scholars and government-commissioned reports.

The search results showed that considerable research efforts have been made on the ethnic (in)equality in education, the focus of this study as noted. In a nutshell, they can be classified into three categories: (1) Quantitative researches on cross-ethnic comparison of educational achievement and attainment; (2) Qualitative researches on indigenous people's identities and educational experience; (3) Researches on new immigrants, which can be subdivided in two: one is qualitative study on the experiences of the mothers, and the other quantitative study on the education of the children.

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[10] For the preferential treatment of indigenous peoples in educational advancement, please refer to: http://law.moj.gov.tw/LawClass/LawOldVer.aspx?Pcode=H0020031&LNNDATE=20130819&LSER=001

[11] Major large-scale and long-term databases in Taiwan, for example, the 'Taiwan Social Change Survey', were established in 1980s, while studies on indigenous peoples and new immigrants only gained attention and popularity in 1980s and 1990s.

Cross-Ethnic Comparison of Status Attainment

This research tradition was originally led by studies of social stratification, in which sociologists explored the correlations between family background, educational attainment and job career. From the 1990s to now, however, more and more educationalists participated and shifted the study focus to the educational stratification by ethnicity, aiming for a better understanding of the relationship between ethnic origin and educational attainment as well as the mediating factors therein.

Studies on Social Stratification

Since 1980, scholars have been conducting quantitative studies (Chiu 1982; Hsu 1982; Hsueh 1995; Hwang 1990, 1995; Tsai 1986, 1988; Tsai and Chiu 1992, 1993; Yang 1994) on the contributing factors to the ethnic differences in social status with reference to Status Attainment Model (Blau and Duncan 1967). Among those researches, Tsai's was classic. She incorporated data from Taiwan Social Change Survey 1984, analyzing family background (educational attainment of both father's and mother's), education level and social status (first job, current job) of those born between the 1920s and 1960s (Tsai 1988). Her findings go as the follows. First, in spite of place of residence and age, both male and female Mainlanders achieved higher level of education than their counterparts from the other three ethnic groups, and Hakka did better than Southern Min while there was slight difference between Southern Min and indigenous peoples. Second, significant positive impact of parents' education level on their children's educational attainment was identified. The higher level of education the mainlander parents reached, the higher level of educational attainment their children achieved. Among the effects of educational attainment on occupational status, personal education level stood out, followed by parents' education level.

A decade later, Wu (1997) conducted a research using data from Taiwan Social Image Survey 1994. His study indicated that in middle and upper classes there were much more Mainlanders than Southern Min and Hakka, and no matter what class Mainlanders came from, they had better opportunities for upward mobility than their Southern Min and Hakka peers. The main reason for this was education attainment. When it came to the education attainment of Mainlanders, two factors seemed influential: father's educational attainment and parents' employment in the public sector, the latter of which suggests that parents' occupational status was also an important predicator of children's educational attainment.

It is true that the Status Attainment Model, proposed by Blau and Duncan (1967), has contributed greatly to studies in Taiwan on the structural effect of family background on education attainment and job acquisition, and that of education attainment on job acquisition. For example, according to Hsueh's study (1995), the structural forces, including father's educational attainment and occupation, were able to account for around 30% of the variance of children's educational attainment, and around 38% of that of children's job acquisition. However, the Model is not without its flaws. Scholars in Taiwan, as their peers overseas (Carroll and Mayer 1986; Sewell et al. 1969; Wright and Perrone 1977), noticed that the Model neglected other potential factors that mediated the process of social stratification (or status attainment). To compensate for the inadequacy, Sewell and Hauser (1980), for example, added mediating factors like individual student's measured ability, grades, significant others' influence, aspirations, and so on, to the buildup of Wisconsin Model, which was based on a 1957 survey of the post-high school educational plans of all high school seniors in the public, private, and parochial schools of Wisconsin. Inspired by the Wisconsin Model, scholars in Taiwan on the other hand encompassed more factors than the aforementioned (Chou and Liao 1997; Hwang 1992; Lee and Yu 2005; Li 2004) and put their focus on social capital (Coleman 1988) and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977). For instance, Hwang (1992) proposed an extension of the Wisconsin Model that included such factors as family background, educational attainment, social capital, cultural capital, and occupational status.

Sun and Hwang (1994) examined the process by which family background translated into educational attainment and job acquisition employing data from Taiwan Social Change Survey 1992–1993 and the modified Model as a conceptual tool. They found that Mainlanders excelled Hakka and Southern Min in years of education and acquisition of first job and current job (the indigenous peoples not taken into account for the lack of sufficient sample size). Family background affected acquisition of not only first job but also current job through educational attainment. However, the influences of social capital (i.e., social connections of job seekers) and cultural capital (i.e., how much one could appreciate art, music or drama) should not be overseen.[12] In fact, the more social and cultural capitals one had, the easier it was for one to get a job (be it first job or current job). For the acquisition of current job, the explanatory power of social capital (β = 0.3) was higher than that of cultural capital (β is 0.13). The modified Model enlarges our understanding of relevant factors for status attainment of different ethnic groups.

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[12] The operational definitions of social capital and cultural capital in Taiwan are quite similar to those in the western countries; however, owing to personal interpretations and even preferences, definitions are different sometimes.

With the economic growth and the concomitant expansion of the education system, development opportunities for different ethnic groups were broadened. Hwang (1995), using data from Taiwan Social Change Survey 1992, pointed out that family background, father's occupation and place of origin, for example, had decreasing effects on first job obtainment. The main reason was that the expansion of primary and secondary education allowed larger numbers of students of different ethnic origins to receive education, and hence reduced the inequality of educational opportunity and first job obtainment. Similar findings were reported by Luoh (2001). Using 1990 census data, he explored generational differences in educational attainment between those born from 1935 to 1965, and found that on average the educational attainment of Mainlanders were higher than that of Southern Min, Hakka and indigenous peoples. Yet for those born in 1965, the gap was narrowed significantly, which might be a result of the implementation of nine-year compulsory education in 1968 and an increase in access to upper secondary schools thereafter. Based on data from Taiwan Social Change Survey 2000, Tsai (2004) examined whether there were generational differences in participation in higher education. She divided the sample into three birth cohorts: (1) Generation 1, born in 1946–1955, (2) Generation 2, born in 1956–1966, and (3) Generation 3, born in 1967–1979, and found no significant difference in generation 3 (with only indigenous peoples lagging behind), although for the first and second generations Mainlanders did enjoy advantages. It was mainly because of the rapid expansion of higher education since mid-1980s. As shown in Table 24.3, the number of higher education institutions was 104 (with all kinds of colleges and universities included) in 1980, increased to150 in 2000 and reached 158 in 2015. Besides, the number

Table 24.3 Number of higher education institutions and students: 1980–2015

| Year | Number of higher education institutions | | | Number of students in higher education | | |
	Junior college	University and college	Total	Junior college	University and college	Total
1980	77	27	104	183,134	159,394	342,528
1985	77	28	105	236,824	191,752	428,576
1990	75	46	121	315,169	267,464	576,623
1995	74	60	134	394,751	356,596	751,347
2000	23	127	150	444,182	647,920	1,092,102
2005	17	145	162	180,886	1,115,672	1,296,558
2010	15	148	163	102,789	1,240,814	1,343,603
2015	13	145	158	97,466	1,234,979	1,332,445

Note: The significant drop in the number of junior colleges is due to their upgrade to universities/institutes of technology

of students was also on the sharp rise. It was 342,528 in 1980, went up to 1,092,102 in 2000, and hit a new high of 1,332,445 in 2015 (Ministry of Education 2017).

The above studies, taken together, pointed to a correlation between family background, educational attainment and social stratum; that is, the higher the family background, the higher the educational attainment and social stratum. The Mainlanders outperformed their ethnic counterparts in every aspect; nevertheless, because of social progress and educational expansion, the attainment gap between ethnic groups seemed to be lessened. Wu (2007) provided evidence for the gap reduction. Drawing data from Panel Study of Family Dynamics, she compared educational attainments between generations (who were born in 1930–1939, 1940–1949, 1950–1959, 1960–1969 and 1970–1979) (Table 24.4). The result indicated that when background variables were controlled, ethnic attainment gap narrowed. To be concrete, for generation born in 1940–1949 and 1950–1959, the ethnic gap was obvious. Mainlanders outperformed, and Hakka came next; both of them achieved much more than Southern Min, while indigenous peoples fell behind. But starting from generation born in 1960–1969, there was no significant difference in years of education among Mainlanders, Hakka and Southern Min, except indigenous peoples.

Studies on the Educational Stratification of Ethnic Groups

Since 1990s, social stratification research, after the extension of Status Attainment Model to the Wisconsin Model, seemed less popular among scholars, with only a few studies attempting to improve the model further (Chen 2005; Luoh 2001; Wu 2013). Relatively, more attention was turned to educational stratification between different ethnic groups, probing the correlation between ethnic background and academic achievement. Whereas the research targets were mostly school students, the focus shifted from the correlation between educational attainment and job career to the mediating fac-

Table 24.4 Average years of education by age cohort and ethnic group

Birth cohort	Indigenous	Southern Min	Hakka	Mainlander	Average
1930–1939	Limited sample size	4.72	6.23	9.84	5.04
1940–1949	5.92	6.78	8.51	13.36	7.26
1950–1959	7.25	9.40	10.14	13.55	9.83
1960–1969	9.00	11.28	11.93	12.82	11.46
1970–1979	11.09	12.82	13.41	13.57	12.90

Source: Adopted from Wu (2007, 121, Table 4)

tors through which ethnicity or family background affected academic achievement or school performance.

Studies were conducted to discuss factors related to family resources such as economic capital, social capital and cultural capital (Chou 2008; Hsieh 2003; Lee and Yu 2005; Wu 1999). Basically, the bigger the overall volume of capitals one had, the higher the academic achievement one obtained. As indigenous students owned the least resources, they became chronic under-achievers in school (Wu 1999). Take social capital for example. Indigenous parents held such low educational expectation of their children that they tended to be passive and pessimistic (Chou and Liao 1997). With data from School Children's Family Status, Community Participation, and School Activity Survey (the Graduate Institute of Education, National Taitung Teachers College), Chen (1998) carried out a study finding the student-teacher relationship between indigenous fifth-graders and their teachers worse than that between their peers from the other three ethnic groups and teachers. The underlying reason for which, he discovered, might be the bad habits (i.e., smoking, drinking alcohol, and chewing betel nut)[13] indigenous students had.

The achievement gap and the attainment gap among Mainlander, Hakka and Southern Min students have been narrowed in recent years, hence, researches on educational stratification by ethnicity (Chou 2008; Chuang and Yu 2016; Lin and Hwang 2008) seldom ask respondents to specify their ethnicity origins among the four major ethnic groups. More often than not, in studies on ethnic differences, respondents were simply asked to describe themselves as indigenous peoples or Han people (Chang 1994; Chang et al. 1993; Chen 1998; Su and Hwang 2009; Wang 1998, 1999; Wu and Lin 2004). For example, in order to collect data about educational stratification across generations, Chang and his research team sampled indigenous peoples and Han people from two age groups. Members of age group 1, born between 1941 and 1950, were the first batch of students receiving 6-year basic education. Those from age group 2, on the other hand, born between 1956 and 1965, were the first generation that attended 9-year compulsory education. The result suggested that notwithstanding the improvement of family situations and educational attainment owing to the two major education expansions, indigenous students as a whole performed much less well than their Han peers. For the 1956–1965 generation, indigenous peoples, on average, had

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[13] It is worth noting that while some Taiwanese scholars tempt to define certain behaviors of indigenous peoples, such as smoking, drinking alcohol, and chewing betel nut, as 'bad habits' or 'negative cultural capital', others prefer to regard these behaviors as 'neutral' as other behaviors in order not to misinterpret them in a biased way.

completed lower secondary education, while Han usually got higher than that. Parental attitudes towards education and cultural condition of family were reported crucial mediators that influenced educational attainment of indigenous students (Chang 1994; Chang et al. 1993).

Summary

In the nutshell, the past quantitative studies concerning ethnic equality in education in Taiwan referred in the beginning to the status attainment model by Blau and Duncan. Later on, the research frameworks underwent gradual modification. Generally speaking, prior to 1990s the 'social stratification study period' prevailed, in which sociologists led studies on the correlation between family background, individual educational attainment and future career among different ethnic groups. Since the 1990s to date, the 'educational stratification study period' became dominant, in which educationists took the lead, and turned their research focus to the relation between family background and educational achievement, with less attention to future career.

As times evolved, two main changes took place in terms of research focus. First, in the social stratification study period, family background, occupation and education of parents were taken as independent variables and their influence on individual education achievement (dependent variable 1) and future career (dependent variable 2) was examined. In the educational stratification study period, the roles of intermediary factors such as cultural capital, social capital, educational expectation, student-teacher interaction, etc. on academic achievement were investigated and on the basis of research findings the original status attainment model was modified. Second, it's true that because of the continuing educational expansion, the opportunity gap among the four ethnic groups has been reduced, but the indigenous peoples are still relatively disadvantaged. That is the reason why recent studies explore the differences of Han people (Mainlanders, Southern Min and Hakka) as a whole versus indigenous peoples instead of focusing on differences between the four ethnic groups.

Studies on the Education of Indigenous Peoples

Some of the studies on the education of indigenous peoples were government-commissioned projects. They served as part of policy planning and in that sense, were more practice-oriented than academic-oriented. The topics covered education statistics, language revival, indigenous knowledge, culture

heritage and identities, training of professionals, programming and provision of indigenous culture and education, the establishment of an indigenous school system, etc. On the whole, these studies were conducted from multi-cultural perspectives, emphasizing the subjectivity of indigenous cultures with a view to eliminating the ethnic gaps.[14]

By contrast, scholarly studies were mostly qualitative inquiries into three categories: ethnic and cultural identity, the dilemma of ethnic education, culturally relevant pedagogy or culturally responsive teaching. Noted that there were very few quantitative studies, and out of these few, most focused on attainment gap between indigenous peoples and Han, as stated above.

Studies on Ethnic and Cultural Identity

For a very long time, as a disadvantaged minority, indigenous peoples have been enmeshed in distorted and stigmatized identity to such a degree that their social adaptation was severely hampered (Hsieh 1987). Despite that assimilation policies were long gone, still more adjustment had to be made for indigenous peoples to deal with pressure from mainstream society (Chou 1997). Fu (2001) found in eastern Taiwan that Han people held overt negative attitudes towards indigenous peoples, and that a certain proportion of indigenous peoples internalized the ethnic hierarchy maintained by the local Han, and treated the we-group (including themselves) and they-group accordingly. Identity crisis as such was detrimental for student's psychological development, school adaptation and education outcomes.

On the basis of existing literature, there are three standpoints of ethnic and cultural identity among indigenous peoples in Taiwan. (1) Some people value ethnic traditions more and prefer to develop or manage their culture and lives autonomously. For them, the revival of ethnic cultural identity is the first step toward a better-off development of indigenous talents and tribal affairs. (2) Some others support modern lifestyles, considering it naïve to think about the revival of ethnic culture when their livelihoods are at stake, and hence urge their people to learn first about how to live modern life lest they be socially excluded. (3) Still others incline to reconcile traditional culture and modern civilization, and Han culture as well. They regard the tradition as inner ethnic essence and the modern as developmental context; in that sense, the two, complementary to each other, interact and integrate naturally (Chang 2002).

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[14] For reports commissioned by the Council of Indigenous Peoples in the past decade, please refer to: http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=217054CAE51A3B1A

Ideally, bicultural identity, many would argue, promotes the best adaptation (Berry 1997). However, it is easier said than achieved. Learning two cultures that are different functionally and modally is more complicated and difficult than simply inheriting traditional culture or learning mainstream culture. Faced with the continuous loss of indigenous language and culture, it is widely supposed that learning tribal language helps develop bicultural identity. Nonetheless Huang (2008) found in an Amis Tribe school that indigenous students tended to distinguish between Mandarin and native language functionally. Concretely put, the former was used in daily communication, learning activities, and in display of one's language ability, the latter was on the other hand for making fun and teasing. For that reason, indigenous students are less likely to adopt positive attitude toward their native language, let alone to build bicultural identity.

For years, scholars offered suggestions for the enhancement of ethnic and cultural identity among indigenous peoples. Some proposed that it took the cooperation between school and community to cultivate strong ethnic identity (Ho 2005), some argued that it lay in leadership practices of school principals (Liu and Cheng 2013) and professional development of teachers (Liu 2001), some called for activity-oriented curriculum that incorporates traditional celebrations and dances (An and Yang 2013), and the others, who were in full support of the autonomy of indigenous education system, advised educators of indigenous origins to implement decolonial ethnic education (Lien 2013) against schooling that privileged the dominant group by creating an illusion of social homogeneity and stigmatization of ethnic minority. However, doubts are raised over feasibility of the aforementioned proposals, as the advantaged group may not be pleased to see such 'biased' development toward ethnic and cultural identity. Besides, it remains highly uncertain whether the results of qualitative studies, usually based on some specific school (or ethnic group, research field), can be extended to all the ethnic groups or schools. Among the doubts lies a core issue that causes ambivalence; that is, the dilemma of ethnic education.

The Dilemma of Ethnic Education

Ethnic minorities worldwide, especially those indigenous peoples who have been subjugated, confront a dilemma along the process of development: conform to the mainstream society at the risk of their native culture fading away or adhere to their own culture with a heavy price to fit into the mainstream society. Several case studies on the indigenous school-parent interaction (Sheu

and Chang 2002; Sheu and Liu 2000; Tang 2011; Tang and Tseng 2009) concluded that for schools to implement ethnic education, teachers alone was not enough, parents had to join. However, since teachers and parents held conflicting beliefs in that the former focused more on boosting students' competitiveness and the latter worked harder at the preservation of traditional culture, the teacher-parent partnership came with tensions.

A similar result was found in Tang's studies in high school. Tang (2010) illustrated how indigenous six-year high schools, established by policy supports, ran into same problems: struggle with declining enrollment because of long distance from students' homes to school, compromised devotion to maintaining cultural heritage by the pursuit of higher level of education, alienation between schools and communities, lack of qualified teachers and resource materials for the teaching of traditional culture, and passiveness in cultural maintenance due to little communication with communities. Schools and communities differed for that indigenous high schools aimed at the improvement of student academic achievement sometimes to the neglect of maintenance of ethnic culture and language, and in that regard, schools and communities were separate entities, and without much connection and interaction in-between, both of them had little momentum for decolonization.

Having learned from the long-term predicament, everyone knows what problems are as well as what causes them. It may not be hard to do research on such problems; however, it really was the hardest, based on the results of studies, to come up with a feasible solution, which allows students not only to uphold their native cultures and languages, but to adapt themselves to modern life and improve competitiveness. According to the current research trend in Taiwan, culturally responsive teaching seems to have something to offer.

Culturally Responsive Teaching

Ethnic majorities around the globe learn about the outside world through their own languages and cultures. However, the subjugated ethnic minorities, probably except Maori of New Zealand, are deprived of such autonomy in education. By virtue of cultural difference, indigenous peoples diverge from the mainstream society in, among many other things, language use, cognition and communication style, work pattern, and even moral judgment. Therefore, when indigenous students start school, they have to learn not only whatever is taught but also a new language, value system, and way of thinking and interaction. It turns out that the more Han culture and language they learn, the more they forget their own. Under

such circumstances and out of respect for cultural diversity, Culturally Responsive Teaching (referred to as CRT hereafter) is adopted in some (action) research designs.

Tang and his students explored the learning styles of primary school students from Atayal Tribe and indicated that Atayalian students, influenced by tribal culture, preferred to learn in a relaxing, fun, non-competitive, pressure-free setting, in which they felt much more motivated. In addition, they learned better in hands-on activities rather than from abstract teaching materials. Concrete materials did arouse students' interest and discussion, yet whether they really helped improve learning outcomes remained an open question (Tang 2005). Lee and Lin (2013) examined the different discourse styles between teachers and students from different ethnic backgrounds and their potential influences on students. They proposed that for the advancement of teaching and learning, those teachers who taught students from other ethnic groups instead of their own should take interpersonal accommodation across cultures into account.

CRT calls on educators to value and incorporate student's cultures into teaching and to cater for their learning styles so as to offer more equal opportunities for culturally diverse students to excel academically (Ho and Lin 2006). Inspired by the ideal of CRT (Gay 2000; Ladson-Billings 1995), there have been a large number of CRT studies since 2000, many of which were action researches for better design of curriculum and instruction. For example, in liberal arts, including courses such as indigenous literature, reading, and picture book-based writing for first- and second- graders, it was reported that CRT helped teachers understand student's learning situation and cultural background from a multicultural perspective, and based on which, teachers could develop teaching strategies in reading and writing that accommodated culturally diverse learners (Ho 2007, 2008; Lee and Fan 2013). In science, Chen (2011) developed a program relating indigenous cultures to the current science curriculum and evaluated students' learning outcomes through assessment. The result confirmed the possibility to integrate indigenous wisdom and cultural heritage into science curriculum, and the integration motivated students to explore scientific principles and gain self-confidence thus. Recently, some innovative methods of online teaching that included indigenous cultural resources have been adopted. Lin and Yang (2015) found that prior to online teaching, college student tutors could get to know cultural styles of indigenous students through the interaction on Facebook, and the tutors themselves considered the interaction meaningful and helpful in increasing indigenous students' motivation to learn English and their cross-cultural communication competence as well.

Summary

It is until the 1990s that the indigenous education in Taiwan moved from assimilation to multiculturalism, and the ideation of ethnic equality concomitantly and gradually developed. In the past thirty years, affirmation action policies indeed narrowed the gap between indigenous peoples and other ethnic groups, and the overall educational expansion improved their educational opportunities; however, there is still a difference between them and the Han people when it comes to academic achievement and attainment.

As in the themes/issues of studies on indigenous education in Taiwan, besides the aforementioned stratification studies and some government-commissioned projects, most of the qualitative researches focused on how to revive ethnic and cultural identity. Studies as such reflect and examine the influences of past assimilation policies. The outcomes point to the predicaments of indigenous cultural education. Out of consideration of respect for cultural differences, some began to carry out case study or action research on culturally responsive teaching since 2000. They design curriculum and instruction activities, even online teaching programs. These are great studies, yet, they are at best initiatives of individual scholars, and are hence incomprehensive in scope.

Studies on New Immigrants

In the early 1980s, a large number of Thai and Pilipino brides began to appear in rural villages of Taiwan (Hsia 2000). These marriage immigrants were used to be called 'foreign brides'; however, the term was later avoided for the implication of inferiority it carried and was substituted by terms like 'female foreign spouse', 'new resident' and 'new immigrant'. According to Ministry of Interior statistics (2016), the number of female foreign spouse has increased to almost 500,000, and there are 207,733 children of these new immigrants in primary schools and high schools now. Numbers do not matter, some may say; however, compared with the rapid decline in local primary and secondary student population from 2,783,000 to 1,962,000 during the past decade(Ministry of Education 2016b), it means that about one out of every nine primary/secondary school students is a new immigrant's child. These percentages make them and their issues research-worthy.

It is important to note that 'new immigrants' in this study refers only to female foreign spouses from Southeast Asia and Mainland China (including Hong Kong and Macao). Those from more developed countries, such as the

U.S, Canada and Japan, and male foreign spouses are not included, because there are only a small number of them and they face very different situations from those of the new immigrants. Previous literatures on the education of new immigrants can be divided in two: (1) Qualitative studies of female new immigrants, whose focus among many others are more on issues in literacy; (2) Quantitative studies of the new immigrants' children, with their academic performance as main theme.

Studies of Female New Immigrants

Studies of the new immigrants are mostly qualitative studies, including narrative inquiry, case study, action research, (critical) ethnography, and praxis-oriented research, etc. They are usually small-scale, single-case, with area-dependent results of limited generalizability mostly to the outskirts of agriculture counties, industry counties and metropolitan areas, since a great number of new immigrants inhabit these areas. As far as the researchers are concerned, they are sociologists, social workers, and gender researchers, most of them female. For them, research is not just to describe or to explain a social phenomenon, but to criticize social problems; sometimes, research is praxis, itself being (part of) social movement.

Confusion, uncertainty and bitterness have characterized the lives of the new immigrants, and thus have been the thematic focus of research for decades. Specifically, the researchers unveiled new immigrants' negative life experiences of social exclusion, discrimination (Chu and Sun 2010; Hsia 2005), traumatization by domestic violence, their adaption difficulties, ambiguity of national identity (Hsu and Hsu 2007; Wang 2012) and their worries and fears of parenting after becoming a mother (Hwang et al. 2008). There are, however, other studies that focus more on their positive life experiences such as their joyfulness in receiving literacy programs, and fulfillment / empowerment in social participation (You and Chang 2012). Lately, some researchers began to explore the advantages for the new immigrants to being bilingual and bicultural (Chen 2014; Wang 2011). Among so many research themes, literacy-related issues have always been the focus of research and hence have been studied most thoroughly.

There are two diverging opinions as to whether literacy acts as tool for empowerment (Hsia 2003; You and Chang 2012) or as tool for assimilation (Chang 2003; Chen 2013; Ho 2003). Basically, it may be as Chang (2003) put it, attendance in literacy programs is a way to improve life, yet, there is some price to pay. In the end, one can only self-soothe by considering it better

to be assimilated than isolated. Given the importance and necessity of literacy, suggestions are proposed by many researchers in terms of its content, level, goal, and teachers' professionalism (Chang and Huang 2007; Ho and Chiu 2009; Ko et al. 2015).

Whether these new immigrants are literate or not, the level of their literacy seems to influence their ability to fit in and participate in the mainstream society. Therefore, it is not surprising that literacy programs for them receive so much attention from sociologists, gender researchers, and educators. However, for educators, there is one more reason why they are so concerned; that is, the new immigrants' literacy level matters in parenting. To be more precise, children are more likely to fail in school if their mothers are not literate enough, not to mention stark illiterate.

Studies of New Immigrants' Children

Compared with research on new immigrants, those studies of their children are more often quantitative in nature, including survey, statistical analysis of standardized test scores, and secondary data analysis. One reason may be that the new immigrants (mothers) with limited literacy are less able to fill out survey questionnaires. In that case, researchers have to collect data by listening and speaking, say, conducting interview and focus group. By contrast, in the studies of the children, data can be collected via listening, speaking, reading and writing, depending on the research purposes. Besides, it is easier to access full profile of the children through school than to obtain household registration information of the mothers.

The studies of new immigrants' children cover a wide range of topics, from language development, interpersonal relationship, school adaptation, academic performance, identity formation, to their abilities and talents (Chen 2014; Hsu and Hsu 2007; Huang and Lu 2012; Wu 2009). Among these themes, researchers care more about the issue of academic performance (Hsieh et al. 2015; Lee and Wu 2012; Tao et al. 2015; Wang and Tsai 2008; Wu and Tsai 2014). The researchers are interested in comparing and seeing if difference exists in the academic performance between the new immigrants' children and their peers. The results are inconsistent. Some researchers found no difference between new immigrants' children and other children (Chen 2010; Wu and Tsai 2014). Others noted that students of Mainland Chinese mothers achieved higher than students whose mothers are from Southeast Asia (Wang and Tsai 2008) and that in some learning areas, the

progress of theirs are second to none (Tao et al. 2015), sometimes even better than their local peers (though the difference is not statistically significant, Lee and Wu 2012). These researches provide opportunity for us to reflect whether our long-held imagination of the disadvantaged is in fact biased.

As indicated by previous studies, the lower academic performance of new immigrants' children was to some degree correlated to their mothers' low literacy (Chao et al. 2007; Tsai et al. 2004). However, current researchers challenge the above assumption by arguing, on the basis of their own studies, that it is the low socioeconomic status background or the urban-rural disparity that cause achievement gap (Chen 2010; Hsu and Chiang 2015[15]; Wu and Tsai 2014). We may well say that these studies have shifted from blaming the victim to probing the structural factors that lead to the difference and inequality.

Researchers have begun to notice the heterogeneity among the new immigrants, which is comprehensible, regarding that as the number of studies grows, with accumulated findings and therefore a better understanding, it is a matter of course for researchers to carry out more sophisticated studies. As a result, there are studies of children whose mothers are from a single region or country and studies on the comparison of children whose mothers are of different nationalities (Chao et al. 2007; Wu and Tsai 2014). Most often, the comparative studies focus on the differences between children of Mainland Chinese mothers and those of Southeast Asian mothers (Hsieh et al. 2015). The reason is that the former are considered having very similar language and culture to that of Taiwan; hence, the differences between they and local children are less than that between other new immigrants' children and local children.

Recently, researches started to report 'success' of new immigrants and their children (Wang 2011; Chen 2014). It is encouraging if the success reported is based on empirical evidence. For example, Chen (2014) studied the family of talented students whose mothers are new immigrants and found that if the mothers' natal cultures were not suppressed, the children would have more learning opportunities. There are, so to speak, advantages to being bicultural, one of which is higher academic performance, as shown in Chen's study. However, it would be wrong if the researcher overrated the success just to make his or her study stand out. Therefore, we should be careful when reading researches on successful cases of new immigrants and their children.

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[15] According to Hsu and Chiang (2015), teachers in urban areas found no difference between new immigrants' children and other students in academic performance, while those in rural areas said there was a gap.

Summary

After decades of research, scholars in Taiwan became persuaded by the idea that the predicaments of new immigrants and their children are less the result of their ethnicity/ mixed ethnicities than of the social class backgrounds of their husbands/fathers. Researchers start to employ a lens of intersectionality when it comes to immigrant-related issues. In addition, in line with many other studies of minority groups all over the world, researchers in Taiwan focus on examples that may have been overlooked in the past: success of the disadvantaged. It's not that the inequality has gone, instead, it is here to stay, but focusing solely on the failures helps nothing as it disempowers people. With the above two characteristics of recent new immigrant studies, we may well say that the research traditions regarding ethnic inequality in education in Taiwan have become more robust.

Concluding Remarks

This study introduced the ethnic composition, school system, selection mechanisms, ethnic (education) policies, and empirical studies on educational attainment and achievement among different ethnic groups. Overall, as far as the policy measures are concerned, there were two types of intervention policies by the government to promote equal opportunity of education: the expansion of education system and the implementation of multicultural education. Factors of structure, resource and process which are related to family background do affect educational attainment; however, they are bracketed out of discussion for two reasons. First, some of them are hard to change by forces from outside, such as parents' education level, occupation and wealth. Second, some of them, like parenting styles, parental expectation, and parent-child interaction, though can be changed through moral appeals and gentle persuasion, may take too much time for the improvements, if any, to bring good results to the children.

Regarding education expansion, the quantitative research tradition on social and educational stratification pointed to a hierarchy, be it in occupation or in education, of the four major ethnic groups in Taiwan, and from the top to the bottom are Mainlanders, Hakka, Southern Min and indigenous peoples. However, the gaps in-between have been closing because of the sequential expansion of primary education, secondary education and higher education since 1950s. Recently, no significant differences are found among Han peoples (Mainlanders, Hakka and Southern Min), but indigenous peoples still lag

behind. As reflected in research, the educator-led studies on ethnic education stratification no longer focus on the gap between the four major ethnic groups, but on the differences between Han people and indigenous peoples in educational attainment and achievement, with the related factors included.

If the past experience proved that education expansion contributed to improving the equality of educational opportunity, would it be possible for indigenous peoples in Taiwan to narrow or to eliminate the gap between them and Han people in the next wave of education expansion? Sadly, education expansion in Taiwan seems to be nearing its end. Education in Taiwan has been universalized, since the enrollment rate in each level of education between 1980 and 2015 show an upward trend to a saturation point. Also, according to College Examination and Placement Committee (2016), there were 44,958 candidates attending the Advanced Subjects Test, and the number of students passing the test and getting enrolled was 43,659, making the admission rate as high as 97.11% in 2016. The 'it's easier accepted than rejected by universities' phenomenon, becoming a status quo recently, trigger worries among scholars that 'over-education' as such may deteriorate quality of higher education.[16] Moreover, in the past two decades, the declining birth rate has been influencing Taiwan's education detrimentally. Not only less-competitive schools struggle with the lack of student intake, but those with good reputations too encounter problem of student vacancy. In view of there being more supply than demand, no way was there for the education system to expand further in the future.

Given that the policy concerning the expansion of education structure is out of the question, and that the education equality has been embodied in the increase in 'quantity', the next step may be reforming the educational process and contents to enhance the 'quality'. In that respect, individualized instruction is important, but the effects may be counteracted because of negligence or misunderstanding of students' cultural diversities. It is known that without due recognition of cross-ethnic cultural differences, the privileged people may develop prejudice and discrimination which are repressive and exclusive, while the subjugated minorities feel resentment and dissatisfaction which are withering or reversely, aggressive even. In contradiction and conflict as such, however, able the subordinated individuals are, and however hard they try, they would not be treated equally, to which the predicament of ethnic identity and the dilemma of ethnic education are related, as the qualitative research tradition points out. Therefore, multiculturalism or multicultural education

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[16] An increasing number of researchers in Taiwan are concerned about 'over-education' and one of its consequences; that is, the disparity between education and occupation. Please see Hung et al. (2015), Hwang and Lin (2010), Lin (2010), and Liu and Chen (2004).

that respect, celebrate, and enjoy cultural diversity may play a crucial role, after the education expansion, as a breakthrough point for promoting substantive equality in ethnic education.

Unfortunately, since the concept of multiculturalism emerged and became the guideline in politics and education in Taiwan, no elaborate discussion and examination have been carried out; consequently, its implementation has been flawed. First of all, in the argumentation of the concept (Chang 2007), cultural diversity and cultural differences were stuck to as a non-challengeable totem of political correctness. People are in a hurry chiming in with the incomplete and biased conceptualization of multiculturalism, usually with a smattering knowledge of its logics. As a result, the ethnic minorities sometimes overemphasize 'their culture' and 'their tradition' to the degree of exclusive ethnocentrism and thus narrow the concept. By contrast, political and educational discourses sometimes inflate the concept to the inclusion of all the repressed and deprived, for instance, women, underdogs and people with special needs, as if they were ethnic minorities with cultural differences and by doing so loose the concept. Narrow or loose, neither would be of help in the praxis of multicultural education.

Secondly, in the implementation of policy (Chang 2014), it is true that our government has taken a lot of measures, such as teaching native languages in schools, compiling ethnic culture readers, establishing Hakka and Indigenous TV stations and so on. Nevertheless, when it comes to policy effects, most of them are to encourage and fortify cultural identity of the ethnic minorities, with only very few promoting across-ethnic interaction, understanding, respect and appreciation. The result is that multicultural education seems to be a business of ethnic minorities themselves, and none of the majorities'. Moreover, these measures do not help much in improving academic failure and school dropout of indigenous students. Although there is an obvious rise on the years of education they received, thanks to the sequential education expansions, the overall competitiveness of indigenous peoples in education still dragged behind the mainstream society.

In pursuit of better ethnic relation and education achievement of indigenous students, recent studies, as the qualitative research tradition shows, have focused on the practices of CRT and produced some outcomes worth following up. If CRT strategies are truly beneficial to the realization of the twofold goals of multicultural education: promoting ethnic relations and enhancing academic performance, and do not confine the ethnic minority students to the familiarity with learning styles stemming only from their own cultures and thus in turn result in the negligence of other competences needed in the society, then scattered, short-term and partial researches conducted recently

by a few scholars would not be sufficient. That considered, for furthering substantive equality of ethnic education, policy planning and programming should be devoted to long-term, comprehensive, and even experimental studies on CRT, and set up a nationwide database, with timely renewal, providing reference for academic research and policy making. Besides, for better understanding of the experiences of discrimination among minority students individually or institutionally, more in-depth research is needed.

Finally, in the third research tradition, we come across very different scenarios. The good times and bad times the new immigrant mothers have been through are probably related more to transculturalism than to multiculturalism. For the children, their school adaptation may be influenced more by social class status and the urban-rural gap rather than cultural diversity. To conclude, the current study would like to make two additional suggestions for the ethnic education policy making in Taiwan. First, the past researches and policies that dealt with ethnic relations in the light of a within-nation multiculturalism are falling short, because the worldwide trend of globalization has been creating a rising number of cross-nation migrations. More open-minded, constructive and dialectic discussions on transculturalism and transnationalism must be made. Second, policy studies on multiculturalism within a single country should not overlook, dilute or make invisible the economic and regional differences. The effects of social class and the urban-rural gap on students' learning opportunities may be no less, if not more, than those of cross-ethnic cultural differences. The intricate relations in-between is far beyond the reach of any single factor, be it cultural, economic, or regional. With a simultaneous (or even prior) improvement of the livelihoods of ethnic minorities, policies that enhance educational effectiveness will too prop their grit, and help them advance on the road of keen competition, composed.

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25

Turkey: Silencing Ethnic Inequalities Under a Carpet of Nationalism Shifting Between Secular and Religious Poles

Gülseli Baysu and Orhan Agirdag

Introduction

This review aims to provide an overview of the educational system and its recent changes as well as an overview of the research on ethnic inequality in education in Turkey. A major challenge in doing this is the fact that ethnicity and ethnic differences were a taboo topic in Turkey until recently, and actually, it is still a taboo topic to some extent even in academic circles (Somer 2002). For instance, the last time that national data on ethnicity were collected was in 1965, in the Population Census, that included a question on mother tongue (Koc et al. 2008). Hence, it is hard to identify different lines of research, like in France and the French speaking part of Belgium (e.g. this volume). Still, a body of literature that uses satisfactory proxies for ethnicity emerged, which provide a good overview of ethnic differences in education.

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The chapter is divided into five main parts. After this introduction, we will describe the main characteristics of the educational system and policies in Turkey and the history of ethnic and immigration related issues. The third part describes the methods we used in the process of conducting this literature review. In the fourth part, research conducted in Turkey on the relationship between ethnicity and educational inequality is analyzed in terms of regional, linguistic and religious differences. Finally, the conclusion and discussion section summarizes and critically analyzes the main challenges in the literature and the educational system in Turkey.

Education, Migration and Ethnic Diversity in Turkey

Educational System

The Turkish Republic was established in 1923 out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire and produced profound social, economic, political and cultural changes to create a new nation-state based on single national culture (Turks) and a single language (Turkish) with the ideals of secularism and nationalism (Arat 1998). The foundation of the 'secular' modern educational system was key to these changes (Toprak 2005). Therefore, a unified and centralized educational system was adopted in 1924: All educational institutions were brought under the Ministry of National Education. The aim was to abolish the duality between religious and secular education in favor of the national and secular education system, fashioned on the Western European model (Gök 2007). The years between 1923 and 1946 are called the mono-party period in Turkey when the country was governed by The Republican People's Party, founded by Kemal Atatürk. Educational policies of the era were based on political socialization to these new social, political and cultural values (Gök 2007).

In terms of the educational structure, a 5+3+3 structure was adopted in the education system until 1997, with 5 years of compulsory primary school, followed by 3 years of elementary school (lower secondary education) and 3 years of high school (upper secondary education). Although extending the compulsory education to 8 years was on the political agenda since the 1970s, it was only in 1997 when a new structure was adopted in the education system with a comprehensive and compulsory 8-year primary school education, followed by 3–4 years of high school. In 2012, a new 4+4+4 structure in the education

system has been enacted, and the period of compulsory education has been extended to 12 years, divided into three sections: 4 years of primary school, 4 years of elementary school and 4 years of high school. The school starting age has also changed from 69–80 months to 60–66 months (ERG 2012; Gök 2007; Gün and Baskan 2014).

We will now describe in details the current educational system (see Fig. 25.1). Preschool education for children lasts generally 2 years between the ages of 3 to 5 years and is covered by independent kindergartens, nursery classes within a primary education school or practice classes affiliated to other related education institutions (MoNe 2015). Nursery classes within a primary education school are public, while the rest of the preschool education is private. During the eight-year compulsory primary education system, there has been an increase in preschool education rates. Accordingly, research indicates that the percentage of Turkish students who attended preschool slightly increased between 2003 and 2012. Still, in 2012, Turkey had the lowest rate of preschool attendance among the 68 countries that participated in the PISA study. Only 8% of Turkish students attended more than one year of preschool, while the average in other countries is 67%. And only 30% of Turkish students attended 'some' preschool, while the average in other countries is 89% (Agirdag et al. 2015). Comparing 2012–2013 to 2014–2015, there has been only a small increase (12%) in the number of students enrolled in preschool from 1,077,933 students in 5018 schools to 1,209,106 students in 6788 schools (MoNe 2013, 2015).

Primary education is the same for all pupils and takes four years. Primary education can be public or private. Elementary schools also last four years and there are currently two types of elementary schools, general and Imam Hatip religious elementary schools. General elementary schools can be public or private. As for high schools, there are two broad categories, each with several types: General high schools (Regular High School, Anatolian High School, Anatolian Teacher Training High School, Science High School, Social Sciences High School, Fine Arts and Sports High School, Private High Schools) and Vocational and Technical High Schools (Imam Hatip Religious High School, Anatolian Imam Hatip Religious High School, Vocational and Technical High Schools, Private Vocational High Schools) (MONE 2015).

The curricula of all the public and private schools are being prepared centrally by the related units of the Ministry of Education. "Anatolian" high schools and Science High Schools combine a one-year long English language education and a 4-year general academic education that prepares for university, and they provide "better" education than general secondary schools (In the
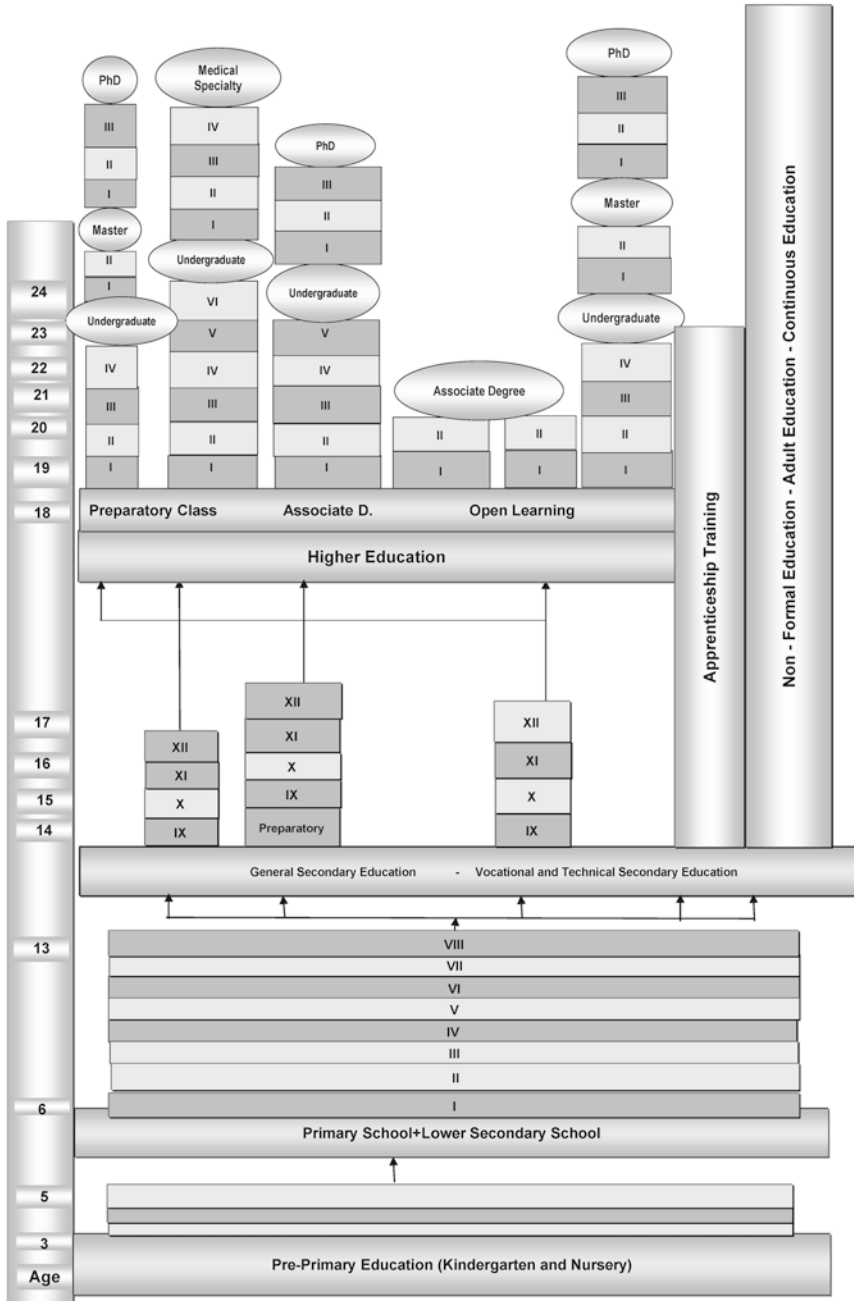
Fig. 25.1 Turkish National Education System. (Adapted from MoNE 2015)

past, there were also so-called "super schools" with the same function) (Gök 2007). With the adoption of the new educational system, regular high schools have been converted to Anatolian, Vocational or Imam Hatip High Schools. Vocational schools prepare for both higher education and labor market.

Imam Hatip Religious Schools were originally established to raise preachers but currently they have become religiously-oriented general elementary and high schools that prepare for university. In addition to regular curriculum of general high schools, they learn skills and knowledge that prepare them for being clergymen. The religious subjects that make up roughly 40 percent of the curriculum include Quran, Arabic, Tafseer (Quranic exegesis), Hadith (Prophetical traditions), Qalaam (Islamic Theology), Fıqh (Islamic Jurisprudence), Seerah (Prophetical biography), Rhetoric, and Comparative History of Religions (Aşlamacı and Kaymakcan 2017).

Higher education includes all the educational institutions which are based on secondary education, and which provide at least two years of higher education. Higher education consists of universities (generally 4 years or 5 years including one-year long English language education), conservatories (4 years), colleges and vocational colleges (2 years) and private universities (4 years or 5 years including one-year long English language education).

Beginning from preschool education, students can attend public or private schools at all levels. Although the education quality varies to great extent in these private schools, these schools provides intensive teaching of at least one foreign language, usually English, in contrast to most public schools (except for Anatolian high schools). There are also foreign and minority private schools. Foreign schools are private high schools founded by foreigners, like American, French or German schools, where both Turkish citizens and foreigners can attend. Minority Schools provide education at all levels and are founded by Greek, Armenian and Jewish minorities—secured with the Treaty of Lausanne. Only the students who are citizens of Republic of Turkey and who belong to those minorities can attend these schools (MONE 2015).

There are also open elementary and high schools. Open elementary schools provide distance education to those graduates of primary school who are at least 14 years old but could not attend to elementary school. Open high schools also provide distance education to those who drop-out from other types of high schools or for those who cannot go to school regularly (MONE 2015). With the 4+4+4 structure in education, an increase has been observed in the percentage of students enrolled in open high schools (63% increase compared to the academic year 2011–2012) (Eğitimsen 2016).

The Turkish educational system employs several centralized examinations to allocate students into different types of education, schools, or study areas.

The two main types of examination are for entry to secondary education (elementary or high school) and to university. The exact content, timing, and the number of these exams have changed from time to time, depending on the changes in the educational system. When the educational system adopted a 5+3+3 system, many selective schools (such as Anatolian high schools and some private schools) had a combined secondary school education including elementary and high school education. Students who wanted to study in these selective schools had to take a centralized examination at the end of primary school (that is, after 5 years of schooling). When the system changed to a comprehensive 8-year compulsory education, students had to take the central examination after 8 years of schooling and the combined secondary education was cancelled. With the recent change to the 4+4+4 structure, now every student has to take the exam (or more precisely, the series of exams in several topics) at the end of elementary school (after 8 years of schooling) and students are oriented towards different types of schools depending on their choice and their performance in these exams. Just very recently as of September 2017, the president has announced that this exam should be abolished, and the Ministry of Education has confirmed that there will be no centralized exam as of this year. However, it is unclear at the moment how the students are going to be oriented towards different types of high schools. The university entrance examination has also changed in content and structure several times (shifting between one to two-stage exams). The examination has several topics such as math, science, Turkish language, history, foreign languages, and students are required to answer the questions in the areas that are essential for their choice of education.

Educational Policies

There are two general trends that can be observed in the changes in the Turkish educational system: increasing religiosity and neoliberalism (Altınyelken et al. 2015). Increasing religiosity in the school system should be understood in light of the duality and the struggle between secular and conservative-religious groups which has remained at heart of the Turkish society and politics. Issues such as the so called Imam Hatip religious schools, the extent and content of religion in the curriculum of regular schools or the use of headscarf by students and/or teachers in schools have been areas of political struggle (Toprak 2005). With the rise of the conservative Justice and Development Party (AKP), which arose from moderate Islam in Turkish politics, the conservative religious elites that have been pushed out of political power struggles regained

strength (Toprak 2005). The educational system has become vital to the societal transformations that AKP regime foresaw for the Turkish Republic. Educational policies have therefore incorporated several reforms in favor of conservative religious agenda (Altınyelken et al. 2015).

A case in point is the case of Imam Hatip religious schools. In 1924, five years of primary school was made free and compulsory and religious schools were abolished. In 1950s, religious Imam Hatip schools were opened. In 1970s, the elementary level religious schools were closed and then reopened. In 1997, when the compulsory education became comprehensive 8 years, the elementary level of Imam Hatip religious schools was closed again. In 2002, the change in the structure of the system (4+4+4) allowed for the establishment of Imam Hatip elementary schools once again. With lower starting age to the school, the children, who graduated from primary school, are able to continue to these schools to have religious education at the ages of 9–10 (Altınyelken et al. 2015; Gün and Baskan 2014; Köseleci 2015). Just like the structural changes in the education system, the terms of the university entrance examination have been an arena of political struggle between secularists and conservatives. Graduates of religious Imam Hatip schools were permitted to study only in theology departments at university in 1950s; then in 1974, they were allowed to study at any department; in 1999 the rules changed again so that they became subject to a lower coefficient in the examination, which created a competitive disadvantage; finally, in 2009, they were again allowed to study at any department with lifting of this coefficient (Altınyelken et al. 2015).

One of the most noteworthy results of 4+4+4 structure in education system has been the significant increase in the number of Imam Hatip schools both at the elementary and high school levels (ERG 2012). 1099 Imam Hatip elementary schools were opened in 2012–2013 and this number increased to 1961 schools in 2015–2016, and continued to increase to 2.777 schools in 2016–2017; in parallel, the number of students enrolled in such schools increased seven times. Similarly, the number of students in Imam Hatip high schools increased from 381,771 students in 708 schools in 2012–2013 to 555,870 students in 1149 schools in 2015–2016 and to 634,406 students in 1408 schools in 2016–2017 (Eğitimsen 2016, 2017). Adding "open" Imam Hatip high schools to these numbers, 15% of high school students in Turkey are now enrolled in Imam Hatip high schools (Eğitimsen 2016).

A following change was the increase of religious elective courses in regular elementary schools such as the courses on The Quran, Prophet Muhammad's life and Fundamentals of Religion. Although in theory students can choose from a larger number of elective courses, due to physical environment and/or

limited human resources, research suggests, that the elective religion courses became "compulsory" in the sense that either the alternative elective courses were not offered or students were feeling pressured to select these courses by other students and/or their parents (ERG 2012; Gün and Baskan 2014).

After the attempted military coup of July 2016, there have been further changes in the educational policies towards a conservative religious agenda. Turkey has been under the state of emergency since July 2016; and several decrees under the state of emergency have been declared including the ones that directly affect the education system. While there is no peer-reviewed research available on the current changes, Eğitimsen (Education and Science Workers' Union) (2017) has recently published a report. Accordingly, 33,128 teachers, 5318 academics and 1194 administrative personnel who work in schools under the National Ministry Education have been fired and many others have been suspended from their works. There have been several changes in the curriculum, towards further encouraging a "religious and nationalist" mind-set, with its emphasis on "Turkishness" and Sunni Islam (Eğitimsen 2017). The news that the concept of jihad has been introduced into the curriculum and evolution has been removed from science classes has attracted worldwide attention (Altuntaş, 18.09.2017, BBCnews).

The other major change in the educational policies has been towards neo-liberal policies. The provision of free education at all levels was recognized as the responsibility of the state, therefore most schools were state-funded (Gök 2007). In the post-1980 era, the way the state has approached education shifted towards reducing government spending and encouraging privatization. For instance, private universities were already supported by government policies via tax concessions and land grants. The Justice and Development Party supported the neo-liberalization of education further, for instance, with the use of public funds to support private schools at both primary and secondary education levels. Accordingly, while there were only 93 private (primary or secondary) schools in 1932, their number increased to 240 in 1965, and to 1129 by 2001, to 1378 in 2005 (Gök 2007). In 2011–2012, there were 4664 private schools making up 10% of the schools and this percentage jumped to 18.5 in 2015–2016 (Eğitimsen 2016).

In addition to privatization and reducing the state expenditures on education, neo-liberal policies require restructuring of the education system by increasing effectiveness, efficiency and accountability. Thus, performance evaluation indicators for teachers and academics along with standardized competitive tests for students are valued more in neo-liberalism (Buyruk 2015; Polat 2013). While schools and teachers in Turkey are not systematically evaluated with standardized test, there is enormous focus on

standardized testing. More specifically, transitions of students between stages from primary to higher education are based on standardized and centralized tests as explained under the section on Educational System. Preparing students for these tests has become a major industry, together with private institutions specialized in intensive revision courses for these exams. The number of such private courses showed a dramatic increase under the Justice and Development Party rule (Buyruk 2015). Reliance on these private courses for entrance into selective schools further deepens the education inequality in society (Polat 2013).

What remains unchanged throughout all these changes is that the Turkish education system is highly centralized. This is partly in contrast with neo-liberal developments in many industrialized countries where decentralization is core element of reforms (Hood 1995). In Turkey, all educational policies including curriculum development and assignment of teachers and administrators are formulated by the Ministry of National Education since 1924. This hyper centralized system makes it possible to foster another prominent feature of the educational system, that is, nationalism and the assimilationist pressures towards the Turkish culture and language. Turkey has historically been characterized by the denial of the diversity of its population. The education system thus has a mono-typical and mono-cultural structure, and mostly excludes religious, cultural, and ethnolinguistic differences (Çelik et al. 2017; Kaya 2009, 2015a). For instance, an analysis of several school text books in 2012–2013 academic year demonstrates the they promote an ethno-religious national identity (Cayır 2014, also see Dogan and Haser 2014). Despite these assimilationist pressures, the right to education in mother tongue has been expressed by different minorities, particularly by Kurds as the largest ethnic minority group in Turkey (Coskun et al. 2010). There have been some changes with the introduction of language rights to Kurdish minorities in the educational system, which could be considered as a step towards a multicultural education (Çelik et al. 2017). However, the future of these language rights are currently unknown with the escalation of the Kurdish conflict and the end of peace talks, as we will discuss in details in the section on Ethnicity and Educational Inequality.

Increasing privatization of education, struggle and duality in the educational policies between religious and secular poles, along with persistent centralization and monoculturalism inherent in the educational policies, have not helped to improve the quality of education in Turkey, as we will be discussing in the following sections. Education inequalities based on class, region, sex and ethnic groups have been reproduced. At the same time, performance of Turkey across several countries in tests such as PISA and TMISS has remained well below the average (ERG 2014).

Migration & Ethnic Diversity in Turkey[1]

Migration

Turkey was until recently not considered a country of *im*migration, but rather a country of *e*migration, with large numbers of citizens of Turkey emigrating to West-European countries, in particular after 1960s and 70s to fill up the European shortage of workforce. By the early 2000s, there were more than 3 million Turkish citizens in Europe (İçduygu 2004). This emigration movement explains the existence of the large literature on Turks living in various European countries and Turkish pupils in European schools (e.g. Agirdag 2010; Stevens 2008).

The recent Syrian civil war fundamentally changed this picture with large number of Syrian refugees settling in Turkey. According to the UN Refugee Agency, on 8 December 2016 there were 2,791,250 Syrian refugees registered in Turkey. 36.7% of the registered refugees are school-aged children (UNHCR 2016). Currently, these refugee children and their families face many challenges at school and their integration into the education system does not go straightforward (Seker and Sirkeci 2015).

In contrast with cross-border migration, Turkey is a country that has experienced an intense degree of both rural-to-urban and inter-regional *internal* migration. Many poor internal migrants tend to settle in the so-called *gecekondu* areas in inner-city neighborhoods. This internal migration move partly overlaps with ethnic differences, as many of the internal immigrants coming from the eastern parts of the country are ethnic Kurds, as we explain in details in the next section. Schools in the urban internal immigration areas are impacted by this unplanned internal migration. Many of them face poor school quality, low academic achievement of students, intercultural issues related to the ethnically diverse student bodies (Akar 2010).

Ethnicity

As noted in the introduction section, ethnic differences were a taboo topic in Turkey until recently, considered a sensitive subject, and it is still a taboo topic to some extent, even in academic circles (Somer 2002). The last time

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[1] In Turkey, as it will be explained in details throughout the chapter, it is not possible to find official statistics about the size of different ethnic and religious minorities. The population census does not ask questions about ethnicity, religion or denomination.

that national data on ethnicity were collected was in 1965, in the Population Census, that included a question on mother tongue (Koc et al. 2008). As such, currently, there are no official statistics on ethnicity, and according to article 66 of the Turkish Constitution "*anyone who is bound to the Turkish state through the bond of citizenship*" is a Turk. As such, it is not easy to find reliable data on the ethnic mix of the population. However, there are different estimates, and they point at the same direction. Data from the 2003 Turkish Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS)[2] estimate that 83% of the population of Turkey are Turkish-speaking, 14% are Kurdish-speaking, 2% are Arabic-speaking and the remaining 1% belong to other language groups. Although there has been a massive movement of the Kurdish population towards the western and southern provinces of Turkey due to internal migration, still a great majority of the Kurdish population (69%) live in the eastern part of the county. Analysis with the TDHS-data also shows that despite intensive internal migration movements in the last 50 years, large inequalities exist between Turkish and Kurdish-speaking populations, both in the East and west of the country, and that there is almost no convergence between both groups, as we discuss in more detail in the section on Ethnicity and Educational Inequality in Turkey (Koc et al. 2008).

Moreover, it is necessary to note that since the foundation of the Republic and based on the Treaty of Lausanne only certain religious minority groups have been considered legally-accepted minorities in Turkey. Historically, therefore, the right to receive an education in one's mother tongue, other than Turkish, was only allowed for Armenian, Greek and Jewish minorities of Turkey, who make up less than 1% of the current population (Kaya 2009, 2015b). There are also historically private "foreign" schools, such as German, French and American schools. These are owned and managed by non-Turkish citizens. Moreover, there are private or public schools and universities to teach in languages such as English, French, German and Italian, while Kurds, as one of the largest ethnic minority in Turkey, and many other minorities, have long been not entitled to open or manage schools teaching in their mother tongues (Kaya 2009).

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[2] Turkish Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS), conducted every 5 years by the Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, is a nationally representative survey and it is one of the largest datasets available to study social disparities in educational outcomes, although the main focus of this survey is on reproductive health. Moreover, it does not directly ask ethnicity, however questions regarding language spoken at home and the language of the survey can be used to determine linguistic minorities. More information about these surveys can be found in their reports: http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/eng/population_survey.shtml.

Methods

Our review focused on the published, peer-reviewed studies and official reports that focused on the relationship between ethnicity and educational outcomes in Turkey. To assure the quality of the discussed studies, different processes of sampling were used. First, we searched through specific Turkish database, ULAKBIM (i.e. the National Academic Network and Information Center), the Turkish Social Science Citation Index and theses since 1980 for the keywords: educational system, school success, university entrance exam with minority, immigrant, Kurd, region, East. It should be noted that there was not a single article about the educational success of Kurds, immigrants or minorities (which reflects the above described sociopolitical situation in which ethnic difference remains a 'sensitive' topic) and there were only three theses, two on immigrants and one about the Kurdish minorities. Second, we searched through international bibliographical databases Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and Ebscohost for the period between 1980 and 2017 for the keywords: Kurd, Turkey, education, school enrollment, school, performance, and achievement, Minority, Turkish Demographic and Health Survey. This resulted in various studies that focused on Turkish minorities living abroad. However, we excluded these studies, as the focus of this review is on Turkey. Third, a recently published special issue of *Comparative Education* that focused on recent developments in the Turkish educational system was used as a central publication (see Altinyelken et al. 2015). The different contributions in this special issue were taken as a starting point to further draw a snowball sample studies on the topic of ethnicity and educational inequality in Turkey.

Applying this sampling frame, we distinguished the following research traditions: studies focusing (1) on regional differences, (2) on linguistic differences and (3) on religious differences. These research traditions are explored in the next paragraphs. Additionally, we did few primary analyses with the PISA 2015 data.

Ethnicity and Educational Inequality in Turkey

Regional Differences

Ethnicity and ethnic inequalities have been a taboo topic in public discourse in Turkey. Still, a political arithmetic tradition that relies on large-scale reports of educational outcomes without giving much theoretical background

(Stevens 2007) can be distinguished. From this perspective, reports and official statistics from the MoNE (Ministry of National Education), national central selection/placement exams, and recently from international assessments such as PISA have been used to explore social disparities in education. However, the focus has been mainly on 'regional' differences rather than ethnic differences. The focus on regional disparities is informative as earlier research shows the different ethnic structures of Turkey's administrative regions (Icduygu et al. 1999). An analysis of Demographic and Health Survey in 1993 and 1998 (Kırdar 2009) for instance, shows that around 70% of Kurdish children, 35% of Arabic children and only 10% of Turkish children reside in the Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia regions.

School enrollment varies significantly across regions (MoNE 2013). According to the data by MONE (2014, 2015), the net enrollment rates in lower secondary education in the year 2013/2014 and in the year 2014–2015 were around 85% in the eastern cities of Hakkari and Van compared to 96% in the western cities of İzmir, Kocaeli and Manisa. The differences are even higher in the enrollment rates in high school with around 86% in the same western cities and 58% in the same eastern cities. The highest rates of enrollment in high school are around 95% in western provinces of Eskişehir, Bolu, Isparta and the lowest rates are around 47% in eastern provinces of Muş and Ağrı. The cities in the Black Sea Region such as Rize, Trabzon, Amasya are also doing well with more than 90% enrollment rates (MONE 2015).

These results are in line with the results of national selection exams, such as the secondary school selection and university entrance exams (Berberoğlu and Kalender 2005; Sarier 2010). Students in the two eastern regions are significantly less successful in nationwide university entrance exams compared to all the other regions (Şahin and Gülmez 2000; Çetingül and Dülger 2006). A study by Şahin et al. (2012) comparing regional disparities in university entrance exams from 2003 to 2010 not only confirms the regional gap between the two eastern regions and the western regions but also shows that regional disparities increased from 2003 to 2010. Similar regional differences also exist in rates of absenteeism, drop-out, grade-retention (MoNE 2013).

Regional disparities have also been noted in international assessments such as PISA and TIMMS. For instance, Gümüs and Atalmıs (2012) investigated the achievement gaps between students who reside in different regions in Turkey in PISA assessments of 2003 and 2009. They found that while Marmara, Aegean, and Central Anatolia regions had the highest average scores in these assessments, two eastern regions, Eastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia, had the lowest average scores. While regional differences in student achievement decreased from 2003 to 2009 PISA scores, the gaps have not

completely disappeared. Moreover, the students' math achievements in Eastern Anatolia and in Southeastern Anatolia were statistically lower than all other regions not only in PISA 2003 but also in PISA 2009 (for PISA 2006, see Alacacı and Erbaş 2010; for TIMSS 2007, see Erberber 2009; for TIMSS 2011, see ERG 2014).

To sum up, several studies across time using several measures of educational success confirm the existence of regional disparities between the western and eastern regions of Turkey where the large majority of the population are from Kurdish decent (Oyvat and Tekgüç 2017). Although looking at regional disparities is somehow informative, regional disparities co-vary with disparities in socioeconomic and language background (ERG 2014). Eastern regions are underdeveloped socio-economically. These provinces receive less spending per student compared to the students in the other provinces (Alacacı and Erbaş 2010; MoNE 2013). Particularly the southeastern region is also disadvantaged in terms of class size (38 in the Southeast region vs. 31 average in Turkey), student per teacher rates (21 in the Southeast region vs. 16 average in Turkey) and the percent of inexperienced teachers (up to 90% in some cities) (MoNE 2013). As for language background, the very large majority of non-Turkish speaking individuals are Kurdish and Arabic women, who live in Eastern regions of Turkey. The data indicate that of the married women aged 15–49 in Turkey, about 4 per cent, or one in 25, is not able to speak Turkish (Smits and Hoşgör 2003). Therefore, it is hard to disentangle ethnic, language, socio-economic differences in educational outcomes by only looking at regional differences. The next section focuses on ethnic and language differences in educational outcomes in more detail.

Linguistic Differences

In the absence of direct data about ethnicity, language background could be regarded as a proxy for ethnicity. As such, there are many studies that use language background as an indication of the ethnic background. Kurdish and Arabic minorities have acquired some language rights in education. In 2012 with the 4+4+4 structure in the education system, "Living Languages and Dialects" is defined as one of the electives to be offered as of grade 5. In the 2012–13 academic year, elective courses in the Kurmanji and Zaza dialects of Kurdish, and in the Circassian languages of Adyghe and Abaza, began to be taught (Laz and Georgian courses followed). While 28,587 students took these lessons in 2012–13, and this number increased to 83,344 in 2014–15. These elective courses were mostly offered in the east and southeast cities such

as Diyarbakir, Mardin, Batman, Muş (MoNe 2015; Kaya 2015b). One of the biggest challenges is finding qualified teachers for these classes, as language and literature departments for ethnic languages are offered in few departments at universities. For instance, Kurdish language and literature department is established only in three universities (out of 179 universities in Turkey). Lack of budget for the preparation of textbooks and course materials for these language courses is another problem. In 2014, this right to mother-tongue education was extended to other minorities so that citizens can found private schools with the aim of providing education in various languages and dialects that they traditionally use in their daily lives. Since then, three private Kurdish primary schools were established, although they were closed down by the state and re-opened several times (Kaya 2015b). However, current political revival of Turkish nationalism makes the future of these minority language rights are uncertain.

Turkish Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS) of 1993 and 1998 provides information about differences in educational attainment for linguistic minorities (we have not found similar analyses on most recent data, 2013, but see Kusadokoro and Hasegawa 2017). The data have two language questions that are used to define ethnic minorities: whether the interview is conducted in a different language and whether the mother tongue is different from Turkish. The 1993 survey data revealed that only half of Kurdish participants completed primary school, although primary school education is compulsory. Especially in the southeastern region, almost half of the Kurdish participants received no formal schooling at all (İçduygu et al. 1999). Using the 1998 survey data, Smits and Hosgör (2006) investigate both regional and linguistic differences in primary and secondary school enrollment rates. While in the Western regions, primary school non-enrollment was only a few percent, in the Eastern region, non-enrollment in primary education was still as high as 31.9%. Looking at what distinguishes the children out of school from those who are enrolled, they found that mothers' lack of education, living in the east and mothers' inability to speak Turkish were all influential factors. Similarly, mothers' ability to speak Turkish was found to be an important predictor of school enrollment in 2008 data (Gümüş 2014).

Using surveys in 1993 and 1998, Kırdar (2009) investigated the reasons for the ethnic gap in enrollment rates as well as those in drop-out. Among the 8–15 years old, Kurdish speaking (29%) and Arabic speaking children (28%) were found to be twice as likely to be not enrolled in school compared ethnic Turkish kids (15%). Looking at the parental education levels, fewer Turkish mothers were illiterate (35%) compared to Kurdish (90%) and Arabic mothers (71%). Similarly, Turkish fathers had longer years of schooling (6.3)

compared to Kurdish (3.9) and Arabic fathers (5.1). A combination of regional characteristics (east-west as well as urban-rural), family level characteristics (such as parental education and wealth) and the mother's level of Turkish proficiency all contributed to the ethnic gap in education outcomes. The gap also varied according to gender such that the gap in non-enrollment rates between Turkish speaking children and minority groups were higher among girls than boys and that the predictors explained away the gap for boys but not for the girls.

There are also few studies using non-representative samples that focus on linguistic differences. One study (Goksen and Cemalcılar 2010) investigated internal immigration to big cities in Turkey and found that dropouts were more likely to be coming from large households where the main language spoken at home was a language other than Turkish, dropouts' mothers were more likely to be illiterate, and their fathers were less likely to have stable jobs. Another study (Polat and Shallert 2013) investigated predictors of native-like Turkish accent among elementary and high school students of Kurdish origin who mainly spoke Kurdish at home. Accordingly, identification with Turkish-speaking community and understanding the importance of learning Turkish as an external motivation predicted more native-like Turkish speaking, while identification with Kurdish speaking community was negatively related to native-like accent. Aksu-Koç et al.'s (2002) study was carried out among primary school children in three big cities (Istanbul, Diyarbakır and Van). The teachers stated that Turkish linguistic skills of students who spoke a first language other than Turkish were very low. Additionally, uneducated mothers and lack of early childhood education services contributed negatively to the level of linguistic development of children (Aksu-Koç et al. 2002).

With the beginning of the new century, Turkey participated in different international studies on student achievement such as PISA and TIMSS. As these data are open to researchers, many researchers started to examine ethnic differences in Turkey through available variables such as language background (e.g. Köseleci 2015; Ozdemir 2016). The international TIMSS 2011 data also show that there is a *large* achievement gap in math performance between pupils who speak Turkish at home and those who speak another language. This achievement gap is visible in all regions of Turkey (ERG 2014). Our own analyses with the just recently released PISA 2015 data (see Table 25.1), confirms this. There is a wide gross achievement gap (around half of a standard deviation) between linguistic minorities and pupils who speak Turkish at home, for math, reading and science. After controlling for differences in socioeconomic status (SES), the gap narrows considerably, but the disparity between both groups remains statistically significant.

Table 25.1 Achievement gap according to home language background in PISA 2015

	Math	Reading	Science
Gross home language gap	49	43	45
SES controlled home language gap	19	19	17

Note: All differences are statistically significant at $p < 0.001$

To sum up, there is a growing line of research on the ethnic gap in educational outcomes that use linguistic differences to identify different linguistic minority groups, largest being the Kurdish minorities. Using language spoken at home or first language to identify minorities has its own limitations such as failing to include minorities based on other criteria than language or those minorities who cannot or don't prefer to speak another language than Turkish at home. Still, this line of research is important in helping us understand the factors behind disparities in educational outcomes in Turkey. The existing research shows that the intersection of several factors, or rather, cross-cutting disadvantages contribute to the ethnic gap. We still need more research on how regional differences, parental background (Turkish proficiency and years of education), gender and a combination of these factors contribute to the ethnic gap in educational outcomes of linguistic minorities.

Religious Differences

There has been a compulsory religion course in primary and elementary schools since 1983, that mainly teaches the Sunni denomination of Islam—which is the dominant denomination of Islam in Turkey. Only children of legally-accepted religious minorities can be exempted from the course. All others such as Alevi's[3]—a liberal section of Islam—, those from other religions such as Buddhism or atheists and deists are not exempted from this course (Kaya 2015b). Even then, separating students into those who attend the religious lessons and those who don't may lead to the exposure of non-Muslim children, who may suffer exclusion. Moreover, content analyses of these textbooks suggest that they are one-sided and negative towards other faiths (Çayır 2014). For instance, expressions such as "our religion" "our holy book Quran" and "our prophet" are used frequently, with the assumption that everyone has

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[3] Sunnism is the dominant denomination of Islam endorsed by the majority of the Turkish population. Alevism is a more liberal and left-leaning orientation of Islam endorsed by a minority of the Turkish Population. They are officially considered not as a denomination of Islam but rather as a folkloric tradition in Turkey. However, it should also be noted that no official statistics are kept regarding the size of different groups. The most common estimate of Alevis is around 15%, with a range from 3% (self-identification) to 19% (religiously significant figures measured) (Carkoglu 2005).

the same belief. Other religions and beliefs are judged from a Sunni Islamic perspective and placed in a certain hierarchy (ERG 2011). Moreover, the centralized exam for entry into secondary school includes questions based on the obligatory religion course, which does create a competitive disadvantage for students exempt from this course (Kaya 2015b).

Moreover, cases of harassment against minorities (even by teachers), such as letting them sit at the back of the class or name-calling and bulling by other children are prevalent and not governed or punished by the school policies (see Kaya 2009, 2015b for a report of in-depth interviews with minority members, experts, NGOs, school directors, teachers, students and their parents in several big cities).

With increasing religiosity in the educational system, religion-based inequalities have also increased. The new elective courses about Islam (Islam) were sometimes the only available choice for students. Moreover, the number of Imam Hatip schools both at the elementary and high school levels have increased by transforming the neighborhood schools into Imam Hatip religious schools. There are concerns that a significant number of poor and disadvantaged children have been forced to study at Imam Hatip schools either because the school in their neighborhood has been transformed into such a school or due to their low score on the high school entrance exam (for instance, Roma children, Kaya 2015b). As far as we know, there are no data and studies available on the educational enrollment, achievement or attainment disparities between different religious groups.

In sum, there is few research evidence regarding the educational outcomes of religious minorities, even fewer than those focusing on linguistic minorities. The existing research consists of either textbook analyses or the disadvantages created by the centralized curriculum and compulsory religion courses, and few reports exist on the harassment or discrimination faced by these minority groups. Given that official statistics are missing about the largest religious minority group in Turkey, Alevis, it is even harder to study their educational outcomes. Still, this research suggests that the centralized and ethno-religious character of the Turkish education system which promotes Turkish nationalism together with Sunni Islam continues to create disadvantages for these minority groups.

Conclusion and Discussion

Although the number of studies in Turkey on ethnic differences in education are limited, this review shows that regional and linguistic inequalities are large and do not tend to decrease over the years. A major challenge is the lack of

systematic information on the subjective ethnic background, which makes the direct assessment of ethnic differences difficult. Speaking a different mother tongue is not necessarily an indicator of self-identification and regional differences do not perfectly match with ethnicity either. Moreover, minority groups who do not have a different mother tongue or who live different regions, are almost completely forgotten in the literature. As such, studying and recognizing structural inequalities regarding various minorities of Turkey may help to develop policies to target such inequalities.

The challenges are not only political, but also related to scholarly perspective in the literature. For instance, many studies that point at linguistic or regional differences, interpret the results from a deficit perspective. For instance, linguistic differences are interpreted as 'lack' of cultural capital or linguistic competence, while they fail to take into account the structural problems at the level of national educational policies or fail to focus on the ethnic and religious inequalities (e.g. Akar 2010; Ince 2015).

The characteristics of the educational system further complicate the picture. Turkey has one of the most centralized education systems in the world (Gershberg 2005), therefore educational policies are also centralized so that governmental policies shape the legal framework of schooling and the content of curricula and it can even impose the pedagogical orientations that individual schools have to follow. Moreover, central policies not only have an influence on the public sector, but also the private sector is largely dependent on governmental policies. This may explain how and why the education system has been an arena of political struggle between secular and conservative poles in Turkey. Similarly, improvement in Kurdish language rights in education was parallel to the peace process between 2012 and 2015. Since the process has been halted and the violent armed conflicts have resumed (Yeğen 2015), the future of those rights remain unclear.

Finally, the recent migration developments, with the influx of almost three million Syrians, remain largely out of the scope of this review as there is currently almost no peer-reviewed or representative research that focus on this issue. However, we expect that in the coming years an increasing number of studies will investigate the educational integration of these newcomers (but for reports, see Emin 2016; Unicef 2017). Among registered school-age Syrian immigrant children, almost 40% is estimated to be out of school (Unicef 2017). Thus, there are many challenges and unanswered questions facing researchers and policy makers alike. While many Syrian children seem to work in black market to support their families, how will the families be convinced of the necessity to send their children to school? What are the barriers against Syrian children's school enrollment and success? What are the challenges that await teachers and schools with the influx of Syrian students who

are not fluent in Turkish? How are teachers' opinions about the growing ethnic and linguistic diversity articulated in their classrooms within the context of growing nationalism? Will the increase of linguistic diversity provide new opportunities for multilingual education? What type of educational or integration policies will promote higher enrollment and lower dropout rates among Syrian children? This might be an opportunity for educational research to address the above mentioned challenges and provide a more complete picture of all ethnic differences in education.

Overall, more research is needed on social disparities in educational outcomes in Turkey. First, we need better official statistics and studies in identifying various ethnic, religious or otherwise minority groups, lifting the taboo around these topics. Knowing the extent of the gaps is the first step to understand the factors behind the (under)achievement of various minority groups in Turkey. This should open up the space for public debate and discussion as well as more integrative and data-driven educational policies. While the educational structure and policies are constantly changing (e.g., 14 major changes in the last 15 years), these changes seem to be not data-driven and rather implemented top-down in favor of one or the other political agenda. We need more and better data to inform policy changes, not only to understand and equalize the gaps in educational outcomes based on ethnic, regional, cultural, gender or religious differences within Turkey but also to promote Turkey's educational outcomes internationally.

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26

The United States of America: Accountability, High-Stakes Testing, and the Demography of Educational Inequality

A. Gary Dworkin and Pamela Anne Quiroz

With the assistance of Kenneth Powers

National Context: U.S. Educational System

Research in social science and education that addresses theoretical and policy issues over the past half-century have been strongly affected by the interplay between various historical and current inequalities occasioned by forms of school and residential segregation and the learning outcomes of students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social class backgrounds. Findings from research initially mandated by the 1964 Civil Rights Act to understand the effects and extent of school segregation continue to influence educational publications in the United States. Central to this research are attempts to understand the magnitude and the causes of test-score gaps among racial and ethnic groups of students and among students from different social classes. Other issues such as the competitiveness of American students and future workers in a globalized world, the extent to which schools prepare students for careers and

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tertiary education, problems associated with teachers and their work, and debates about public versus private education and the validity of school voucher programs have also been of concern to researchers interested in racial and ethnic inequality in education in American society. However, these and many other educational topics can be linked to racial, ethnic, and social class inequalities in the educational experiences and provided resources of students from different racial, ethnic, and social class backgrounds. In much of this research the inequalities in educational opportunities and outcomes can be assessed by gaps in standardized test scores, dropout rates, and subsequent access to higher education and rewarding careers. The present chapter thus focuses on the nature and proposed causes of differences in student achievement by race, ethnicity, and social class and the consequences of these differences.

Prior to the 1980s, children's education in the United States was the near-exclusive domain of the individual states and not of the federal government. The Constitution of the United States made no mention or provision for the public or private education of the country's children. The consequence of this exclusion is that for most of U.S. history there had been considerable variability in the content of educational instruction from state to state. The issue of "states' rights," which entails an on-going conflict between the states and the national government and which was not resolved following the American Civil War (1861–65), has led to nuanced applications of federal programs for schools and lawsuits against the federal government by coalitions of states. Only since the 1980s has the federal government intervened in the content of instruction in the public schools. Prior to that time the role of the federal government was to protect the civil rights of citizens under the aegis of the "Due Process clause" of the XIV Amendment to the Constitution, and there in terms of the abolition of racial segregation in the school (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka 1954). In the absence of a Constitutional guarantee of public education and the saliency of states' rights, the operation, curricula, and even the structure of public education in the United States continues to display considerable variability.

The Structure of Schooling in the United States

The U.S. Department of Education's organizational chart of the public schools describes the general structure of education in U.S. schools, although there are some individual school district and state variations (Fig. 26.1). The variations in the structure remain a legacy of the absence of a true national
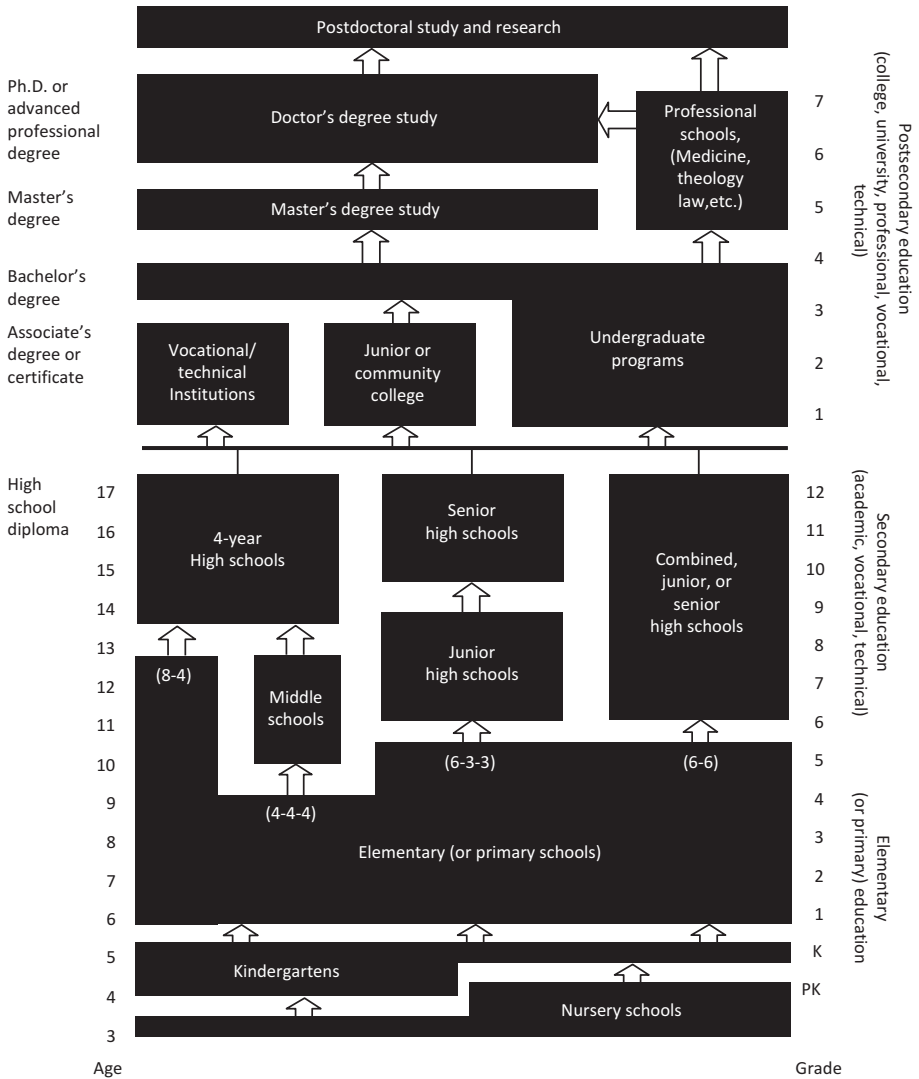
Fig. 26.1 The structure of education in the United States

educational planning and the lack of national curricula. In most states and school districts within states, beginning at age three, children enter Nursery Schools on a voluntary and often parent-paid basis. Four-year olds enter Pre-Kindergarten (Pre-K), where reading readiness and social skills may be taught. Pre-K is not compulsory and in many school districts it may be targeted only to children from low-income families. Sometimes, other children may enroll in Pre-K at a financial cost to their parents, or be enrolled in

private, for profit Pre-K programs. Generally, five-year olds enter Kindergarten, which is often not compulsory and in difficult economic times may be restricted, abridged, or even not offered in some local school districts. Elementary or primary schools operate from grade one (age six) through grade four, five, six, or eight, depending upon the local system. There are also variations in the grade levels included in middle or junior high school and the grade levels included in senior high school.

Upon completion of high school students who continue their formal education will attend a vocational or technical school, which offers a certificate, a junior or community college, which offers an associate degree, or a baccalaureate program at a four-year college or university, which offers a bachelor's degree. The selection of which institution a student attends is in partly a function of their career or vocational interests, partly related to their academic performance in high school and their standardized test score results, and partly due to their motivation and personal finances. Nevertheless, there also are open-admission colleges that accept all students with high school diplomas, regardless of the high school grades or standardized test scores. A similar set of processes affect whether students obtain formal education beyond the baccalaureate degree. Master's degree and later doctoral degree studies are available to selected students with a bachelor's degree, but again are based on grades in college and standardized test scores. Those college graduates interested in professional degrees such as in medicine, theology, law, business administration, etc. will attend professional schools after completing college. Such schools are selective and are limited to students with high grade averages and good test scores, as well as evidence of substantial motivation to complete the course work and pass a certification examination. Finally, a small proportion of those receiving doctoral degrees or professional degrees may proceed to postdoctoral study and research. There are individual variations to these themes, as well as nuanced content across different parts of the country.

The percentage of the school age population that participate at each progressive level of schooling diminishes somewhat, as students dropout or do not enter more advanced levels of educational attainment Furthermore, the differential in participation at each level varies by race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and gender. Dropout rates are proportionally higher for Hispanic, Native American (American Indians), and African American students compared with white and Asian American students. Males and students living in poverty also have higher dropout rates than do females and middle class students. Balfantz and Legters (2004) observed that many of the nation's urban schools are dropout factories where fewer than fifty percent of a cohort will make normal progress from grade to grade. Dworkin (2008a) described

the problems of dropouts in the public grade K-12 schools as a "New American Dilemma." The National Center for Education Statistics observed in May 2016 (U.S. Department of Education 2016) that since 1990 there have been declines in the "status dropout rate" (the percentage of 16–24 year-olds who are not enrolled in school and have not earned a high school credential, including a GED). Nevertheless, African Americans and Hispanics have a significantly higher dropout rate, regardless of how measured, than do Whites.

The makeup of the public and private school student populations differ markedly by race and ethnicity. According to the National Center for Education Statistics of the United States, K-12 private schools have student bodies that are 73 percent white, while public schools have student bodies that are 55 percent white. African Americans represent 17 percent of the public school population and 9 percent of the private school population. Hispanics or Latinos account for 21 percent of the public school population and 9 percent of the private school population. Asian and Pacific Islanders make up 6 percent of the private school student bodies and 5 percent of the public school student bodies. Finally, Native Americans account for one percent of the public school population and much less than one percent of the private school population. In addition to the racial/ethnic divide between public and private schools several urban districts are predominately majority minority student populations (i.e., the majority of the student population is comprised of students from underrepresented groups). According to the Institute for Education Sciences of the National Center for Education Statistics (U.S. Department of Education), of the nearly 50 million students enrolled in K-12 public schools in 2009, with 69.9 percent enrolled in grade Pre-K through grade eight and, of course, 30.1 percent enrolled in grades nine through twelve. In addition to public school enrollment the report notes that 5.5 million students are enrolled in private schools (this figure has declined from 6.3 million in 2001, plausibly from the heightened level of public school accountability implemented under "The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001"). In addition, approximately five percent of all public schools are Charter Schools. As NCES notes, "A public charter school is a publically funded school that is typically governed by a group or organization under a legislative contract or charter from the state; the charter exempts the school from selected state or local rules and regulations. In return for funding and autonomy, the charter school must meet the accountability standards articulated in its charter" (2011: 24).

Research on charter schools suggest that the benefits of such schools tends to be inconclusive, with most charters performing less well academically than the public schools in the same communities (Carnoy et al. 2005; Bracey 2005; Ballou et al. 2008). Generally, speaking, the charter school movement has

been endorsed by more conservative school reformers, while other conservatives, especially from the Milton Friedman Foundation, have called for a school voucher system, whereby parents can apply public school tax monies to private school tuition for their children (see the critique of the Foundation's surveys regarding the demand for private school vouchers in Dworkin and Lorence 2007).

Immigration to the United States

Throughout the middle of the 19th and all of the 20th centuries the United States has been defined as "a nation of immigrants." The trend has not slowed down and, according to recent Census data, by 2050, two-thirds of all Americans will either be immigrants or children of immigrants. However, the national origins of the immigrants have undergone radical changes since the beginning of the 20th century. Table 26.1 portrays the changes in the national origins of immigrants reported in the decennial censuses between 1900 and 2010. At the beginning of the 20th century the majority of immigrants came from Eastern and Southern Europe. Restrictive quotas imposed in 1924 altered the mixture. Quotas were modified in 1965 and in 1986, limited legal status (in terms of a "green card," or work permits) was granted to many of the undocumented adults, most of who came from Latin America. It remains a U.S. policy to deport undocumented individuals, especially if they are accused of a crime. Some states have passed laws requiring the law enforcement officers to verify the legal status of individuals they suspect to be undocumented. At the same time, twenty states currently provide in-state tuition for undocumented students to attend college and university, 16 by state legislative action and four by state university systems.

Today, approximately 81 percent of the immigrant population, and also the immigrant children in the schools, come from Latin America and Asia. The majority of the parents rely on their children to translate information sent by schools from English into their home language. Many are in poverty when they arrive and are likely to have to send their children to low-income schools. It has been suggested that immigrant parents may not be able to provide their children with the requisite cultural and social capital needed to allow them to compete effectively in school. Stanton-Salazar (2001) has argued that immigrant families may have an abundance of social and cultural capital, however, the social networks within which immigrant youth are embedded can be likened to social prisons, in that they are unable to provide the networks of opportunities made available in other social networks. In sum, social networks

Table 26.1 National origins of immigrants 1901–2010

	1901–1910	1911–1920	1921–1930	1931–1940	1941–1950	1951–1960	1961–1970	1971–1980	1981–1990	1991–2000	2001–2010
Europe	92.5	76.3	60.3	65.9	60.1	59.3	33.8	17.8	9.6	15.8	13.0
Asia	2.8	3.4	2.4	2.9	3.1	6.2	12.9	36.4	38.4	26.4	27.0
Canada	2.0	12.9	22.5	20.5	16.6	11.0	12.4	2.6	1.6	2.7	2.0
Latin America	2.1	7.0	14.4	9.7	17.7	22.5	39.2	40.4	47.2	51.7	54.0
Africa	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.7	0.8	2.0	2.6	3.4	4.0
Other	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.6	1.7	0.3	1.0	0.8	0.5	>0.1	>0.1

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1960–2000 and 2010; Table adapted from Dworkin and Dworkin (1999)

are grounded in race, classed and gendered hierarchies. Some researchers have suggested the problem is a failure to recognize, value and connect the "funds of knowledge" provided by immigrant parents. These forms of knowledge and the practices in which immigrant families engage could be connected to knowledge bases within the school (Gonzalez and Moll 2005; Valenzuela 1999). Roberto Gonzalez' twelve year ethnography of 150 undocumented youth reveals that even those immigrant youth who do achieve academically and acquire the necessary social capital to achieve social mobility are often unable to access opportunity due to their unauthorized status. Further, children of immigrants represent about a quarter of all U.S. children, four-fifths of which were born in the U.S. and are therefore citizens, though many of them do not receive the benefits to which they are entitled because their unauthorized parents are reluctant to access services for fear of deportation (Urban Institute 2006). Regardless of their citizenship status, all children of immigrants are of critical importance to the nation's future because they are the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. population (Haskins and Tienda 2011). Indeed, between 2000 and 2011, the number of Latino children rose by 5.1 million, an increase of 42 percent. With the projected decline of white ethnic and African American children, Latinos are projected to become the nation's largest child population and hence, an important segment of the workforce (Saenz 2014).

Immigrant families represent a particularly disadvantaged group because they not only tend to have larger families and practice a parenting style associated with poor and working class parents, but they also experience significant language and cultural differences that inhibit parent involvement in their children's schooling. Furthermore, recent immigrant families also possess significantly less social capital (Coleman 1988) that can lead contingent upon the messages from the ethnic reference groups to the appearance of a devaluation of schooling by the family and limited information about the workings of schools. More recent research suggests that immigrant parents see education as a vehicle for their children's success in their new society, but that schools are often less welcoming of immigrant parents than they are of native-born parents. Turney and Kao (2009) noted that immigrant parents are often embarrassed to try to speak with their children's teachers because of their own limited English language skills and level of education limits to their personal exposure to schooling (also Valenzuela 1999), differences in cultural norms regarding the appropriateness of parental involvement and contact with school personnel, lack of information on how to negotiate school bureaucracies. Immigrant families have also been found to distrust elementary school teachers and regard them as disrespectful of African American and Latino

students (McDermott and Rothenburg 2000). In her study of Mexican immigrant mothers, Lesley Reese (2002) found school-home discontinuities were based on a desire of mothers to promote English language learning but not the adoption of American values (see also Olmedo 2003). Additionally, immigrant families are often faced with myriad economic pressures that may make it difficult to take time off to meet with teachers, thereby conveying to teachers the incorrect image that the parents do not care. Thus, substantial research suggests that it is not a function of lack of caring but rather different class orientations, cultural expectations and survival needs. Valdes (1996) explored how Mexican families *do* care about education; however, a disjuncture between cultures and a focus on survival force them to navigate the U.S. education system with limited resources.

Furthermore, recent work by Terriquez (2016) reported that after controlling for educational attainment, Latina immigrant mothers are as likely as Anglo mothers to be engaged in their children's school-based civic life. Further, the research noted that after a decade in the U.S. there are no differences in school-based civic engagement, such as volunteering to help in school carnivals, fund-raising activities, and attending parent meetings at school, between immigrant Latina mothers and native-born mothers.

One exception, however has been the reliance upon the Vietnamese immigrant ethnic social capital and social capital articulates well with values of cooperation, hard work, respect for authority that are preferred by school personnel (Bankston 2004; Kao 2004). Although some children of immigrants outperform their school peers (also known as the "immigrant paradox"), the children of Latin American immigrants, especially Mexican immigrants, often have lower academic performance levels and are more likely to drop out of high school (Crosnoe and Turley 2011). Cohort dropout rates among Hispanic immigrant students, especially those who remain classified as "limited English proficient" (LEP) are often has high as 75 percent (Dworkin 2008b). "One of the nation's top domestic problems is the poor educational achievement of immigrant youth, both those brought by their immigrant parents to the United States and those born in the United States," declared a recent Princeton/Brookings Policy Brief (Haskins and Tienda 2011). Reports from George Washington University's National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA) indicate that immigrant children whose home language is not English at ages 9, 13, and 17 score significantly lower on the language and mathematics sections of the NAEP (National Assessment of Educational Progress), than do non-immigrant English speakers. They also have significantly lower NAEP scores than do students who were former English language

learners (who are fully fluent in English). This suggests that immigrant children have a test-score deficiency that is likely partially to be made up once they become fluent English speakers. However, even those immigrant students who eventually become fluent in English perform less well than native speakers (Fry 2007, 2008; Wilde 2010).

Data analysis by Beck et al. (2012) indicates that children experience immigration differently than their parents, or other adults. Very early immigration is more beneficial for academic success than later immigration. In fact, the authors note that: "Immigrants' age at arrival matters for schooling outcomes in a way that is predicted by child development theory: the chances of being a high school dropout increases significantly each year for children who arrive in a host country after the age of eight" (2012: 134). Young child border crossers experience lower psychic costs and stressors than do adults and older children and as such, they can make the adaptation to the new country more easily, blending into the school setting with their young classmates who are native born. The children have a much easier time assimilating into their new country than either older children or adults. If they and their parents are undocumented in the United States the prospect of deportation under the country's more recent and draconian immigration laws has the prospect of creating psychic traumas for those who immigrated early in their lives, but now, years later are being sent back to the country of their birth or of their parent's nationality—a country they never knew. The psychic harm parallels that of older first-time arrivals to the U.S. Victor Zuniga and Edward Hamann (2009) compare the challenges of being transnational students for Mexican immigrants who define themselves variously as Mexican, Mexican American or American as they move between countries and school systems.

Early research on immigrants (see especially Glazer and Moynihan 1963 and Gordon 1964) suggested that once the immigrant families and their children had assimilated into the core culture and adopted English as their home language, upward mobility and improved academic outcomes would quickly follow. However, later work by Ogbu (1978), as well as Lee (1998) on Vietnamese immigrants and Valenzuela (1999) on Latino immigrants suggested that assimilation was neither easy, nor a cure-all for upward mobility and academic success for immigrant children. Work on the immigrant paradox by Rumbaut (1997) challenged the benefits of assimilation, as the children and grandchildren of Hispanic immigrants became detached from a supportive culture and the ability to speak Spanish, and were less likely than their parents to work hard in school. The nature of the immigrant experience, issues of the home country, and finally, the level of social capital attained by the immigrant families (Kao 2004; Bankston 2004; Noguera 2004) all tended

to serve as screens through which immigrant student outcomes would be filtered.

Work by Portes and Zhou (1993) introduced "segmented assimilation theory," where by the previously advanced Gordon (1964) model of 'straightline,' intergenerational assimilation and mobility could vary in three distinctive ways due to structural barriers that affect the children on immigrant groups, including restrictions on educational opportunities due to the quality of the local public schools and limitations impose by the local labor market. In one outcome in the segmented model the children of immigrants may progress toward cultural and structural assimilation into the dominant (white middle class) society. In another outcome, the children of immigrants be experience downward mobility viz. their parents and drift into delinquency and opposition to the core culture and dominant society. Finally, some outcomes for more advantaged children of immigrants might involve a degree of pluralism, or what Portes and Zhou called "selective acculturation," whereby the traditions and culture of the home country are selectively retained, while the practices, language, and traditions of the host society are also selectively embraced (Brown and Bean 2006). Some researchers have suggested that the more negative outcomes for the children of immigrants today may be a result of "racialization," or the application of negative stereotypes and discriminatory practices to them because of they resemble phenotypically the society's racial minorities. Like the older assimilation theories discussed by Gordon (1964), segmented assimilation theory has been subjected to criticism because of difficulties in measurement and the absence of critical tests of its applicability in school experiences (Zhou 1997; Brown and Bean 2006; Kroneberg 2008).

Social Policy: The Standards-Based School Accountability Movement as the National Context of Educational Research

Current U.S. social policies that have dictated U.S. education, and in turn, U.S. educational research emerged from the Reagan administration's report *A Nation at Risk* (1983) written by the National Commission on Excellence in Education. The central premise of the report was that because school children in America were deficient in science, mathematics, and other academic skills, the country was at risk of falling behind other nations in producing a globally competitive labor force. Dworkin and Tobe (2012) chronicled the waves of school reforms that followed the 1983 commission report, including "*America 2000*" in the first Bush administration, "*Goals 2000*" in the Clinton

administration, "*No Child Left Behind*" (*NCLB*) in the younger Bush administration, and "*Race to the Top*" and the "*Every Child Achieves Act of 2015*" in the Obama administration. Successive waves of legislated reforms called for more rigorous accountability imposed upon schools and teachers, leading to competency testing of teachers in some states (following *A Nation at Risk*), decentralized decision-making and a call for world class academic standards (following *America 2000*), the use of high-stakes standardized testing to assess student achievement (*Goals 2000*), and the use of the results of high-stakes testing to assess schools and teachers (*No Child Left Behind* and a *Race to the Top*). The later reforms (especially *No Child Left Behind*) incorporated progressively increasing standardized passing criteria for sub-groups of students (based on ethnicity, poverty status, and home-language status) to judge school and teacher performances. Low performances resulted in the right of students to change schools and determined whether schools should be closed and re-opened as charters with new personnel. Extensive research evaluating the effect of The No Child Left Behind law has appeared in sociological publications over the past decade, including summary articles in the journal *Sociology of Education* in 2005 (Karen 2005; Dworkin 2005; Ingersoll 2005; Epstein 2005) and a volume supported by the American Institute for Research (Sadovnik et al. 2007).

The call for school reform was championed by conservatives, business leaders, and middle class parents who objected to a perceived over-emphasis on cultural issues associated with student diversity and multiculturalism that followed court decisions regarding school desegregation prompted by the Civil Rights Movement. Previously excluded groups were making claims that seemed to threaten the hegemony of groups with more power, prestige, and property. Berliner and Biddle (1995) labeled *A Nation at Risk* (1983) a product of a *Manufactured Crisis* intended to result in the weakening of the public schools and the passage of legislation that would permit the middle class to redirect their public school tax dollars toward private school tuition. Berliner and Biddle's work stems from the conflict perspective in sociology. Pressure to create more charter schools and to provide private school vouchers has remained an emphasis of groups whose sense that their hegemony over educational opportunities is being threatened by previously underserved groups. The Standards-based School Accountability Movement rests on an array of assumptions about public schools and human motivation. The core premise of the movement has been that the public schools are broken and that only through *external* intervention can they be fixed. Further, the imposition of free market forces and competition, which advocates of the reforms suggest have worked so well for American industry, will turn the schools into more

efficient and effective systems for the delivery of educational services (Cucchaira 2013). Recently, Mehta (2013) has documented how the accountability paradigm emerged and ultimately changed the politics of American education, including new assumptions about schools and school actors.

School accountability systems assume that schools and school personnel cannot adequately evaluate how well they are preparing the nation's children for college and careers, instead, assessments must be based on externally-imposed standards and tests. Externally-imposed accountability systems, by their very nature, assume that some outside agent needs to hold accountable individuals whom if left to their own efforts would fail to teach adequately or would not make adequate academic progress. *NCLB* and *Race to the Top* contend that through threats, the prospect of school closures and the termination of school employees, the school districts will work harder and help students raise their achievement test scores by legitimate means. Schools and school personnel are often forced to focus on the appearance of desired learning outcomes and not necessarily the actual attainment of the substance of those learning outcomes. There have been numerous analyses of how state education agencies, school districts, schools, and school personnel "game the system." A few of these analyses include those by Booher-Jennings (2005), Booher-Jennings and Beveridge (2007), Weitz-White and Rosenbaum (2007), and Dworkin (2008a). Nichols and Berliner (2007) noted that states also "game the system," particularly in altering data on dropouts and graduates by counting only twelfth graders who graduated, thereby ignoring the students who had dropped out earlier. Additionally, work by Dworkin and his associates (1997, 2003, 2009, 2012) have traced how each of the waves of school reform affected the morale of teachers and the likelihood that teachers will burn out. As more draconian policies were proposed by state legislature when schools failed to meet test-passing standards, both the level of teacher burnout and the extensiveness of the levels of teacher experience that were affected by burnout expanded. Burnout was no longer the malady of neophyte teachers, but a condition that afflicted most all of a teaching population.

Considerable attention has been paid to the issue of standardized testing mandated by *NCLB, Race to the Top, and the Every Child Achieves Act of 2015*. Many political and business leaders content that high-stakes testing insures that students graduate with the requisite skills to enter and succeed in the labor market or in tertiary programs such as college or technical school. Those opposed to high-stakes testing, including many educational researchers, warn that such practices cause the curricula to be narrowed and "dumbed-down" and results in schools focusing more on test-taking skills than on academic content (McNeil 2000). Additionally, it has been claimed that high-stakes

testing diminishes the value of a high school diploma by reducing learning to what is tested. Huebert and Hauser in their report published by the National Research Council (1999) observed that high-stakes tests are often unreliable, not necessarily valid indicators of student knowledge, and particularly unfair to children from low-income families, poor schools, and children of color. Numerous investigators, including Sheldon and Biddle (1998), Heubert and Hauser (1999), Kornhaber and Orfield (2009), Dworkin (2005) have challenged the validity of the use of a single indicator (a test score) to make a policy decision on a student or a teacher. Kane and Staiger (2002) demonstrated that the tests are particularly unstable when multi-year testing is done on low-income children. The test is often unfair to children who do not do well on standardized, multiple choice tests. Several researchers assert that high-stakes testing is associated with increased rates of student dropout behavior (Haney 2000; Abrams and Haney 2004; McNeil 2005; Heubert and Hauser 1999; McNeil et al. 2008). Others, including Madaus and Russell (2001) and Toenjes et al. (2002) have questioned the direct linkage between high-stakes testing and the dropout rate.

Following a discussion of the methods that have been used to survey the sociological and educational research literature in the U.S. and to categorize the research traditions that have been prevalent over the past thirty years, the chapter will focus upon a central theme of much research in the United States: the magnitude and causes of the test-score gap among students from different racial, ethnic, and socio-economic statuses. A comprehension of the achievement test-score gaps is predicated on an understanding of the nature of educational inequality in American schools. After that discussion the chapter will proceed to an examination of plausible causes of the achievement test-score gaps and how those gaps affect and are affected by a range of other school-related variables, from school desegregation to teacher attitudes and behaviors, as well as teacher competencies. Concerns about test-score gaps among student groups has propelled considerable social and educational policy in the United States and affected the behaviors of myriad educational stakeholders. It will be explored from three research traditions: those that emphasize the student, the family, and the school, respectively. It must be understood, however, that each of the research traditions can most usefully be seen as components of a holistic assessment of the test-score gaps, rather than as mutually exclusive and competing interpretations.

There exists in American society a belief among many white adults that because of the election and re-election of an African American president in 2008 and 2012, that American society is post-racial. This belief results in the assumption that the test-score gaps are caused by race-related factors and not

to the existence of racial prejudice and discrimination. In fact these individuals endorse a post-racial view of American society, which scholars have termed color-blind racism, as described in the ensuing section. In turn, some scholars of color respond by promoting critical race theory, which sees no end to racial prejudice and discrimination because of the advantages racism grants to members of the majority group.

Colorblind/Post-racial Ideology and Policy

In the 1990s we saw an emergence of what some called a colorblind logic which dominated our racial thinking. This ideology, also characterized as "post-racial" thinking regards race as no longer important to people or a factor that impedes life chances. The underlying assumptions of this perspective are that race no longer shapes life opportunities and therefore, there is no need for race conscious policies to provide unwarranted advantages to particular groups. Now when race is inserted into the public conversation, such as with the controversial Black Lives Matter movement, it is seen as inappropriate or even seditious. In studies of white college students in three different regions, Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) found a predominance of color-blind thinking illustrated in part by students denying the existence of discrimination or judging it as isolated incidents. A recent PEW survey (2016) found significant differences in perspectives regarding inequality between blacks and whites, and an analysis of polls by Harvard professors Norton and Summers (2011) demonstrates that whites now view anti-white discrimination as more likely to occur than discrimination against blacks.

Echoing the shift toward color blindness in racial discourse has been a substantial shift in educational policy from a focus on creating equality of opportunity to one of equity of outcomes for students, and more recently we have seen a correlation between the changing demographics of our student populations and diminishing support for public education.

In the past three decades we have seen shifts in how we address race and opportunity in our educational institutions as we have transitioned from court mandates to desegregate schools, race-based voluntary student assignment in urban public school districts, bilingual education and dual language schools, to what some call "resegregation," the abolishing of institutional efforts to maintain representation of underrepresented groups in urban school districts where students may be disproportionately represented in poor quality schools but underrepresented in magnet and selective schools, and a shift from a focus on equality of opportunity to diversity and choice-based

educational reform. The rhetoric of this reform agenda merges spatial arrangements with market-oriented school reform and promotion of diversity as policymakers have continued to support the benefits of diversity in public schools even as federal and state policies and legal decisions that redress racial inequities have receded into the political background (Frankenberg and Debray 2011). Shifting demographics and attention to the role of educational institutions to promote equity and close the achievement gap have been redefined and parents are now presented as responsible consumers who select the best educational alternatives for their children in a market oriented school system. Colorblind ideology undergirds these policy shifts with access to education and "choice" presented as a uniform process for all groups.

The notion of colorblind education is not a new phenomenon as ideally, equality is axiomatic in our society and particularly in our schools, where teachers and staff claim to treat all students the same. In his ethnography of a diverse California high school, *The Color of Friends, The Color of Strangers* (1991), Alan Peshkin found the universal claim by staff that all students were treated the same. However, staff members also provided the racial/ethnic basis of difference in student behavior and academic achievement without interrogating the in congruities in their assertions. Peshkin's ethnography reveals how asserting that racism is no longer a factor in American life takes the "ideal of freedom from discrimination" and presumes it to be an achieved reality. The most prolific sociologist to write about color-blind racism has been Eduardo Bonilla-Silva of Duke University (2001, 2014, 2015). One of his books, *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States,* has been reproduced in several new editions and is one of the most frequently cited works in the area.

In the twenty-first century one of the challenges of successfully addressing the racial achievement gap resides within what Patricia Hill Collins (2009) calls the larger matrix of domination as researchers have highlighted how processes of racialization impact student achievement in school. The defining feature of these processes in contemporary society is their subtlety. That is, as Picca and Feagin (2007) maintained, past racism tended to be what they called *Jim Crow Racism*, characterized by flagrant pronouncements of stereotypes and the reliance upon such stereotypes to justify discriminatory behavior. These included overt statements of the perceived biological inferiority of minorities and of minority cultures, which were seen as dysfunctional for the academic success of children of color. Present *Colorblind Racism* uses the successes of segments of minority populations to deny inferiority, but attributes achievement gaps between whites and minorities to individual failings, such as a low value to education on the part of parents, or to neighborhood social

problems, or to the lack of interest in schools among many children of color, or to teacher incompetence. Picca and Feagin (2007) point out that those with privilege may not utilize the stereotypes characteristic of the Jim Crow era when in the presence of minorities, but only when audiences are like-minded and like-privileged individuals. Using the Goffman (1959) terminology, "Frontstage" talk is practiced in mixed company and "Backstage" talk is used when the audience is homogeneous and like-minded. That way, the speaker is not seen as bigoted or politically incorrect. Low-performing schools are deemed to be a result of problems idiosyncratic to those schools and not to societal and structural factors that deprive such schools of the needed resources to perform as well as high-performing schools, especially in middle class, white neighborhoods. Such colorblindness leads majority-group members and many political figures to conclude that even poverty is an individual choice and not a systemic issue linked to the nature of the social structure. It denies that schools often function to perpetuate the existing class structure, providing a better education for children who already have privilege and a diminished education for those children who are disadvantaged. Colorblindness further maintains that enhanced resources made available to children from low income families will only be squandered.

Despite the contention of those who employ a colorblind ideology on educational policy, significant evidence demonstrates that race continues to be associated with educational opportunities and the persistence in the achievement gap between whites and underrepresented groups. These inequalities are more than a function of historic and current economic disadvantages; they are also the result of implicit or subtle processes involving place, race and quality educational opportunities that continue to impact students (Borman and Dowling 2010; Condron 2009; Grissmer et al. 1998; Hedges and Nowell 1998; Jencks and Phillips 1998; Fryer and Levitt 2004; Palardy 2015; Roscigno 1999). In a subsequent section we shall examine the often interacting roles of children's backgrounds, families, neighborhoods, schools and teachers, as well as educational policies in creating and sustaining racial and ethnic gaps in student achievement and educational attainment.

Current efforts to access a quality education increasingly involves school choice and "choice" in our cities often entails attending school outside of one's neighborhood but within the same urban space. The central feature of choice involves the geography of educational opportunity. The notion of *geography of opportunity* is rooted in the idea that where people live affects their access to academic and economic opportunities, life outcomes, and overall well-being (e.g., health, life span, and happiness). With regard to schooling, where one lives plays a powerful role in the quality of the education received and research

finds a negative effect on academic achievement for those children who attend a high poverty school (Osypuk and Acevedo-Garcia 2010; Squires and Kubrin 2005; Briggs et al. 2010; Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 1987; Shapiro 2004; Acevedo-Garcia et al. 2008; Briggs et al. 2005; Borman and Dowling 2010). Children living in dense urban communities are often exposed to a number of risk factors that threaten educational well-being including low-performing schools, inadequate access to health and human services, limited economic opportunities and high levels of violence and crime (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2004). Even in the most disadvantaged communities, however, schools play an important role in promoting well-being and in detecting when a young person's well-being may be at risk. The expansion of neoliberal influence on the restructuring of public education, particularly in urban areas, has promoted market oriented approaches and a belief that parents, and hence, their children are consumers of education, and these educational alternatives now include both public and private schools.

The study of space and place is particularly salient for social scientists who study residential inequalities and the social problems associated with them. Patterns of housing and segregation in the U.S. convincingly explain much of the persistent inequalities in life outcomes, particularly for economically marginalized African Americans and Latinos who live in urban areas (Squires and Kubrin 2005; Massey and Denton 1993; Shapiro 2004). Indeed, African American and Latino students are more segregated today than ever before and this segregation typically translates into poor academic achievement (Orfield 2012; Kozol 2005; Clotfelter 2004). One feature of school restructuring efforts involves experimental programs that move low-income students between neighborhoods (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2004; Rosenbaum 1995; Angrist and Lang 2004; Wells et al. 2013; Briggs et al. 2010). Another attempt, found with selective and magnet schools, is a more subtle shift in student populations as performance thresholds alter school composition through a merit-based process (Finn and Hockett 2012). A third effort is the creation of alternative schools and programs whose admissions processes vary along a number of dimensions, such as charter schools and programs outside of neighborhood schools (Wells 2008; Wells et al. 2013; Orfield and Frankenberg 2013). Still another strategy used has been to literally force students to move between different neighborhoods into the same educational spaces through school closings (Cucchiara 2013; Payne 2008; O'Day et al. 2011; Lipman 2011). These current attempts at school reform have created opportunities in some urban neighborhoods even as they have diminished opportunities and exacerbated the achievement gap in other neighborhoods.

In a context of educational restructuring youth mobilities and their outcomes vary significantly for different groups of children and recent data suggests that what is evolving is the academic tracking of students *between* schools (Bell 2009; Lauen 2009). Most relevant is the relationship between school choice policies, exacerbation of racial segregation, and the academic achievement gap, as African American and Latino students from lower income families are concentrated in low performing schools (Frankenberg & Orfield 2012). In short, educational youth mobility, a phenomenon produced by contemporary school choice policies, is an uneven process that offers some children access to quality education with comparatively fewer costs and significantly greater opportunities than it does for others. Ostensibly, these new policy approaches are geared toward reducing the academic achievement gap, however, in many respects they speak to what Hill Collins (2009) labels as the *new racism*. This new racism is organized around a politics of inclusion where (some) members of historically excluded groups are now given access to different contexts but not comparably rewarded by them. Hill Collins argues that we continue to be an 'imperfectly desegregated' society where some parts are racially integrated (but not 'color blind' and "where new forms of racial segregation continue to shape American institutions" and we might add, academic achievement (p. 59).

Though a number of initiatives have included sex segregated schools, subject specific schools such as math and science academies or high schools of the performing arts, and dual language schools, there have been few serious examinations of the extent to which such initiatives actually close the education gap. One such initiative involves implementation of culturally based pedagogy such as ethnic studies in K-12 schools or Mexican American studies in the Tucson school district. Culturally relevant pedagogy, instructional practices that align with the cultural experiences of students, has been argued as a mechanism to increase student engagement, academic performance, and affirm cultural identity (Ladson-Billings 1992, 1994; Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Hooks 1994; Cammarota and Romero 2009; Sleeter 2014; Yosso 2005, 2006; Banks 1997). While the promise of culturally relevant pedagogy has typically relied upon theoretical arguments and qualitative research, the data from two urban school district experiments with implementing ethnic studies has shown positive results and some posit it may be a way to reduce the racial/ethnic gaps that exist in student outcomes. A study of the administrative data on 8400 students in the Tucson School District used regression analysis to examine the relationship between course taking in the high school Mexican American Studies program and found a positive relationship between MAS participation and passing the exit exams (reading, writing and math)

across all cohorts 2008–2011) (Cabrera et al. 2014). Though the 2010 law passed by the Arizona state legislature to ban Mexican American studies in the Tucson public school district was found to be unconstitutional, violating the first and fourteenth amendments which guarantee equal protection under the law and flatly discriminatory against Mexican Americans by refusing to teach their history, the law has been in effect for seven years.

Another compelling study was published in 2016 by Stanford University's Dee and Penner (2017) whose analysis of the SFUSD's nine grade ethnic studies program found a large and statistically significant improvement in ninth grade GPA, attendance and credits earned. In 2010 the San Francisco school board unanimously approved a pilot study of ethnic studies to be implemented in the SFUSD high schools. The courses were created by ten SFUSD social studies teachers in collaboration with San Francisco State University faculty in the College of Ethnic Studies. This study is promoted as the first quantitative study that supports causal inferences regarding a relationship between ethnic studies and student outcomes. Assignment to the ethnic studies course was found to increase ninth grade student attendance by 21 percentage points, GPA by 1. 4 points and credits earned by 23 supporting the argument that culturally relevant pedagogy can help support the academic outcomes of struggling students. Similar research is now being conducted in the Albuquerque school district by the Institute for the Study of Race and Social Justice.

Those few efforts to incorporate these metrics to close the achievement gap and retain some of a district's most at-risk students have been met with substantial resistance despite their positive outcomes. For example, despite its success for academic achievement, the Tucson Arizona's department of Mexican American studies was eliminated with the argument that it generated sedition among students. Perhaps this is best illustrated in our recent presidential campaign which made explicit the ongoing tensions regarding whose knowledge is value neutral when Trump suggested that a Mexican heritage judge who was to examine his lawsuit was incapable of objectivity because of his heritage. Trump also pointed to the judge's affiliation with a Latino professional law organization as promoting radicalization, much in the same way that ethnic studies in our schools has been vilified.

Racialization Processes in Schools: The Subtle Impact on the Achievement Gap

Structural and cultural representations of race are the consequence of how messages, interpretations, and strategies organize and distribute resources

along racial lines. According to Omi and Winant (1994) this process occurs through historically situated "projects" that link interpretation to action, and hence, structure to process. Along with many social scientists, Omi and Winant argue that both past and current treatment of people based on their race continues to structure inequality between racial groups in the U.S. In this context, parents attempt to prepare their children to live in a rationalized society by helping them to develop a positive racial identity and by teaching them strategies for coping with racism and discrimination. The task of racial socialization is exacerbated when families are economically challenged, as the relationship between particular spaces and their accompanying resources (material, human and social) intersects to create additional challenges. Erin Winkler's study (2012) of these intersections focused on the impact of place in shaping racial understanding and presented how living in a city like Detroit, despite its economic challenges, was perceived by some African American mothers as advantageous to their children because of the normalization of blackness. Living in a predominantly African American city where not only geographic, but also social, economic, political and educational spaces reflected black power and black culture, allowed children to avoid or at least delay navigating issues of racial segregation and being a 'minority' in the U.S. Therefore, mothers did not feel compelled to directly engage racial socialization because 'place' took care of many of the negative messages about blackness, and hence, any academic achievement gap. In this sense, place acted as a partner to racial socialization. It was when mothers and their children traversed neighborhoods to find jobs, entertainment or shop in the predominantly white suburbs, where they experienced race and racism. According to Winkler it is only such a safe space where one can fully express him/herself without fear of rejection or reprisal. Again, we see another example of this following the presidential election where Latino middle school children were reduced to tears when upon entering the cafeteria in their school, they were greeted by chants from the other students of "build that wall!" If Winkler and others are correct about how racialization processes impact academic achievement, and place is a central feature of how children learn race, then educational youth mobility combined with a 'racial safe space' may assist children to learn in a different way and to confront those contradictions that appear almost inherent in schools and our society.

Recent research on racial socialization of children has extended beyond a focus on the family to include influences outside of the family such as those that occur in schools (Ferguson 2001; Lewis 2003; Pollack 2004; Nasir et al. 2009; Perry 2001; Carter 2005). We have new insights about how race is constructed and enacted, formally and informally in elementary and high

schools, and how 'everyday racism' and 'race talk' helps to shape children's academic trajectories and personal development (Ferguson 2001). We know more about how youth and schools engage in 'race talk' in desegregated, reconstituted, diverse and predominantly white high schools (Perry 2001; Pollack 2004; Wells and Crain 1997). We even have a sense of the intersections of race and gender as youth exhibit different modal responses to the cultural demands of schools (Lopez 2002; Ferguson 2001; Carter 2005). Though a significant body of research has examined racial formation and how racial lines are drawn (Omi and Winant 1994; Almaguer 1994; Essed 1991), it was Ferguson (2001) and Amanda Lewis (2004) whose research engaged the challenge to examine 'everyday racism' in elementary schools. Anne Ferguson's three year study in an elementary school describes the daily interactions between teachers and students and demonstrates how teachers' beliefs about the "natural difference" of black children, particularly the "criminal inclinations" of black male children, shapes teachers behaviors toward black boys in school. Amanda Lewis' Race in the Schoolyard observes teachers and students in three elementary schools and reveals how, despite the denial or awareness of teaches, race insinuates itself into everyday life in these schools. Through rich description and theorizing, Lewis suggests that racialization is an "ongoing process that takes place at both macro and micro levels (i.e., classrooms, hallways, lunchrooms, playgrounds, extracurricular activities, everyday interactions between staff and students, and among students) involves questions of who belongs where, what categories mean, and what affect they have on people's life opportunities" (p. 285, 2003). Undoubtedly, these processes impact everyone in school, however, the consequences of such processes have greater valence for underrepresented students. This is because they are embedded in the balance of power between teachers and staff and between peers, and because they are conflated with learning dynamics as assumptions about students influence interactions and assessments by teachers and staff. The consequences of these recursive processes are subtle but also cumulative, and can be corrosive.

Education researchers who address race and academic achievement have contributed a substantial body of literature that maps the quantitative outcomes of achievement between racial/ethnic groups. However, research by qualitative researchers also reveals the subtle and often invisible borders of race and illustrate how processes that occur in schools shape identities and influence student outcomes. What also makes assessing these processes in an allegedly color-blind and post racial environment so problematic is the increasing privatization of racial matters, the fact that we have made progress in some areas of race relations and discrimination, and that race is not always

the only or even central issue at hand, as race intersects with a host of other dimensions of stratification to complicate the meaning of racialization processes. Our capacity to map the ways in which these processes impact the achievement gap with respect to race, not only requires attention to the ideological framework within which they are situated and the subtlety of their character, but also their impact over time.

As we continue to examine the achievement gap and its correlation to race and ethnicity it is important to consider the larger contexts within which urban planners, educational policymakers and now, businessmen try to address socio-spatial segregation in cities by managing diversity, it is important to remember that just as exclusionary processes serve to marginalize groups, activities that involve inclusion must also be examined critically to avoid confusing access to resources with successful outcomes and to remain cognizant of who has access to the public.

Critical Race Theory as a Response to Colorblind and Overt Racism

Some researchers, particularly those of color, have advanced explanations for the persistence of racism despite efforts to end racist attitudes and behaviors. Delgado and Stefancic (2001) and; Ladson-Billings and Tate (1994) observed that Critical Race Theory (CRT) emerged in the 1970s initially by activists and lawyers as an explanation for why the Civil Rights Movement and the Civil Rights Act in the 1960s had failed effectively to end discrimination. Central to CRT are the following eight assumptions as identified by Turner (2013: 837–838).

1. "Racism is normal, not an aberration. As a result, it is not easy to eliminate racism because it is not only built into the way individuals categorize and respond to each other, but is also part of a process by which prejudice and discrimination are built up in a culture and social structure of society."
2. "Racism and the inequalities that it systematically generates, persists because they promote the interests of whites, and whites only support 'reform' when it is in their interests."
3. "There is little incentive by whites in all classes to get rid of racism because it provides benefits. … Employers have low-wage pools of desperate workers to exploit and threaten working-class whites id their wage demands are too high. … Working-class whites … can protect their better-wage, better-benefits jobs."

4. "Laws cannot be neutral (and) is inherently political and supportive of the interests of those with power and money."
5. "Race is a 'social construction'. … it can be changed and adapted to new circumstances; and 'racialization' of targeted subpopulations can be adjusted to sustain oppression."
6. "Racialization is inherently 'intersectional,' … it fractures racial identities … because social categories, such as class, gender, sexual orientation, and politics, that partition the population's all intersect with the social constructions of race, making it less likely that all people of color will perceive that they have common interests in eliminating racism."
7. "The seeming 'fairness' of using 'merit' and 'credentials' as a means for sorting persons into various slots in society (carrying various levels of resources) is a smokescreen for giving the middle classes a leg up in competition for jobs and other resources."
8. "The call for 'diversity' and the constant commentary of it benefits serve the interests of whites … more than the interests of people of color, who are stigmatized by affirmative action programs as being less able to meet standards through normal recruitment routes."

The various critiques of Critical Race Theory generally emphasize that the components of the theory are not falsifiable, while the proposed policies that create minority privilege in all arena replace one form of racism with another. Merely because attitudes and actions can be defined as intentionally racist does not validate the claim. Having defined all majority group activities as racist it is easy to interpret all programs, policies, and efforts to redress discrimination as motivated by a racist agenda. Feagin and Eckberg (1980) offered a test of the presence of discrimination that included evidence of clear intent, an observable act, and evidence of harm. In the absence of any of the elements proof of discrimination is problematic. Perhaps the same criteria could be used to determine whether actions and policies are intentionally racist. [also might add that the types of analyses typically engaged by critical race theorists in education, rely upon very limited sample sizes (e.g., 1–5 persons) that do not allow for the broad generalizations and macro level analyses provided by these researchers, thus also limiting its utility for policy making. The majority of educational studies involving Critical Race Theory lack an empirical component and instead rely upon argumentation and circular reasoning, vignettes, personal stories, interviews with extremely limited sample sizes (often less than ten participants), or even a single narrative (Fernandez 2002; Lynn 1999; Duncan 2002; Parker 1998; Villenas et al. 1999; Stovall 2005; Delgado 1995; Dixon 2014; Solorzano and Yosso 2002). Thus, compelling

arguments are left without a viable basis for confirmation or refutation. Despite these limitations, CRT proponents use these limited data to draw broad generalizations of the conditions of race, racism, schooling and public policy in the U.S.

During the 2016 presidential election campaign ultra-rightwing groups had become emboldened, speaking more freely about their hatred of minorities and immigrants. Hate speech against Muslims and immigrants from Mexico and attacks against "politically correct speech" have been reported by the news media in frequencies not seen in decades. Conjoined with the killings of African American by the police in several cities over the past few years, there is now greater credibility lent to concerns about Colorblind Racism and the validity of Critical Race Theories in the interpretation of American society and education in America. It also suggests that, contrary to Picca and Feagin (2007), there is now somewhat of a merging of "frontstage" and "backstage" speech with regard to racism directed against certain groups. When technological and economic changes leave segments of a dominant, native-born population behind and when immigration rates increase, calls for school reform and questions of the extent to which public education have failed children become more common. Likewise, such substantial economic and technological changes that leave groups behind also rekindle prejudices and the scapegoating of minority groups. A significant share of the white population who did not go to college found that the jobs for which they are qualified to obtain given their educational level and which their parent's and grandparent's generation filled are no longer as available as they were a generation ago. Many face substantial rates of unemployment even as the overall national economy improves, especially since globalization has meant that multinational corporations can find less expensive, higher-skilled labor elsewhere. It is easy for them to blame available scapegoats, especially if political actors and right-wing movement activists provide such rhetoric (see Chafetz and Dworkin 1987).

The emergence of both critical race theory and color-blind racism continue to illustrate how minority and majority populations in the United States often talk past one another. Research can address how people can learn to understand the extent to which structural variables, including those that buttress social class differences, can lead to conflicting perceptions of American society. Clearly the schools can serve as a vehicle by with tolerance is taught. Projects directed at anti-racism and strategies for supporting refugee and immigrant children suggest toward which tolerance education can be directed (Bowser 1995; Leonardo 2005; Stewart 2011). The substantial research identified as "critical pedagogy" is fruitful for future explorations.

Methodology

The volume of literature on racial and ethnic inequality in U.S. education is too massive and the array of topics that characterize the research literature is too extensive to be accommodated by a single chapter, even if journal searches are restricted to the past thirty years. This is especially the case because it is in the past three decades that an enormous quantity of research had been stimulated by large-scale, national data sets funded in part by the U.S. Department of Education, thereby facilitating data collection and making possible a plethora of competently-done studies. Furthermore, it has been in the past thirty years that the Standards-based School Accountability Movement raised a plethora of questions about school performances of various groups and the competitiveness of the American educational system. Consequently, our survey is limited to key research traditions in the analysis of racial and ethnic educational inequality. However, we utilized Stevens (2007: 147–148) as a model to guide the methods of our literature review.

The extensiveness of the database necessitated a set of rules for inclusion of publications. We limited our select of publications to refereed journal articles and to books that have been widely cited in the sociology of education or educational research literature. Nearly all were published between 1980 and 2017. The only exception to the timeline was the inclusion of monographs or articles that were prominent in the definition of the research themes that fit within the 2012 to 2017 time period. Thus, in discussing the role of student achievement and the racial test score gap, or issues of school desegregation as it affects achievement, pivotal works from the 1960s and 1970s that still define the current research parameters are included, in part to establish an historical context for the current research.

Issues of inequality in American education are manifold. In focusing on racial and ethnic inequality, as well as inequalities associated with social class, we concentrate on the persistent, and frequently expanding, test score gap between minority and majority group students. There are three research traditions that have addressed the gap over the time period from which we draw our research literature: explanations for test score gaps among racial and ethnic, and social class differences among students, differences among families, and differences among schools. These three research traditions have flourished in the past thirty-plus years under the aegis of an expanding school accountability movement in U.S. society. Often identified as the "Standards-based School Accountability Movement," the drive toward greater accountability has focused the U.S. education agenda around standardized test scores which are usually high-stakes, with often draconian consequences for students,

teachers, and schools. Located within the three research traditions are studies that explore the education and social capital among students and their families, including differences between native-born and immigrant families; differences between public and private schools; teacher competency and teacher expectations and labeling behaviors; academic tracking, student dropout behavior, and remedial practices for low student performances, including retention-in-grade; and research focusing on the effects of racialization processes that occur within schools, school segregation and desegregation on student learning outcomes. Much of the research has paid attention to differences in academic achievement between students in the nation's inner-cities, where poverty and racial/ethnic minorities are concentrated and students from the more affluent suburbs, often where more robust educational resources are concentrated. To these we include curricular experiments in the past fifteen years, such as culturally relevant pedagogy and its connection to academic achievement.

Findings and the Research Traditions

Dimensions of Racial and Ethnic Inequality in U.S. Schools

Poverty in the public schools is often measured by whether students are eligible for subsidized lunch funded by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (students are categorizes as being eligible for free lunch, eligible for reduced-price lunch, or not eligible for free/reduced price lunch). According to the National Center for Education Statistics, in 2009 the percentages of African American and Hispanic students in poverty in public elementary schools was 44 and 45 percent, respectively (2011: 87). The percentage of White students eligible for subsidized lunch in elementary school was six percent. Asian and Pacific Islanders and American Indians/ Alaskan Natives had percentages of 17 and 31 percent, respectively. By high school the percentages on free or reduced lunch drop precipitously. A total of 18 percent of African American and Hispanic public high school students were subsidized, while only two percent of Whites, six percent of Asian and Pacific Islanders were subsidized. Finally, 16 percent of American Indians and Alaskan Natives receive subsidized lunches in public high schools. The differential between elementary and high school poverty rates as measured by subsidized lunch status was not due to improved economic conditions for high school students. Rather, high school students are often reticent to be labeled as on free or reduced lunch because of peer pressure. They resist letting their parents register them for

subsidized lunch and are unlikely to eat such lunches if they were offered to them. Parents are also less likely to register their older children and less concerned about whether the children have had lunch. Additionally, some of the decline in lunch participation reflects differentials in the dropout rates among children in poverty. High school age students in poverty are more likely to have dropped out of school than that not in poverty, thereby changing the relative percentages of children on subsidized lunch status.

Despite proclamations of the declining significance of race in American society and American education (Wilson 1980; Gamoran 2001), racial divisions and gaps remain a salient marker of differentials in life chances. Added to race are issues of ethnicity, social class, and gender in differentiating educational opportunity, attainment, and occupational outcomes. In fact, Gordon (1964, 1978) once held that the contours of American society are shaped by the pervasiveness of "ethclass," the conjoined effects of the cross-classification of race/ethnicity and social class. Ethclass speaks to the extent to which life chances are not solely a function of race or ethnicity on the one hand or social class on the other. Rather, the intersection of the two aspects of stratification effect outcomes for individuals and well as groups. These variables are also inextricably bound to the issue of "place" a concept that has been given increasing attention in studies on education as segregation and the inequalities associated with neighborhoods have gained attention (Furstenberg and Hughes 1997; Squires and Kubrin 2005; Shapiro 2004; Avecedo-Garcia 2008). Place is a central feature of school reforms that claim to expand the geography of educational opportunity and student migration within U.S. urban school districts has turned large numbers of children into migrant learners (Quiroz et al. 2014).

Work based on crime data in Chicago by Burdick-Will (2013) have suggested that diminished of diminished student achievement among minority children in poverty are influenced by rates of violent crime found in their neighborhoods. Burdick-Will combined crime rate data from the Chicago Police Department, climate surveys from the Consortium on Chicago School Research, and complete administrative data from the Chicago Public Schools to assess crime rates, assessments of school climate and environment, and student achievement (test data and grade averages), respectively. The Chicago study did report that exposure to violent crime affected academic achievement, but to a lesser extent, grades. Burdick-Will concluded that because grade averages also did not fall with increased crime rates, it is likely in schools located in high crime neighborhoods that teachers lowered their learning expectations for their students.

Table 26.2 displays racial and ethnic differences in selected education participation and outcome measures. The table summarizes the outcomes for the five major groupings by race and ethnicity reports by the U.S. Department of Education: African Americans, Hispanics, Non-Hispanic Whites, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and American Indians/Alaskan Natives. Rounding errors explain why percentages do not always total 100 percent. The first column reports the percentages of each group represented in both the public and private K-12 student population. Columns two and three are the relative percentages of the groups composing the public school and the private school populations. It is clear from these two columns that White students make up the vast majority of both public and private school population, but that they more completely dominate the private school population. With the exception of Asian and Pacific Islanders, minority students are more concentrated in the public schools than in the private schools.

Data for the fourth column is taken from the *Current Population Survey 2010*, and represents the percentage of children 18 years of age and younger who live in families either with a female head or a male head. Those children living with a female head have even higher poverty rates. Thus, nearly one-quarter of all African American children and one-quarter of all Hispanic children live in families defined as having incomes at or below the federal poverty line.

One-eighth of all Asian and Pacific Island children also live in families at or below the poverty line and fewer than ten percent of White children are likewise in poverty. One-third of all Native American (American Indian) and Alaskan Native children live in families that are defined as in poverty, although the rate varies by the age of the child, with younger children associated with an even higher rate of poverty than older children.

Retention-in-grade is a measure of academic failure, especially in elementary and middle school. African American students have the highest grade retention rate, followed by Hispanic students, while White students have a rate that is one-half that of African Americans. Data were not available on Asian and Pacific Islanders and American Indians and Alaskan Natives. The literature on the effectiveness of retention in grade is mixed, although many researchers suggest that it has the consequence of harming self-esteem, while not producing achievement gains (Hauser 2001; Shepard and Smith 1989; Jimerson 1999; Jimerson et al. 2002; Orfield 2009). Other research suggests that early retention is more likely to improve subsequent achievement, while later retention heightens the likelihood that the student will drop out of school (Lorence 2006, 2014; Lorence et al. 2002; Alexander et al. 1994, 2005).

Table 26.2 Racial and ethnic differentials in the United States

	Pct. of pop.	School type		K-8 pct. poverty rate	Status retained in grade	H. S. dropout rate	Secondary graduation rate	Post-secondary enrolled rate[a]	Post-grad. rate
		Pct. public	Pct. private						
African American	12.3	17	9	24.4	16	10	82	14	39
Hispanic	16.1	21	9	25.3	11	10[b]	81	12	50
White	64.6	55	73	9.4	8	5	91	63	62
Asian & Pacific Islanders	4.5	5	6	12.5	NA	2	93	7	69
American Indian & Alaskan Native	0.8	1	<1	36.0[c]	NA	15	75	1	39

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Condition of Education: 2004, 2008, 2010, 2012; Digest of Educational Statistics: 2005, 2010
[a]Excludes international students
[b]32% dropout rate for foreign-born Hispanics
[c]Varies by age group

U.S. Achievement Gaps

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) is the largest nationally representative and continuing assessment of what U.S. students know and can do in various subject areas (NAEP website). It only tests students at ages 9, 13, and 17, and although it does not provide scores for individual students or schools, it is very good at assessing national trends, particularly long-term trends dating back to the 1970s (NAEP website). In general, the NAEP test-score gaps between White students and Black and Hispanic students have decreased somewhat over time, but they remain quite large and significant (Rampey et al. 2009).

The Condition of Education 2016 reported that the test score gap between African American and White 9-year-olds narrowed by 21 points in reading between the early 1970s and 2012 and by 13 points between Hispanic and White 9-year-olds over the same time period. Smaller gaps were seen in math achievement, with a ten-point reduction for African Americans and a six point reduction for Hispanic 9-year-olds.

Among 13-year-olds, the reading gap between African American and White students narrowed by 16 points and for Hispanics it narrowed by nine points. Comparable reductions in the achievement gaps were registered over the time period in math. For African American 13-year-olds the gap between their scores and those of White students between the 1970s and 2012 narrowed by 18 points, while for Hispanic student the gap between their scores and White students narrowed by 14 points.

Finally, the decline in the test score gap among 17-year-olds was even greater than for other cohorts. Between the 1970s and 2012 the gap in reading scores for African Americans compared with Whites declined by 27 points and by 20 points for Hispanic students compared with Whites. The gaps in math scores also declined, but less dramatically, with a 14-point narrowing of the gap between African American as well as Hispanic students compared with Whites. Figures 26.2, 26.3, 26.4, 26.5, 26.6, and 26.7 present evidence of the narrowing of the test score gaps between the two minority groups and White students.

Figures 26.8 and 26.9 provide other information about the test score gaps. These figures illustrate the extent to which African American and Hispanic students lag behind White students in achievement by comparing the scores of the minority students as 17-year-olds with those of 13-year-old White students. The data suggest that African American and Hispanic students are as much as four years behind their White counterparts. The NAEP scores in
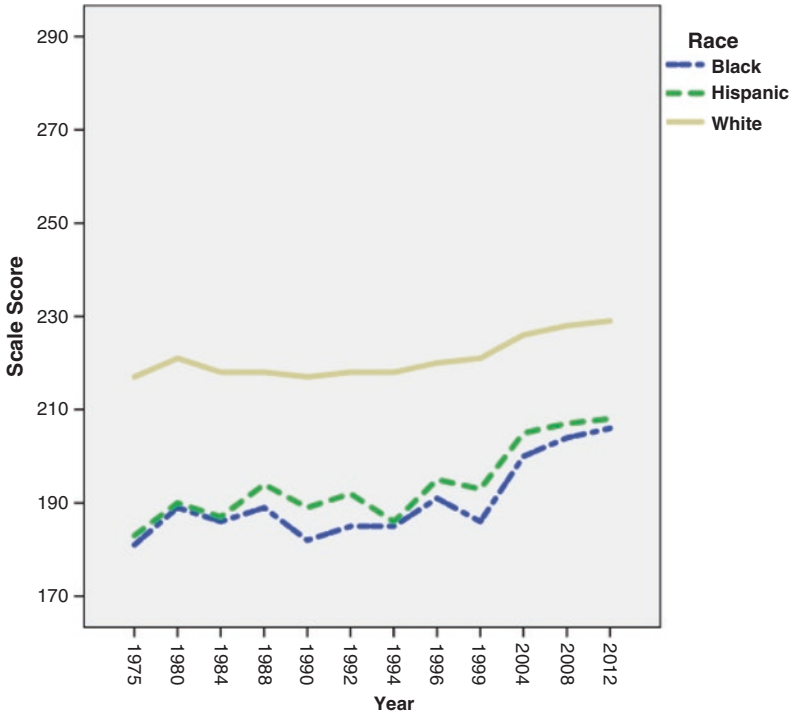
Fig. 26.2 NAEP reading scores for 9-year-olds
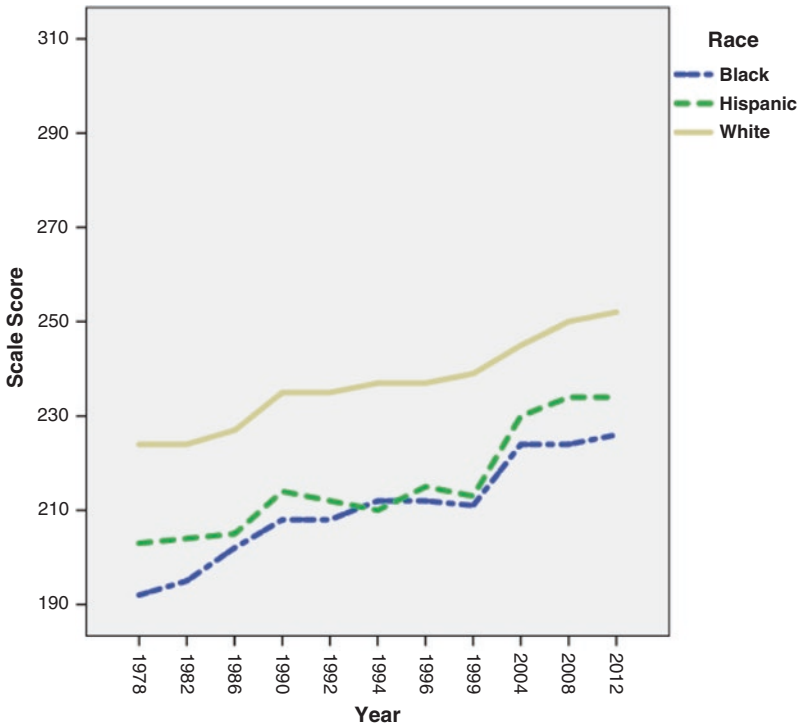
Fig. 26.3 NAEP math scores for 9-year-olds
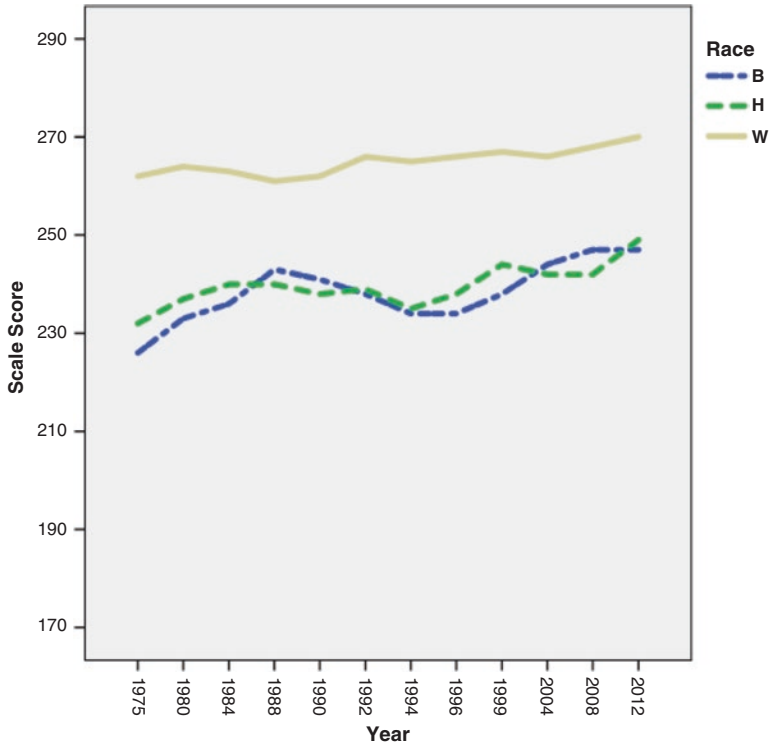
Fig. 26.4 NAEP reading scores for 13-year-olds
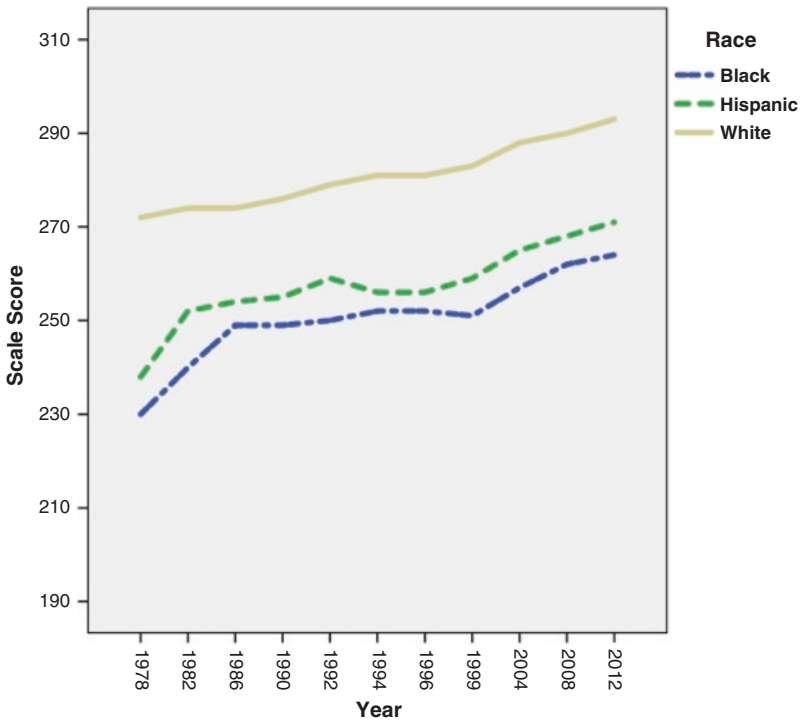
Fig. 26.5 NAEP math scores for 13-year-olds
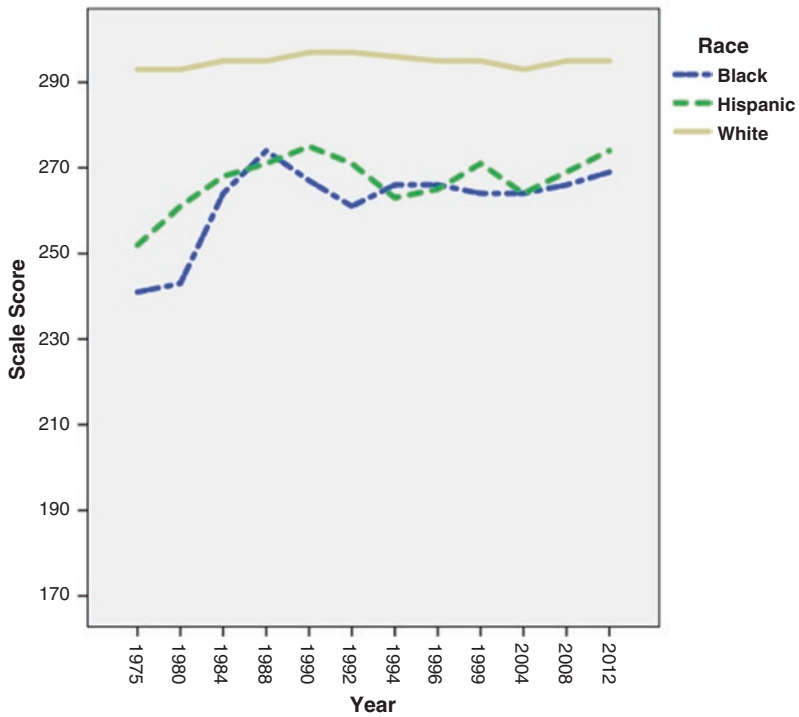
Fig. 26.6 NAEP reading scores for 17-year-olds
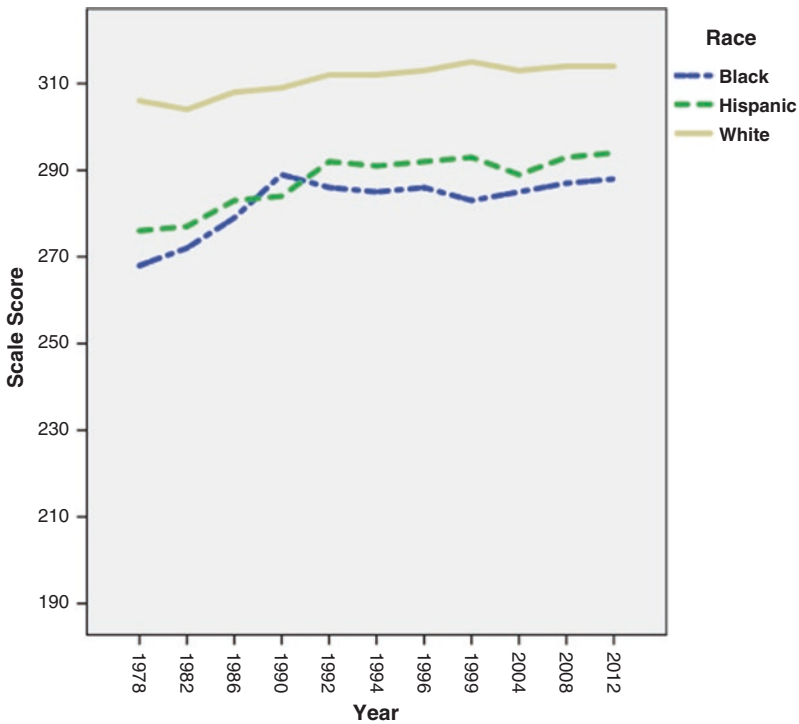
Fig. 26.7 NAEP math scores for 17-year-olds
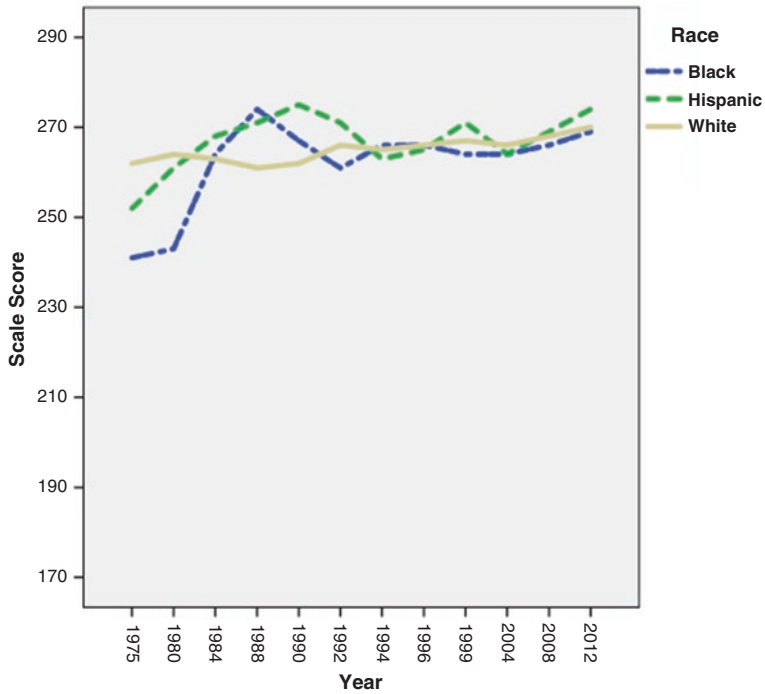
Fig. 26.8 NAEP reading scores for 13-year-old Whites and 17-year-old Blacks and Hispanics
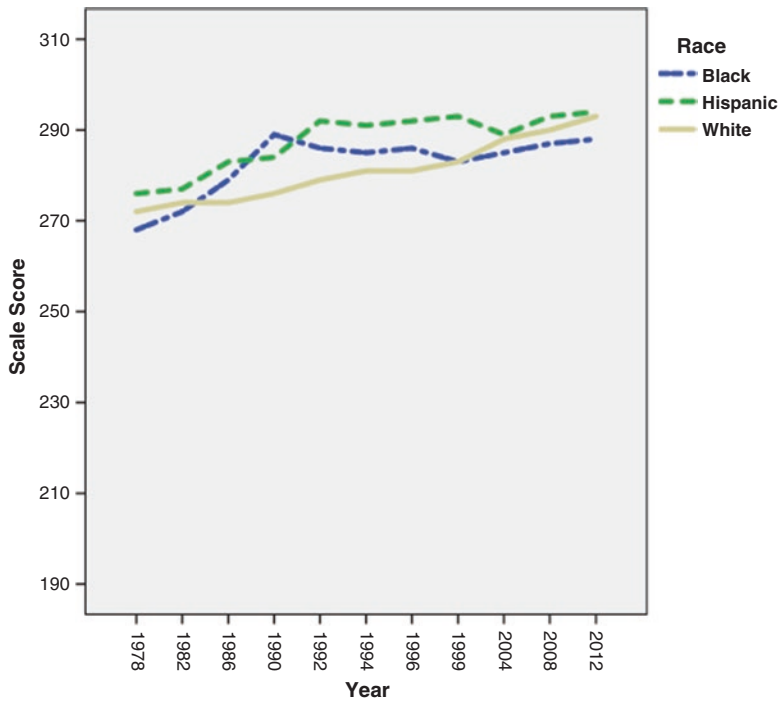
Fig. 26.9 NAEP math scores for 13-year-old Whites and 17-year-old Blacks and Hispanics

both reading and math for 17-year-old African American and Hispanic students are close to parity with the scores for 13-year-old White students, and in some years they are slightly ahead. However, the small advantages do not persist. Thus, while the test score gaps have narrowed since the 1970s, they continue to persist and their magnitude reflects a four-year gap in achievement levels. This actually could be higher in light to differentials in the dropout rates among the groups, which would lead to the minority cohorts retaining a greater percentage of higher achievers.

Major Research Traditions for Explaining These Gaps

Because of the comparatively vast quantity of research within sociology of education dedicated to understanding racial and ethnic inequalities in educational access and outcomes, it is not surprising that the research traditions incorporate several theoretical orientations and methodological approaches. Over the past thirty years researchers from conflict theory, consensus theory, rational choice and exchange theory, as well as social interactionist theory have attempted to explain educational access and equity and the effect of policies and practices on the achievement and attainment of minority and majority students. Some perspectives have viewed schooling as a tournament, with winners and losers varying in terms of their possession of different levels of human, cultural, and social capital; others see education from a Marxist and critical perspective in which schools function to reproduce the class structure. Some perspectives examine even larger structures shaped by neo-liberalism and globalization in which assumptions about the competitiveness of nations are measured by the results of international tests, including PISA, TIMSS, or PIRLS. Considerable U.S. research, especially that which focuses on test-score gaps, relies on data from the NAEP (National Assessment of Educational Progress), which tests mathematics, reading, science, writing, the arts, civics, economics, geography, U.S. history, and in the future will test technology and engineering literacy. The NAEP is administered by the National Center for Education Statistics of the U.S. Department of Education.

Research on racial and ethnic inequality utilizes both quantitative and qualitative methodologies and incorporate consensus, conflict, rational choice and interactionist theories, as well as explanations that consider cultural and social capital, globalization and schools as global institutions, and critical approaches to attack neo-liberalism. However, research directly addressing the magnitude of the test score gap tends to rely on quantitative methods because the assessment of the magnitude of the gaps are quantitative in nature and

often call for regression (or Hierarchical Linear Models) using covariates to explain variances in test scores. By contrast, many studies of the effects of home environments and school policies and practices that affect the test-score gap have relied on qualitative data. The impetus for much of the quantitative research based on large national samples comes from the report entitled *The Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Coleman et al. 1966), which was mandated by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In the years following the "Coleman Report," sociologists and educational researchers worked with extensive, large-scale, longitudinal surveys, many supported by the U.S. Department of Education. The Institute for Education Sciences of the National Center for Education Statistics (U.S. Department of Education) lists no fewer than 22 national data sets accessible for research (see http://nces.ed.gov/surveys?SurveyGroups.asp?group=1). Most of these attitudinal surveys and statistical data bases have led to significant publications by educational and sociological researchers in the U.S. A small sampling of the surveys would include High School and Beyond, the National Educational Longitudinal Survey, the Educational Longitudinal Study, the Crime and Safety Survey, the National Longitudinal Survey of the High School Class of 1972, and the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study. Longitudinal statistical data on schools and school districts would include the Common Core of Data, the High School Transcript Studies, the Schools and Staffing Surveys, and the School Survey on Crime and Safety.

Understandings of the nature of racial and ethnic inequalities in education have changed over the past half-century, in part because of the Civil Rights Movement as well as the growth of research mandated by the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the ensuing Coleman Report. Research consistent with the changed understandings has attempted to account for the persistence of gaps in student achievement and academic attainment among minority and majority group students. The data documenting achievement and attainment gaps have resulted in substantial shifts in the research traditions in education and sociology. Early explanations tended to focus on differences among students as the source of differentials in achievement and academic attainment. Later, the focus was upon families and finally there has been an emphasis on the nature of schools and school resources, including staffing of schools as sources of race and ethnic achievement gaps and level of academic attainment. It must be recognized that the research traditions are not mutually exclusive, as many researchers within each tradition include measures important to the other traditions, and they overlap in terms of the time periods in which they gained prominence. However, each research tradition concentrates more attention to one category of predictors than another (student, family, school). The differ-

ent foci have significant policy implications and help to concentrate educational reform efforts, some of which provide a modicum of amelioration in the degree of inequality. Nevertheless, significant inequalities remain persistent. To a considerable degree the predictors are nested, such that student factors often exist within family factors, as well as neighborhood factors, which in turn exist with in school factors. Thus, while the rubrics "student," "family," and "school" represents the foci of the explanations, singly they do not speak to the complexity of the issue or to the numerous variations of explanations that are subsumed under each category. The three traditions, while they are interlinked describe each of these research traditions approximately in the order in which they gained prominence, although all three research traditions continue to shape education research in the U.S.

Emphasis on Students

Prior to the 1960s, most research on racial and ethnic gaps in educational attainment concentrated on student-level variables, including intelligence and cognitive ability, as well as personality factors, motivation, and career aspirations (e.g., Witty and Theman 1943). The early studies were influenced by the rise of psychometric testing in the 1930s (Michell 1999). While variables drawn from other levels, including poverty, discrimination, and health status were considered prior to the 1960s, the focus was substantially on student-level differences. Even after the 1960s, some discredited, essentially racist theories that tied race to intelligence were advanced (Jensen 1969; Herrnstein and Murray 1994, for example).

Methodological errors characterized many of the earlier studies. For example, prior to the publication of the Coleman Report in 1965, black-white comparisons in cognitive performance were based on convenience samples that were fraught with considerable methodological errors (Hedges and Nowell 1998). In 2007, the National Dropout Center Network and Communities in Schools (Hammond et al. 2007) issued a report based on a meta-analysis of some 3,400 articles that explored the factors that contributed to students dropping out of school. The report focused in two domains of risk factors: individual student characteristics and family characteristics. The report noted that often low student achievement preceded dropping out of school.

Two decades after the work of Coleman and his colleagues, Jencks and Phillips edited a collection of analyses racial differences in test score performance under the title *The Black-White Test Score Gap* (1998). Chapters in the

volume relied on an array of nationally probability samples of public school and private school students, including re-analyses of the data from the *Equality of Educational Opportunity,* the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, High School and Beyond surveys of 1980 and 1982, National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1980, the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1992, as well as the National Assessment of Academic Progress (NAEP, also known as "the nation's report card." Jencks and Phillips and their contributors examined biases in testing, test labeling (or construct invalidity of a test), and test content (class-based knowledge); heredity versus environment issues, family background and home advantages, and peer group effects, including peer pressures found in high-poverty, minority schools against students doing well academically (the finding by Fordham and Ogbu [1986] that in inner-city schools black youth may be told that doing well is "acting white"). Jencks and Phillips' contributors examined the effects of negative labels and lowered expectation by teachers on the academic achievement of black students. Much of the work that focuses on labeling by teachers or "definitions of the situation" by the students clearly draw theoretical insights from a blending of conflict and interactionist theories in sociology.

Focuses on individual traits to explain achievement gaps more commonly are found in the literature in educational psychology, psychology, and social psychology. One area that is more widely explored by several disciplines is stereotype threat, in which negative stereotypes about the abilities of minority students leads both to differentials in teacher and classmate behaviors and to beliefs by minority students that they cannot compete academically or that education does not lead to upward mobility for their "people" (Ogbu 1978; Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Mickelson 1990; Steele and Aaronson 1995). However, Yeh (2015) has reviewed the literature on what he calls "oppositional peer culture" and concluded that the Ogbu and Mickelson arguments hold true only in the nation's most segregated schools (see also, Farkas et al. 2002). Recent randomized field experiments show that a social-psychological intervention – an in-class writing assignment designed to reaffirm students' sense of personal adequacy – significantly improved the grades of African Americans and reduced the achievement gap by 40% (Cohen et al. 2006).

Grissmer et al. (1998) observed that the greatest narrowing of the black-white test score gap occurred in the 1970s, when government invested in minority schools and the U.S. Supreme Court supported desegregation plans that would reduce African American racial isolation (and hence exposure to disadvantaged schools). As government backed away from these supports, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, as schools in the inner-city deteriorated, and support systems for poor children declined (Wilson 1987, 1996) gains

made earlier had diminished or partially reversed. However, to challenge the contention that race rather than socioeconomic status account for the test score gap, Jencks and Phillips note the following findings:

(a) "When black or mixed-race children are raised in white rather than black homes, their preadolescent test scores rise dramatically;
(b) Even nonverbal scores are sensitive to environmental change (generally described as the "Flynn effect" [1984]);
(c) Black-white differences in academic achievement have narrowed throughout the twentieth century" (Jencks and Phillips 1998: 3).

Emphasis on Families

Two significant major studies led to the predominance of family characteristics in the explanation of achievement test score gaps among different racial and ethnic groups in American society. The Coleman Report (1966) attributed much of the differentials in student achievement among African American and White students to family background and socioeconomic status and indicated that these factors capture significantly more variance in achievement than do school-based factors. School factors included the social class and ethnic makeup of schools, class and race differences between teachers and students, as well as teacher expertise, the content of school curricula, and the available economic and academic resources (from science labs to libraries) present in schools. The Coleman Report prompted a shift in focus to family and socioeconomic variables as causal of lower student achievement among African American students and later Hispanic students relative to White students. Limitations at that time in the statistical models used by Coleman and his colleagues (especially step-wise regression) led to the attribution of shared variance among student, family, and school factors to be aggregated to family and socioeconomic factors and minimized the effects of school-based factors in accounting for test-score gaps among student groups (see Mayeske et al. 1969; Jencks 1972). Later in the decade of the 1960s, sociologists from the University of Wisconsin developed what has been known as the Wisconsin model to link student mental ability, family socioeconomic status, and peer, family and teacher support for college-going as influences to account for academic and occupational aspirations and attainment (Sewell et al. 1969). The essentially structural functional model sees the self-selection of the best and the brightest into high status occupations, thereby confirming

the Davis and Moore Hypothesis (1945). That Hypothesis holds that society induces the most competent people to seek to perform the most important work (that is, most eufunctional for the survival of a society) by offering more power, prestige, and property to such individuals.

Jencks et al. (1983) raise issues of measurement error in the Sewell et al. data and offer a revised model that has more explanatory power, as it used achievement test scores rather than aptitude test results as a measure of ability, examines more closely educational plans beyond high school, and relies less on expected future earning than did the original study. Kerckhoff (1976) maintained that the Wisconsin status attainment model could better be described as a status allocation model, in which school effects assigned students to long-term outcomes, thereby reproducing the stratification system.

Much sociological research focuses on the role of families, both in terms of family structure and parenting style, in facilitating or inhibiting academic achievement differentials among racial, ethnic, and gender groups of students. Family structure studies have emphasized whether the children were raised in households with two parents or one, with biological parents or stepparents, the number of siblings present in the household, and the birth order of the children whose test scores are examined (Downey 1995; Wojtkiewicz and Holtzman 2011; Baumgartner 2017). Parenting style studies examine the extent to which parents actively direct their children's after school activities, whether parents trust their children, discuss school activities and events, as well as the school day with their children, check homework, ensure that children attend school, and participate and attend school functions. Downey (1995) reported that parents with more children talked to their children less about school and school activities than parents with smaller numbers of children. The parents with larger families held lower academic expectations for their children, were less likely to know the names of their children's friends and to know the parents of their children's friends than were the parents with smaller families. Resource dilution models suggest that larger families affect the amount of resources a family can provide to each child in the family, including time spent with each child and the amount of money that could be set aside for college for each child (Guo and VanWey 1999). Considerable research has found that there is a significant interaction effect among race, family poverty, and level of neighborhood poverty, with African Americans students being more negatively affected by the three factors than White students (Roscigno 1999; Baumgartner 2017). Furthermore, Downey et al. (2004) and Baumgartner (2017) found that statistically significant achievement gaps exist among African American, Hispanic, Asian, and White children when they first enter kindergarten,

with African American children being farther behind others and White and Asian children being farther ahead.

Parenting styles also matter for educational outcomes because schools have standardized views of the proper role of parents' participation in schooling, placing a higher value on middle class parenting styles (Lareau 1987, 2011). Stemming from interactionist theories in sociology, Lareau's (2002) research suggests that there are two main styles of parenting, which she refers to as concerted cultivation and accomplishment of natural growth. Concerted cultivation refers to parents who actively cultivate their children's development through a series of adult-organized activities carefully selected to enrich their educational experiences, whereas natural growth refers to parents who allow their children to have more control over their leisure time, enabling their children to spend more time in unstructured activities alone or with friends and relatives (Lareau 2002). Lareau reported a very clear pattern wherein middle class parents were much more likely to practice concerted cultivation, while poor and working class parents were much more likely to practice natural growth. Bennett et al. (2012) reported that middle-class parents "customize" their children's activities to maximize competitive advantages and potential academic gains, while working-class parents, having fewer resources rely on school-based activities and seek a safe environment for their children and access to social mobility. Middle-class parents are concerned with the kind of college their children will attend, while working-class parents are concerned with whether their children will go to college.

Lareau (1987, 2011) reported that race had much less of an impact on parenting than social class, the fact is that racial and ethnic minorities are much more likely to be members of lower social classes, making them more likely to practice natural growth parenting, and whites are much more likely to be members of higher social classes, making them more likely to practice concerted cultivation parenting. However, parental factors can contribute to the development of social capital associated with academic success. Dufur et al. (2016) found that the linkage between social capital derived from social networks traced to parents (home effects) varies by race, again disadvantaging African Americans. However, there is also a gender effect in which girls obtain greater returns to academic achievement from family social capital than do boys, regardless of race or social class. In her study of Caribbean students, *Hopeful Girls, Troubled boys: Race and Disparity in Urban Education,* (2002) Nancy Lopez provides a rich ethnographic description of the intersections between community, family and schooling as boys gendered and racially stigmatized experiences correlate with their "race-gender outlooks and academic achievement. Though the overall number of Latino students who attend

college and attain degrees has steadily improved, Latino males, the fastest racial ethnic group, has continued to decline relative to their female counter-parts, specifically, Mexican-American males, the largest of these Latino ethnic groups" (Ponjuan and Saenz 2015). The challenges to increase the numbers of both African American and Latino males remain to be addressed by as loss of workforce participation by these groups could result in significant impact to our economy.

Emphasis on Schools

School Desegregation and Its Effects on Learning

The focus on schools as a source of ethnic inequalities was prominent during the Civil Rights era of the 1960s and into the 1970s. The product of the focus on schools initially emerged from the U.S. Supreme Court decisions, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) and the implementation order, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,* 349 U.S. 294 (1955), and the subsequent passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, legislation that outlawed major forms of discrimination, including racial segregation in schools (Pub. L. 88-352). In the years following the end of *de jure* racial segregation educational research returned to a focus on families and neighborhoods as contributors to racial differences in student achievement.

Schools-based causes of academic inequality regained prominence in the 1980s during the Ronald Reagan administration, following the release of his National Commission on Excellence in Education report entitled *A Nation at Risk: the Imperative for Educational Reform* (1983). The report charged that by placing a greater emphasis on humanistic and multicultural issues, public schools of the 1960s and 1970s had abandoned educational "basics" and caused a decline in student achievement in math, science, and technology, with a commensurate decline in U.S. economic competitiveness (Goldberg and Harvey 1983). After the release of the report state legislatures began to adopt school reforms (Dworkin and Tobe 2012). All of the commission's recommendations for addressing student failure focused on the role of schools, including the content of the curriculum, school passage and graduation standards, the length of the school day and school year, teacher salaries and evaluations, and meeting the needs of students who have special needs, are minorities, or socioeconomically disadvantaged.

Schools continue to be scrutinized regarding their role in explaining racial and ethnic disparities. Using eight national datasets, Phillips et al. (1998)

found that although black first graders were about half a standard deviation below white first graders in math, reading, and vocabulary test scores, by the end of high school, black students were a full standard deviation behind white students, suggesting that schools may exacerbate racial inequality. However, Phillips et al. (1998) recognized that children spend a significant amount of time outside of school in environments that may vary even more than schools, making it unclear whether the school context matters more than the non-school context.

One factor that points to the schools as sources of inequality in academic achievement is the tendency for a disproportionate number of students of color to be concentrated in lower performing schools. Using data from state-wide standardized tests, Logan et al. (2012) report that African American, Hispanic, and Native American students are more likely to be highly concentrated in schools that perform at or below the 30th percentile rank on elementary school reading tests, while White and Asian students are heavily concentrated in schools where the reading scores are at or above the 60th percentile rank in reading. The pattern generally persists in middle and high schools, too. The performance levels of students in a school affect the rigor of the curriculum and the expectations of the teachers.

Assessment of the roles of schools in exacerbating or mitigating test score gaps among groups of students is often made more difficult by the presence of a "summer setback" in which children from low-income families perform less well on achievement tests after summer than before summer and often need several months of instruction in the fall to return to the levels attained during the previous spring semester (Heyns 1978, 1987; Alexander et al. 1996). If spring scores tend to be higher than the next fall's scores for some groups of students, then at what point is a gain score to be computed? Analysis of school effects must consider the issue of summer setback.

That test score gaps grew at a faster rate during the summer months between minority and low-income students compared with majority and higher-income students. This is because minority and low-income students are less likely to participate in academically enriching activities when they are not in school than are more affluent and majority students. This finding provides evidence that schools can also mitigate inequalities in student achievement inequality (Heyns 1978; Entwisle and Alexander 1992; Cooper et al. 1996; Alexander et al. 2007). Longitudinal data from the Baltimore School Study enabled Alexander et al. (2007) to decompose the effects of family, community, and school influences on student achievement. Achievement gains of ninth graders are principally due to school effects on learning, while gaps between high and low SES students are essentially a product of differences in

learning over the summer. Relying on the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study (Kindergarten Cohort of 1998–99) Downey et al. (2004) examined the effects of school, family, and neighborhood factors for racial and ethnic groups, social class groups, and across each season of the year. The researchers found that "…schools serve as important equalizers: nearly every gap grows faster during the summer than during school" (2004: 613). However, they noted that the black/white gap was an exception, as racial and ethnic inequality for African American students persist in school settings as well. A meta-analysis by Berkowitz et al. (2017) explores the role of school climate as a factor that narrows achievement gaps, but the authors observe that the causal relationship between climate and changes in the in-school achievement gaps has yet to be established.

Focusing on the schools also means focusing on the teachers with a concern about how much value teachers and teacher quality adds to educational outcomes of the nation's children. Two policy questions are frequently asked. Is it better for a student to be assigned to a high-performing teacher in a generally low-performing school, or to be assigned to a lower-performing teacher in a high-performing school? If teacher effects are more important than school effects then the assignment to high-performing teachers regardless of school context is preferable. If school effects predominate then it is more important to assign children to high-performing campuses, regardless of the level of competence of the teacher. A second question is one of relative equity. If there are a finite number of excellent teachers—those who routinely raise student achievement above some set level—then should those teachers be assigned to the high achieving students or the low achieving students? If teacher effects are significant, then a theory of justice is operative in such assignments. Assigning high achieving students to the best teachers may make the work setting more pleasant for the teachers and can raise the ceiling on the level of performance of the students. Assigning low-achieving students to the best teachers may ensure that a floor is placed below those students below which they may not likely descend.

Tobe (2009) examined teacher value-added effects on student learning in mathematics in a large urban school district in Texas. She was able to link individual student standardized test results across time with prior year classroom test performances of their teachers. She separated teachers into those whose prior year's classes scored in the top quartile, middle two quartiles, and bottom quartiles on the state-mandated achievement test. She likewise sorted student in three groups based their prior year's test performances: those who previously had performed in the top quartile on the state test, those in the middle two quartiles, and those in the bottom quartile. She then asked

whether high, medium, or low-performing students did better the next year on the state test if they were assigned to a teacher whose prior classes were high, medium, or low performers. That is, she asked whether the students changed their statewide percentile rank (across some 400,000 students per grade level) depending on the type of teachers they were assigned to the subsequent year. The findings were consistent across teachers and students. Previously high, medium, and low-performing students gained between 0.5 and 0.8 of a standard deviation in the subsequent year if they were taught by a high-performing teacher. Previously, high, medium, and low-performing students lost between 0.5 and 0.7 of a standard deviation if they were assigned to a low-performing teacher. The same outcomes were found for average-performing students who were assigned to high or low-performing teachers. Finally, average-performing teachers neither increased nor decreased their children's achievements.

At least since the Coleman Report estimates of school effects on student learning outcomes have been a substantial focus of educational research. In their 1966 report, Coleman and his colleagues found that schools contributed much less of the variance in student achievement than did other factors, especially home effects. Critiques of the report led to revised methods that could better tease out the effects of schools (see Mosteller and Moynihan 1972; Hanushek and Kain 1972; Jencks 1972, and more recently Borman and Dowling 2010).

Public confidence in the public schools has fluctuated between the 1960s and the present, with low estimations of how well schools were doing occurring in the 1980s following the release of *A Nation at Risk* (1983), and then rising slightly over the next thirty years. However, the high level of confidence in the public schools that existed in the 1950s and 1960s has never returned. Beginning with the Standards-based School Accountability Movement that emerged in the 1980s, increasing attention has been place on how well teachers prepare students to achieve. The school reforms of the 1990s and beyond have considered teacher effects and more recently a focus on "teacher value added" effects. Hanushek and Rivkin (2010) noted that studies of teacher value-added have made two observations: that teacher value-added estimates of teacher effects on student performance and future performance vary considerably across studies and that the commonly used and legislatively mandated measures of teacher competence, including experience, post-graduate training and advanced degrees, and scores on certification exams, provide little predictive power in accounting for teacher effectiveness. This may be especially true in high poverty and minority schools (where concerns about teacher effects are most often focused) because student achievement is often quite

variable from year to year for the same students (Kane and Staiger 2002) and because the ability of teacher to pass competency test or to have earned advanced degrees may not measure how well she/he relates to and communicates with students.

Teacher Competency This is an important point because school accountability mandates, include *No Child Left Behind* (2001) and *Race to the Top* (2009) specify that schools are expected to have highly qualified teachers, which is defined as being certified in the area in which they teach and/or having had an academic major in college in that area. Marrett (1990) noted that in high-poverty and minority schools the likelihood of teachers being certified in the teaching area, especially in science and mathematics, was less than in middle-class and majority schools. Data reported by the U.S. Department of Education indicated that in predominantly minority high schools ten to fifteen percent of the teachers in the subject areas of math, science, and language arts had neither a certification nor an academic major in the subject matter they taught; this compares with only four to five percent of the teachers in predominantly majority high schools (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics 2004: 152–154). Ingersoll (1999, 2005) has shown that teacher shortages were not the cause of the differences in deployment, but rather that allocation schemes tend to place better-trained teachers in majority schools because majority and middle class parents would object more strenuously if the allocations were otherwise. Nevertheless, the uniform presence of highly qualified teachers as defined by NCLB was seen as too difficult to attain quickly. Thus, the U.S. Congress modified the definition of highly qualified under a provision known as HOUSSE, or High, Objective, Uniform State Standard of Evaluation as an alternative method for judging the competence of teachers. Under the HOUSSE provision, a teacher was considered to be highly qualified if she/he had previously taught the subject matter. Nevertheless, Kane et al. (2008) has warned that merely because a teacher is certified in the subject field in which she/he teaches or has had an academic major in that field does not mean that she/he is effective in producing improved student achievement. Thus, mandates for certification in the subject field in which one teaches or possession of an academic major in college in that field does not guarantee competency in teaching.

Despite HOUSSE provisions, there remain schools that are difficult to staff, often associated with higher levels of crime, low levels of student achievement, and high dropout rates—schools that Balfantz and Legters (2004) have characterized as "dropout factories." Relying on data from the National

Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS 88/00) and the Common Core of Data (CCD), both from the National Center for Education Statistics of the U.S. Department of Education, Reininger (2013) demonstrated that new teachers often prefer to teach in the neighborhoods in which they grew up. Hard to staff schools with high student dropout rates may have access to a more diminished pool of potential new teachers from which to draw, as individuals who drop out are not likely to become school teachers, thereby further making the replacement of teachers who quit more difficult.

Public Versus Private Schooling Private schools may be church affiliated, as in the case of Parochial schools (Catholic) or other religious groups (Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, and many others) or secular and not affiliated with any religion. Coleman et al. (1982) and Coleman and Hoffer (1987) explored the extent to which basis for Parochial and some non-Catholic private school produced student learning outcome advantages over public schools. Coleman and Hoffer held that the Catholic school advantage was due to the assignment of more and more difficult homework, the ability to expel disruptive students, and what they called "functional communities," or the extent to which the parents, students, and teachers were in agreement about school expectations, norms, and commitment to achievement. Bryk et al. (1993) cited what they termed the "communal school organization" (shared values and activities among the various school participants, as well as greater faculty collegiality) in order to demonstrate the Catholic school advantage over public schools. More recent research by Duncan and Sandy (2007) analyzing the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, reported that private schools hold a 12 point difference in academic achievement over public schools, but that all but a non-significant amount of the difference can be accounted for by demographic differences between the students attending the two categories of schools. Summarizing recent research, including longitudinal surveys, Bracey (2008) reports that student demography and parental involvement play a much greater role in student achievement differences than do school effects. Further, the longitudinal analysis conducted by Wenglinsky for the Center on Education Policy (2007) indicates that by the time the students were young adults having attended a private school or a public school did not account for outcomes such as civic-mindedness, nor job satisfaction among respondents. It is interesting that much of the current research on the public-private debate has shifted in a direction opposite to that generally found in educational research in the U.S. The shift has been from a focus on schools and differences in school performances to a focus on how demographic and family factors differentiate student learning outcomes.

How do we adjudicate between the propositions that schools may exacerbate racial disparities while simultaneously slowing the growth of economic gaps? This is precisely the question addressed by Condron (2009), who argues that while the school context is more important for explaining racial gaps, the non-school context is more important for explaining the economic gaps. Condron (2009) attributes the racial gaps to school segregation, in which minority (especially African American) students attend overwhelmingly one-race schools, often with more limited school resources, a smaller percentage of teachers certified in the areas they teach (Marrett 1990), and frequently where students chide classmates who do well academically or where student believe that education does not lead to upward mobility for them (Ogbu 1978 and Mickelson 1990). Condron notes that there is an extensive literature on the effect of school segregation of black and white learning outcomes, citing significant works by Bankston et al. (1997), Berends et al. (2008), Borman (2005), Mickelson (2001, 2003), Roscigno (1999) and Myerson et al. (1998). The majority of low-income people in the U.S. are white, often from rural areas. The result is that the effects of poverty per se, on achievement incorporates white experiences as well as those of many minorities. Home disadvantages may account for lower achievement among the poor (Lareau 1987, 2002, 2011), especially among white students.

Recently, Downey and Condron (2016) offered a critique of the literature on school and non-school effects on student achievement. In noting that schools do a better job in reducing the valued-added achievement gap among children of different socio-economic statuses than among racial and ethnic statuses, they argue that the effect of schooling on achievement is "refracted"—that is, having different effects on different categories of students. Sometime schooling has no effect on inequality, sometimes it exacerbates inequality, and sometimes it reduces inequality. The non-school environment or what a child brings to school and what a child experiences outside of school also shape the magnitude of the school effects. Their conclusion is that school reforms that fail to consider the combination of school and non-school factors tend to be ineffective in reducing test score gaps. Citing work by Spring (2013), Downey and Condron note that a focus on school is easier than focuses on other sources of inequality, including those that determine how power, prestige, and property are distributed in the society under the economic system (especially capitalism) in the U.S. By not focusing on other driving forces that lead to inequality those with privilege are able to maintain their advantages. In fact, the likely outcome of the private school voucher system advocated by the current U.S. administration is likely to perpetuate the inequalities extant among social classes.

Reardon and Bischoff (2011) have examined patterns of residential segregation by social class and reveal that between 1970 and 2000 neighborhood segregation by income has increased dramatically. There are now fewer mixed income neighborhoods, and hence mixed income schools, regardless of race than a generation ago. African American neighborhoods have become even more segregated by income than White neighborhoods. The result is that children from poor families are unlikely to attend school with more advantaged classmates, whose parents have the economic and social capital to make sure that schools provide valued educational resources. This finding further accounts for test-score differentials that have been reported, especially among minority students from low-income families.

In another study Reardon (2011, 2013) analyzed twelve national data sets on student achievement and reported that over the past 50 years (since 1960), the test score gaps between students in the 90th percentile on family income and those in the 10th percentile grew substantially, even while test score gaps between African American and White student narrowed. Significant gaps in achievement grew in comparisons of children from upper income family with children from middle income families, as well as between children from middle income families and children in lower income families. The implication is that increasingly social class will be the central factor differentiating student advantage and disadvantage and that income inequality will result in significant gaps within racial and ethnic groups.

Research on the role of schools in determining racial and ethnic gaps highlights three main explanations: school segregation, academic tracking within schools, and the potential bias of teachers. A particularly important aspect of schools for which there is much evidence is the school's racial and ethnic composition and level of segregation. Although school racial segregation was ruled unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education* ("Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka," 1954), efforts to desegregate schools were met with great resistance, including violent confrontations when white students, administrators, and political leaders attempted to physically prevent the first African American students from entering all-white schools. With significant intervention by the federal government, racial integration in schools increased from the 1960s until the 1980s, but it reverted to a pattern of increasing segregation during the late 1980s through the present (Orfield 2002; Clotfelder 2006). By 2006–07, the percentage of students attending predominantly minority schools (with a minority population of 90–100%) was 40% for Latinos, 39% for blacks, 20% for American Indians, 16% for Asian Americans, and only 1% for whites; in contrast, the percentage of students attending predominantly white schools (with a white population of 90–100%) was 77% for

whites, 44% for Asian Americans, 29% for blacks, and 27% for Latinos (Orfield 2009).

Among Latinos, the children of Mexican immigrants tend to be hypersegregated, clustering in schools with especially high percentages of minority students (Crosnoe and Turley 2011). Furthermore, the children of Mexican immigrants are overrepresented in "problem schools" plagued by a lack of academic focus, an unsafe climate, larger school size, teacher qualifications and high teacher turnover, tracking, lack of bilingual instruction, resource deprivation, and lack of organization, even after controlling for socioeconomic status (Gandara and Contreras 2010; Valenzuela 2004; Crosnoe 2005). All of these patterns suggest that, despite earlier legal efforts to eradicate school segregation, white and minority students continue to attend separate and highly unequal schools.

The Brown Brothers v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954 and the 1955 implementation order) decisions overturned the long-standing Supreme Court decision, Plessey v. Ferguson (1896), which held that accommodations, including schooling, could be separate for racial groups provided that they were approximately equal. However, equality was defined in terms of nominal categories. Thus, for example regardless of the quality of facilities, if African American schools had a library of ten books and white schools had a library of thousands of book, they would be considered equal, as both groups has libraries. The plaintiffs for the African American students successfully held in the Brown decision that separate could never be equal and that segregation of the schools violated the "Due Process" clause of the XIV amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. Justice Department and the federal courts enforced desegregation of white and African American schools (and later Latino schools in 1974). Because of residential segregation, Black, White, and Latino students lived in different neighborhoods that were designated to attend different schools. Busing became an appropriate and legal solution (supported by Supreme Court decisions from 1968 onwards whereby students in minority-group schools were sent to majority group schools and vice versa. In Texas, efforts to integrate schools focused on using the status of Mexicans as "white" to integrate schools by sending African American students to schools with Mexican students (San Miguel 2005). In reality, most busing within school districts involved sending minority students to schools that had been all white, as orders to send white students to minority schools resulted in white parents moving to all-white suburbs or placing their children in private schools. A second wave of desegregation strategies involved metropolitan desegregation plans after 1974. Such plans consolidated school districts by merging urban, predominantly minority districts with predominantly

majority districts in the suburbs. The intent of all such plans was to produce a greater level of the equality of educational opportunity, especially for minority students.

Differentials in the birthrate of minority and majority group children meant that the nation could no longer depend upon well-educated majority group students to populate the highly skilled labor force of the country. Thus, the school reform and accountability from the 1980s and beyond raised concerns about test score gaps among racial and ethnic groups of students. A significant aspect of U.S. educational research has thus focused first on the extent to which desegregation has occurred, the extent to which there remain differentials in student learning outcomes by race and ethnicity, and the extent to which desegregation efforts (as well as resistance to such efforts) have affected differentials in student learning by racial and ethnic groups. A continuing concern has been whether the test score gaps among racial and ethnic groups has changed and whether desegregated schools could account for a narrowing of the gap.

Academic Tracking In addition to school-level segregation, rigid tracking systems are used to segregate students within schools, and although they are designed to facilitate teaching students at various skill levels, researchers have noted the systematic influence of non-meritocratic factors such as socioeconomic status, gender, race, and ethnicity (Oakes 1985). More recently, Mulkey et al. (2009) summarized the literature on tracking and detracking (removing student from tracks) on student achievement. Cohen and Lotan (1997) observed that instruction approaches that avoid tracking can be successful and Gamoran (1992) concluded that tracking is a complex and complicated process which requires an understanding of micro processes in the classroom and a level of flexibility to enable track mobility. Inflexible track assignments produce diminished learning and numerous other negative impacts on students. Among the findings supported by work since 1980, Mulkey et al. (2009: 1088) summarized five sets of outcomes associated with tracking: (a) higher tracks enjoy a faster pace of instruction; (b) students in the higher tracks often have more effective teachers; (c) students in lower tracks are often in classrooms where there are more student-initiated disruptions that interfere with instruction; (d) teachers in low achieving groups are less likely to provide encourage their students to achieve more; and (e) placement in high tracks often heightens student self-esteem and more favorable teacher estimates of the students, both of which lead to greater future academic achievement. Lucas (1999) and Lucas and Gamoran (2002) have observed that racial and ethnic differentials in the assignment of students to college or non-college

tracks. As Lucas & Gamoran noted, "…race matters for tracking, and tracking matters for racial differences in measured achievement" (2002: 188).

The Effect of Teacher Biases and Labeling Not only can teacher certification and teacher quality affect student achievement, teacher perceptions about the abilities of different groups of students has been linked to the academic performance of such students. Studies of teacher labeling and teacher expectations, informed by interactionist theories in sociology, have asked about the extent to which such expectations create self-fulfilling prophecies. Generally, the initial studies relied upon small samples. The research tradition began with the work of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), as well as studies by Dusek (1975), Braun (1976), Cooper (1979), Rist (1970), Bowles and Gintis (1976, 2002), and Clifton et al. (1986). Rist's (1970) study best describes the research tradition. He held that teachers have tastes for particular kinds of students and tend to evaluate more positively students who most resemble the preferred kind of student. Since most teachers come from middle class origins or from families in which the head of household held professional, managerial, and technical occupations (Dworkin 1980), there is a bias toward students who are well-behaved, neat, and quiet. Middle class and majority group students more closely resemble the teacher's preference. Such students also command a broader vocabulary, as noted by Bernstein (1971). Teachers will pay more positive and rewarding attention to such students than to those who do not fit the teacher's preferences. Teachers located in schools with predominately underrepresented students have also been found to engage in stereotyping, redirecting, "subtracting", and punishing students (Lewis 2004; Valenzuela 1999; Ferguson 2001; Quiroz 2001). However, the stereotyping may not always be negative (McGrady and Reynolds 2013). While the researchers found that racial mismatches involving White teachers and African American students are associated with lower expectations than if the students were White, McGrady and Reynolds (2013) reported to have found no such lower expectations if the students were Hispanic and higher expectations if the students were Asian. Unfortunately, the authors also report that matches between African American students and African American teachers does not elevate teacher expectations. In her examination of Latina teachers in two minority-majority schools, Glenda Flores (2017) focuses on the impact of a growing segment of the teacher workforce who serve as agents of ethnic mobility as they assist students to navigate a racialized education system that continues to grapple with the dramatic demographic changes of its student population.

Students who receive less rewarding attention may withdraw from school, learn less and perform less well on tests. Like the original Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) study, teachers in the Rist (1970) study were informed that some of their students were gifted, while other teachers were provided with no such prior labeling of students. Teachers who assumed that their children were gifted made more eye contact with the students, asked the students fewer rhetorical questions, allowed the students more time to answer questions, and generally praised the students more than teachers who were not provided information that their children were gifted. Despite the fact that the students were randomly assigned to the gifted label, those who were so designated performed better during the school year and had higher standardized test scores. Luce and Hoge (1978), on the other hand, found that when there were independent assessments of actual student abilities were made, the true relationship between initial labels and student learning outcomes was spurious, in part because teachers were able over the academic year to determine whether the labels provided at the beginning of the year were credible.

Further, there is a clear association between the tracking of students and the labels that teachers attach to those students. The relationship is often reciprocal. Teacher labels and expectations about students often influence the track into which students are placed and once placed in a track, teachers rely on the track label to govern expectations about the students' future performances. The teacher labels further affect the performances of the students, thereby producing a self-fulfilling prophecy. Using a national data set (NELS 1992), Kelly and Carbonaro (2012) found marked differentials in college-going expectations among teachers of high school students with discrepant track placements (in different tracks for different classes). When the students were in their high track classes their teachers held significantly higher college-going expectations for them than when the same students were in their lower track classes.

Tracking also pertains to the structuring of extracurricular participation and which students gain access to this opportunity structure. The consequence of formal and informal processes in which teachers as sponsors actively engage in filtering students, results in a relatively small segment of the student high school population becomes hyper-networked, receiving the greatest number of opportunities to participate in all aspects of school life and acquiring comparatively greater human and social capital (Quiroz et al. 1996). Implications of research on this opportunity structure suggests several ways in which extracurricular activities enhance the schooling experiences of participants, assist them in developing identities as students, and integrate them into the school setting (Quiroz 2000; Guest and Schneider 2003; McNeal 1995, 1998).

Using data from three national longitudinal studies, Yeh (2015) argues persuasively that the black-white and Latino-white test score gaps are associated with the failure of minority schools "to individualize task difficulty" and provide students with "performance feedback," both of which are received by white and Asian children in their own schools. Too often black and Latino students received either very easy assignments that bore then or difficult assignments without explanations that discourage them. The result is that students either conclude that schooling is of little value for them or they develop "learned helplessness," both of which lead to educational disengagement. Additionally, minority schools less often than majority schools provide feedback, especially in ways that would ensure mastery over subject matter. The Yeh (2015) model proposes that individualized assignments create individualized task difficulty; which when met with rapid performance feedback leads to high reading and math scores on daily assignments; which results in high student achievement and a sense of accomplishment and academic self-efficacy. Such self-efficacy results in high student engagement, which feeds back to high student achievement and a reduced or eliminated test score gap (Yeh 2015: 23). In the absence of individualization and feedback the effect is to diminish engagement and produce academic failure.

Teacher Morale and Student Learning in an Era of Accountability The study of teacher burnout and turnover has received considerable attention since the concept was first coined in the 1970s (Freudenberger 1974; Maslach and Jackson 1981; Maslach 1993). In the years following the expansion of the Standards-based School Accountability Movement, some research has examined how school accountability, school reform, and teacher competency testing has affected teacher morale, burnout, and intentions to quit teaching (Tedesco 1997; Leithwood et al. 1996; Day et al. 2005; Dworkin 1987, 1997, 2001, 2009; Dworkin et al. 2003; Dworkin and Tobe 2012).

A defining characteristic of resilient, committed teachers is their willingness to make extra efforts on behalf of their students especially those students are struggling academically. Burnout saps enthusiasm and energy leading teachers to hold negative attitudes toward their students (Dworkin 1987; Dworkin et al. 2003; Tobe 2009). Some research on teacher morale has focused on the extent to which disruptive students increase job stress among teachers and, in turn, their level of burnout. Friedman (1991, 1995) reported that typical student behavior patterns (disrespect, inattentiveness and sociability) contributed to predicting teacher burnout. Studies by

Brouwers and Tomic (2000), Burke et al. (1996) reveal that student disruptions divert teacher attention away from instruction and thereby diminish the teachers' sense of accomplishment (a component of burnout).Further, disruptions can lead to confrontations that are stressful. Student disruptions tend to more adversely affect novice and/or poorly-trained teachers (Friedman 1995), whose own hold on classroom management and professional self-confidence may be weak. The significance of teacher burnout for the test score gap is that (1) teacher burnout is highest in schools with low student achievement, especially in an era of high-stakes accountability systems, and (2) teacher burnout results in diminished teacher energy and enthusiasm, which often results in diminished willingness to assist struggling students, thereby exacerbated low student achievement. That inner-city, high poverty schools with low student achievement experience higher burnout rates than low-poverty schools, especially since the implementation of school accountability system that evaluate teachers on the learning gains of their students (Dworkin 2009; Dworkin and Tobe 2012), minority-majority test score gaps within school districts can be seen as indicators of teacher burnout and its consequences.

It must be understood that while each of the three research traditions offers plausible explanations for the differentials in student achievement among the racial and ethnic groups, a comprehensive explanation must draw from all three (student effects, family effects, and school effects). Furthermore, conjoined family and school effects incorporate variables that may be correctly located in neighborhoods and communities. School effects incorporate not only school educational resources, campus demographic variables, including campus and class sizes, and school policies, but also social psychological factors that affect teacher morale, burnout, and willingness to make extra efforts for students who bring to school few home resources. Current research recognizes the interplay among the three research traditions. There is often a bundling of student, family, and school effects such that certain kinds of students from certain kinds of families and neighborhoods find themselves in certain kinds of schools, with given educational policies and practices, resources, and teacher competencies, and certifications, and attitudes about the abilities of their students. Nevertheless, much current research is drawn from the school effects tradition, as policy concerns examine how schools can exacerbate and perpetuate inequalities, and in turn, test-score gaps among student groups. A focus on school effects also provides an economy of scale in the implementation of social policies aimed as ameliorating low test scores.

Discussion and Conclusion

A chain of historical factors in the United States have been influential in defining much of the research in sociology and education that addresses racial and ethnic inequalities. The Civil Rights Movement, especially during the 1950s and 1960s challenged by means of social action the prevalent racial segregation, especially in the American South. Nearly concurrent with the Movement were an array of U.S. Supreme Court decisions that struck down racial segregation in the public schools and established mandates and procedures to implement such desegregation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and additional federal legislation strengthened the process to secure equality of educational opportunity. One essential argument in the original Brown v. Board of Education decision of 1954 was that segregated schooling resulted in an inferior education for African American children. The 1964 Civil Rights Act called for a national study to assess the extent to which there had been compliance with the Brown decision and to determine the extent to which desegregation had promoted greater educational equality. The Coleman Report followed in 1966 and constituted the largest study of attitudes, outcomes, and educational achievement that had been conducted up to that time. The report, E*quality of Educational Opportunity* (1966), established a precedent for large-scale, quantitative assessments of student learning outcomes and resulted in the recognition of a test-score gap among minority and majority students.

Research which followed the Coleman Report addressed the extent to which student and home effects or school effects could explain the test score gap, ultimately leading to sophisticated analyses that teased out the extent to which poverty accounts for low performances (including such factors as diminished home resources and less parental involvement in the education of their children) or whether the quality of schools that minority children attend differ in meaningful ways from those attended by majority group children could account for test-score differentials. School-based issues included studies of the effects of per child expenditures, teacher quality, beliefs by children of color as to whether education leads to upward mobility, and patterns in school disciplinary practices, represent as factors that could account for test scores. Likewise, comparisons of public, private, and charter schools arose out of a concern for the effect size of school variables.

Resistance to school desegregation was immediate and has resulted in "White flight" to the suburbs, where minority proportions were considerably smaller, and to private schools that also had underrepresentation of minority

students. Current patterns of gentrification in urban areas are seen as the drivers behind the development of selective enrollment and charter schools and that assure the upper middle class access to the schools of their choice and protect their material distance from the poor and working classes (see Reay 2007).

In response to demands by minority groups schools School desegregation and the focus on the rights of minority groups led to changes in curricula designed to increase awareness of minority contributions to the country's history and sensitivity to cultural differences within the society. Pressure for increased cultural awareness associated with the perception that the claims for equality of educational opportunity for minorities were legitimate led to both push back from middle class Whites whose hegemony over educational opportunities was being challenged and from big business that feared that U.S. competitiveness in the globalizing world. By the mid-1980s, state legislatures enacted mandates for higher academic standards which followed the release of *A Nation at Risk* (1983) by the President's Commission on Excellence in Education. The federal report predicted a decline in American productivity and competitiveness due to the deterioration of academic standards in the nation's schools. Each of the reauthorizations of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 reflected responses to the 1983 report by incorporating greater federal involvement in the curricular side of public education in the U.S. Thus, began the Standards-based School Accountability Movement that resulted in changes in schooling specified in *A Nation at Risk* (1983), *America 2000* (1991), *Goals 2000* (1994), *No Child Left Behind* (2001), *Race to the Top* (2009), and the *Every Child Achieves Act of 2015*.

Research that focuses on the magnitude of test-score gaps by their nature tend to be quantitative, relying on the large national data sets funded by the U.S. Department of Education and the Institute for Education Sciences within the department. Other studies have relied on state-wide data sets collected by some of the state education agencies and again, have necessitated quantitative analyses. Some of the studies that seek to ascertain linkages between educational practices at schools or neighborhood and home environments may rely on more qualitative data, while still others may be quantitative in nature. There are also studies that run in parallel, assessing an issue using quantitative analysis, while another component or even an off-shoot from the original study uses qualitative analysis. Thus, the original Coleman Report, which used statistical modeling to assess the test-score gap was accompanied by a qualitative study of the process of desegregation and re-segregation in selected American cities (Mack, *Our Children's Burden* [1968]). The assessment of home versus school effects on learning have recently be re-analyzed

by Borman and Dowling (2010) using quantitative analysis, while one of the most cited studies of home effects was a qualitative study by Lareau (1987, 2002).

A significant portion of research associated with educational inequality is either policy research or policy-relevant research. Sometimes the federal government, state education agencies, or even local school districts fund projects to assess the effectiveness of educational practices, including changes in class sizes, mainstreaming special education students, programs to mitigate summer setback among children from low-income families, the effectiveness of single sex classrooms, teacher value-added effects, grade retention, high school exist exams, peer effects of academic majors, educational and occupational aspirations, and the transition from school to work. A few years ago, Ballantine and Dworkin (2012) surveyed research topics in American sociology of education through a review of 177 articles published over the past decade (2001–2011) in the American Sociological Association journal *Sociology of Education*. They were able to categorize 140 of the articles into three groups of topics. The remainder of the articles addressed methodological issues or was only tangential to the three general topics. In order of frequency of articles, they were "Stratification and Inequality in Access to Quality Education & Careers" (50.7%), "Accountability, School Reform, and High-Stakes Testing" (35.7%), and "Globalization and Its Effects" (13.6%). The first category addressed much of the research on the test-score gap, especially between African American and White students.

The theoretical orientations associated with inequality in American education and the test-score gap have incorporated all of the major theory groups in sociology, including structural-functional or consensus theory, conflict theory, symbolic interaction. Furthermore, over the last thirty or more years research addressing racial and ethnic inequality in American education in general and the test-score gap among minority groups and the majority population has emphasized three areas of causal inference. The first focused on individual students, with attention placed on what student-level factors might account for low achievement among minorities and the poor. Due to the statistical methodology employed in the Coleman Report much of the variance in test score differences between racial groups of students was attributed to student and home effects. Likewise, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) and later Mickelson (1990) saw student beliefs and peer group attitudes as contributing to lower minority student achievement. Current research has not abandoned student level effects, particularly when multilevel modeling or Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) is used in quantitative studies often based on large samples. However, it is much less likely that issues of race and

intelligence or analyses that "blame" students for their academic failures carry as much currency in the social sciences and education as they might have had a generation or two ago. In fact, there was considerable condemnation of the controversial book *The Bell Curve* (1994) written by Herrnstein and Murray because of its attempt to attribute racial (and social class) differences among groups to issues of heritable intelligence, a theme recited for a century by champions of racism. The book was followed by well-reasoned attacks by numerous professional associations within the social sciences (see especially, the reviews written by Hauser, Taylor, and Duster for the journal of sociological reviews, *Contemporary Sociology* (March 1995, Volume 24, No. 2).

Nevertheless, a focus on the student as the explanation of the test-score gap has been part of public policy in education emanating from the Standards-based School Accountability Movement begun in the 1980s, although the movement applies blame equally to student, parents, teachers, and schools. Thus, policies that retain failing students in grade or deny graduation to students who fail high school exit exams, as well as responses to disruptive students and actions to reduce bullying behavior remain focused on the student as the responsible party. However, parents and teachers may also be incorporated in the attribution of blame for these negative events.

The second category of explanations for academic failure has focused on dysfunctional families, or families in which there have been intergenerational experiences of low academic performances and dropout behaviors. Considerable research has noted that dropout behavior tends to be concentrated in families that have had intergenerational academic failures and where older sibling of the 'at-risk' students had dropped out of school (LeCompte and Dworkin 1991; Hammond et al. 2007). Rumberger (2004) identified family, school, and neighborhood factors that combine to affect school engagement and educational performances that distinguish dropouts from academic completers. Academic advantages that arise out of home resources have been well documented by the work of Lareau (1987, 2002, 2011). A considerable amount of attention has been placed on immigrant families, in part because the United States has often been characterized as a "Nation of Immigrants" and because undocumented immigrants are a salient political issue in the country. The U.S. Supreme Court decision in Plyler v. Doe (457 U.S. 202, 1982) held that the undocumented school-aged children are protected under the "Equal Protection Clause" of the XIV Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and are thus entitled to a free public education. Frequently, immigrant children are among the most disadvantaged students in schools. When their parents are undocumented their families fear discovery and deportation and thus do not demand that the schools provide the children

with the education to which they are entitled. However, even assimilation is not a cure for the children and grandchildren on some immigrants. Rumbaut (1997) documented the numerous disadvantages of assimilation and the resultant immigrant paradox, whereby Hispanic students detached from a supportive culture and sometimes concentrated in low-performing schools do less well academically, economically, and in terms of health than their parents or even grandparents.

The third group of explanations focuses on schools and teachers and represents the largest portion of current research on student learning outcomes. Academic failure and test-score gaps are seen in this research as a result on school resources, including funding level, the quality of the faculty, and failures among campus and school district administrators to redress campus problems. Balfantz and Legters (2004) reported on "dropout factories" where there is "poor promoting power" in the schools. That is, these are schools in which fewer than 50 or 60 percent of the freshman class will become seniors in four years. Accountability systems prescribed by the federal re-authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 2001 (*No Child Left Behind)* and 2009 (*Race to the Top*) imposed sanctions of schools that repeatedly failed to raise student achievement.

An array of variables is addressed in research drawn from the tradition that examines school effects in accounting for test-score gaps. This chapter emphasized several of these contributing factors, ranging from the public responses to school desegregation to the emergence of a Standards-based School Accountability Movement. A backlash resulted against a focus on awareness of the cultural contributions of the nation's ethnically and racially diverse populations, which led to a call for a return to basics. Further, the White middle class sought to restore its hegemony over education and careers, while the private corporate sector sought to ensure that the future labor force would be competitive in a globalizing world. The results were a greater focus on externally-imposed standards (external to the schools and educators), measured by standardized tests the results of which were used to evaluate schools, teachers, and school administrators. If students did not meet performance levels usually established either by state legislatures or state education agencies with the approval of the U.S. Department of Education, a series of draconian steps were prescribed. Most were punishing to schools and school personnel and were based on a theory of motivation that holds that people can best be motivated to work hard if they are threatened with dire consequences (Dworkin 2008a). The implementation of the school and teacher accountability systems have demoralized teachers and heightened teacher burnout (Dworkin 2009). In turn, decreased teacher morale had resulted in more

teachers blaming their students for the low achievement that threatens their jobs. Such student blaming behaviors, accompanied by the already-present negative labeling of students by their teachers, has accelerated negative student attitudes about schooling and increased the dropout rate of the most at-risk students.

The substantial array of issues that characterizes education, both public and private, in the United States has led to a research agenda in sociology and education that is multifaceted, often contradictory, and frequently policy relevant. Considerable federal, state and local research funding has addressed the manifold social issues in education, thereby increasing the proportion of the policy-relevant research discussed in the current chapter. In fact, the sheer volume of research into educational inequality in the United States has led us to need to view only a small portion of the salient studies of educational issues that impact racial and ethnic minorities in the country. However, we elected to comment on a strategic issue in sociology and education: the nature and causes of the test-score gap between minorities and the majority population. Although, Gamoran (2001) predicted that the 21st century would no longer be concerned with racial and ethnic inequalities in education, supplanting it with social class inequalities, the reality in the second decade of the new century is that race and ethnicity still matters. In part because educational disadvantages due to race and class remain intertwined for many children, schools and the larger society cannot move beyond the conjoined nature of these inequalities. Affluence and poverty do cut across racial and ethnic lines, but the United States is still a society where race still matters. Even the election of Barack Obama as the first African-American President of the United States in 2008 and his re-election in 2012 has not meant that prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and substantial differentials in educational opportunity have disappeared. It is also the case that such vestiges of racism continue to characterize the experiences of a larger percentage of African American, Latino, Native American, and immigrant children. Because of the nature of much research in the sociology of education it also means that the agendas of sociologists and other educational researchers will continue to focus on gaps in access and achievements of minority children for many decades to come. While the present chapter addresses research over the past thirty years, it must be acknowledged that it is not simply backward looking. The disadvantages experienced by minority and immigrant children today will not disappear even in the next thirty years. In fact, in a globalizing world where the magnitude and quality of educational attainment differentiates peoples, many of the issues associated with academic gaps are likely to be even more salient in the future.

In fact, future research on racial, ethnic, and social class inequality in American education and the sociology of education is likely to emphasize two current trends. Studies that seek to explain the factors that affect student academic achievement (as well as test score gaps among groups) will be addressed using increasingly more sophisticated statistical modeling, as evidenced by the study by Borman and Dowling (2010) in their use of the Coleman Report data. It is entirely appropriate that methodological advances will be reflected in research in education and the sociology of education. An assessment by Saha and Keeves (2003) chronicled the many advances in analytical techniques that came out of educational research and especially in the sociology of education. Additionally, future research will likely explore more thoroughly the extent to which the experiences of different racial and ethnic minorities and students in poverty are differentially affected by the variables associated with lower achievement levels. The work of Condron (2009) has pointed the way for some of this research, suggesting that lower academic achievement among racial and ethnic minorities may be driven by school effects, while lower achievement among poor White students may be driven non-school effects. Reardon's (2011) work on the growing divide in test scores by social class will stimulate much research, as it suggests that social class, rather than race will become the central independent variable in the study of educational inequality in the United States. Future research, including analyses of test-score gaps among student groups is likely to isolate better school policies and practices and individual attitudes and behaviors that mediate the effects of various school, family, and student outcomes among racial, ethnic, and social class groupings. Finally, much educational research is based on large samples and therefore requires levels of funding that the national and state governments generally provide. It is expected that governmental agencies will continue to play a significant role in defining some of the research questions and relevant methodologies. However, increasingly scarce federal and state funds may place limits on the creation of new data sets and require researchers to be especially creative in testing new hypotheses with existing data sets. Policy relevance will be a hallmark of future research on gaps in student achievement as school practitioners and governmental officials continue to seek out "what works" in addressing educational inequalities. It must be recognized that the analyses of data from large samples as found in much of the research cited in this chapter have their own limits. To understand the complexity of the relationships among student, family, school, and even neighborhood factors requires small-scale, often qualitative studies to tease out how structural variables are experienced and lead to attitudes about schooling and resultant expectations and life chances. For example, how to parents and students come

to understand the importance of schooling for future careers and social mobility? What do various reference groups inform minority and majority students about what is possible, what is likely, and what should be done to attain desired goals? There are a plethora of related questions that can best be understood through interviews and observations, and a variety of child-centered research activities.

Finally, as political conservatives dominate American government following the 2016 presidential election, the emerging educational agenda will be to redirect public school funding to private school under the aegis of "choice." Substantial research has indicated that such redirections have not been a popular agenda item with the public (Lorence and Dworkin 2008). The effect is likely to weaken the public schools by reducing available property tax funds to support the myriad needs and demands placed upon the public schools. Given that private schools can be selective in determining which children can attend, the public schools will be more thoroughly populations by at-risk children and those with special needs, while being deprived of the funds to meet those needs. Future educational research will include the plight of the public schools as a central agenda.

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<div style="text-align:center">**27**</div>

Cross-Nationally Comparative Research on Racial and Ethnic Skill Disparities: Questions, Findings, and Pitfalls

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Introduction

This review describes and assesses how educational and social scientists have used large-scale cross-national assessment data to study racial and ethnic inequalities in primary and secondary education between 2000 and 2017. Previous reviews of immigrant children's educational performance focused on a distinct origin group (Crul and Vermeulen 2003) or on a single country (Kao and Thompson 2003). Although several review studies pay attention to findings from assessment data for studying immigrant children's educational performance, none were written with the distinct purpose of discussing how the availability of these large scale data sets has contributed to the study of immigrant children's performance (i.e. Alba et al. 2011; Heath et al. 2008). To fill this gap, we provide an overview of studies that

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used large-scale assessment data (i.e. PISA, PIRLS, and TIMMS). We also add a distinct focus on origin country differences, whereas for example Alba et al. (2011) focused more on differences between destination countries. We identify the type of research questions that can be addressed with such data, discuss the main empirical findings, and identify the main short-comings of and conclusions from this literature.

We argue that the availability of consecutive waves of large-scale assessment data has led to an evolution of research questions that can be answered with cross-national assessment data. These questions are:

1. How does the relation between individual-level background characteristics and performance of immigrant and native pupils on assessment tests vary between destination countries?
2. How does the relation between school-level characteristics and performance of immigrant and native pupils on assessment tests vary between destination countries?
3. What is the relation between characteristics of destination countries and immigrant children's performance on assessment tests?
4. What is the relation between origin country traits and immigrant children's performance on assessment tests?

These questions have fed a flourishing fundamental research agenda, which we will describe in this chapter. However, it should be noted that answering these questions with data on immigrant children's scores on internationally comparable achievement tests has important social and political implications. There has been a strong tendency amongst policy-makers to view high-quality education as a necessary condition for economic growth (see: Pigozzi 2006). Test scores from cross-national achievement surveys have been used and are being used to assess how countries' education systems succeed in teaching certain skills deemed elementary for economic and societal participation, such as math and reading. PISA is actually explicitly designed for this purpose (Schleicher 1999). Country assessments are usually made by ranking countries based on their pupils' average score on the tests (see: OECD 2015a, for a recent example). Such rankings are taken very seriously by policy-makers and politicians. Famously, the publication of the first PISA ranking in 2000 lead to a veritable PISA-shock in Germany, whose politicians deemed the relatively low ranking of Germany unacceptable (Gruber 2006, as well as the chapter on Germany in this Handbook). PISA has sparked similar debates in other countries (Breakspear 2012, see also chapters on Italy and Israel in this Handbook). Relatively low PISA scores could affect the willingness of

politicians to accept immigrants from certain origin countries. For example, German politician Thilo Sarrazin cited a table from Levels et al.'s (2008) analyses of PISA data to support an argument against immigration of low-skilled immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries to Germany (Sarrazin 2010: p. 368). By improving our understanding of what drives immigrant-native skills gaps, researchers can provide these public debates with the necessary qualifications and nuance.

The rest of this chapter is divided in five parts. First, in section "Analyses of Immigrant Children's Performance on International Assessment Data", we shortly provide arguments for using large-scale assessment data to study the educational performance of immigrant children. We show how large-scale assessment data can be used to study questions related to ethnicity and race, education systems, and social policies. We argue how studying such data helps us to advance on single country studies, and discuss some of the potential pitfalls. In the third section, we explain the process of this review. We explain the search strategies we employed and give detailed information about inclusion criteria for this review. The fourth section forms the core of this chapter. Here, we turn from potential contributions to discussing how these data were actually used. To do this, we provide an overview of relevant studies. In the fifth section, we discuss a number of issues and problems with cross-national analyses of immigrant children's performance, and provide some critical suggestions about the way in which literature should develop. In the final section, we draw some general conclusions.

Analyses of Immigrant Children's Performance on International Assessment Data

Immigrants, Race and Ethnicity in Cross-National Education Surveys

Questions on the role of race and ethnicity have long been at the core of research on immigrant children's educational performance. Traditionally, such research was done in single countries (mostly the US), where assessment data were used to examine differences in achievement between children from different ethnic backgrounds. As we will show in this chapter, the use of large-scale assessment data to address such questions has provided some remarkable insights about the generalizability and explanations of some observations of the performance of origin groups in single countries. For example, it has long been established that immigrant children from South-East Asia perform

remarkably well in US education. Cross-national research using PISA has shown that this observation can be generalized to other countries as well (Levels and Dronkers 2008). Similarly, while it was long inferred from country case studies that there is cross-national variation in the extent to which young Turks perform in school (Crul and Vermeulen 2003), an attempt to test explanations for such destination country differences in origin group performance must rely on comparable cross-national data (*cf.* Levels et al. 2008).

The way in which cross-national assessment data can provide variation to explain, is illustrated by Table 27.1. This table shows how – on average – immigrant children of certain origin countries (rows) in certain destination countries (columns) score on the PISA 2003 reading literacy test. In many countries, immigrants (on average) perform worse than natives. The table also shows that there is extensive variation between and within destination countries, and between and within origin countries. For example, we observe that immigrant children in Australia and New Zealand perform on par with or better than native children. In Austria and Germany, however, immigrant children are performing less well than natives. Looking within destination countries, we see that Albanians in Switzerland perform worse than Serbians in Switzerland. Between origin countries, however, we see that Serbians in Switzerland are outperformed by Serbians in Germany. Turks in Germany, however, are largely comparable to Turks in Austria, yet both achieve lower test scores than Turks in the Netherlands. Other comparisons are informative as well. For instance, Germans in Australia outperform Germans in Germany, whereas New Zealanders in Australia underperform compared to New Zealanders in New Zealand. Large-scale assessment data helps to tease out this variation, i.e. by comparing the same origin groups in different destination countries and at the same time comparing different origin groups in the same destination country. Because the measurement of reading literacy is identical in the countries, *the observed cross-national differences can likely be attributed to actual achievement differences*. Apparently there are differences between the countries that make immigrants achieve at different levels. Explaining these differences is an important goal of this entire research line.

Using cross-national data to study origin differences delivers valuable insights, but it is not without downsides. One major issue is that origin country data is not available for some countries. This has two reasons. First, many countries have legal provisions that outlaw asking about race, ethnicity, or origin country in surveys. Some countries refrain from addressing these issues altogether, other countries use a broad coding scheme that for example only distinguishes between western and non-western immigrants. OECD member

Table 27.1 Average reading literacy of immigrant pupils per country of destination and country of origin ($N = 7.459$)

Countries of origin	Countries of destination													
	AU	AT	BE	CH	DE	DK	EL	IE	LV	LU	NL	NZ	SC	Total
Albania	368			377			424							397
Argentina								477						477
Australia												550		550
Bangladesh													561	561
Bosnia Herzegovina					445	448		576						450
Brazil								354						354
Bulgaria							404							404
Canada								510						510
China	542							430				506	498	527
The Congo			435											435
Denmark								628						628
Germany	533			506				500			494			508
Estonia								375						375
The Philippines	509							498						509
France			441	496				515						457
Georgia								438						438
Greece	477				448									473
Hungary		540												540
India	567							496				530		552
Italy	505			450	416			496		449			504	456
Croatia					437									437
Lebanon	477													477
Libya								565						565
Lithuania								370						370
Macedonia					391									391
Morocco			439											439
The Netherlands	500		511					511						508

(continued)

Table 27.1 (continued)

Countries of origin	Countries of destination													
	AU	AT	BE	CH	DE	DK	EL	IE	LV	LU	NL	NZ	SC	Total
New Zealand	501							535						501
Nigeria								465						465
Ukraine									476					476
Pakistan		513				448		532					475	462
Poland			473		480			556						481
Portugal				455						417				427
Rumania		433						614						442
Russia							431	537	490					474
Serbia Montenegro		440		426	447									432
Slovenia		508												508
Slovakia		490												490
Spain				455				535						456
Czech Republic		495												495
Turkey		395	417	420	399	415		514			471			430
United Kingdom	539											562	554	542
United States								531						531
Vietnam	557							543						557
Belarus									493					493
Zimbabwe								613						613
South-Africa								517				552		550
Sweden								614						614
Mean (immigrants)	524	430	443	436	428	432	426	512	487	422	474	543	542	468
Mean (natives)	526	509	525	509	520	495	472	518	494	501	528	529	513	513
Mean (total)	526	500	518	494	511	494	468	518	494	484	522	531	516	508

Source: PISA, 2003, own computations; AU Australia, AT Austria, BE Belgium, CH Switzerland, DE Germany, DK Denmark, EL Greece, IE Ireland, LV Latvia, LU Luxembourg, NL The Netherlands, NZ New Zealand, SC Scotland

countries Canada, Chile, France, Hungary, Iceland, Japan, Poland, Spain, Sweden, the UK, and the US do not differentiate countries of origin in any wave of PISA. Others, like Norway, only differentiate between few origin countries. In PIRLS and TIMSS, differentiation of origin countries is not possible either. In some instances, basic information on whether the child and/or the parents were born in the test country is lacking as well. These countries cannot be part of cross-national analyses of origin differences, which limits the number of countries that can be analyzed. As we will show later, this has serious consequences for the strength of hypotheses testing.

Second, practical problems arise even if countries do permit asking about test takers' countries of origin. Questions asked to respondents about origin countries and, particularly, what answers they can give are often subject to national considerations. Not all immigrant groups are present in all countries, and origin groups are usually small. This also has consequences for statistical models. Different studies deal with this problem in different ways, and while we will revisit these important drawbacks later in this chapter, for now, it is good to keep the caveats in mind while evaluating the research findings we will discuss.

Education Systems in Cross-National Perspective

One important explanation for cross-national variation in immigrant pupils' performance is the educational system. When researching the role of education systems on immigrant children's educational performance, cross-national assessment data offer an obvious advantage over single country studies: cross-national designs allow for directly comparing the educational systems of different countries. If the cross-national variance shown in Table 27.1 can be explained by the properties of educational systems, this provides strong evidence for the relevance of the educational system for immigrant children's educational performance.

One necessary ingredient for such research is the availability of cross-nationally comparable measures of relevant education system qualities. Here, researchers have recently made important progress. For example, Bol and van de Werfhorst (2011) constructed and validated cross-nationally comparable measures of educational systems' levels of differentiation, standardization, vocational orientation and vocational specificity. Garrouste (2010) provides a useful data base of policy reforms, and Braga et al. (2013) have constructed some valuable measures that are comparable between countries and over time. The OECD provides numerous aggregate measures that can readily be used as

contextual characteristic (OECD 2013a, b). An overview of cross-national variation in education systems between some relevant countries is presented in Table 27.2.

The most important drawbacks in this research line stem from unintended consequences of using cross-nationally comparable measures of education system characteristics. First, while the construction of cross-nationally comparable measures represents a significant improvement, their validity is not above debate. While achieving a high level of cross-national comparability, comparative measures obfuscate national idiosyncrasies of system characteristics almost by definition. For example, work-place based vocational education systems differ widely between countries, both in the way they are construed and how they are put into practice. By reducing the complexities of work-place based vocational education to a single measure "vocational specificity", we might misspecify the relation it has with educational outcomes. This is an important caveat that is often overlooked.

Second, this research line directs focus to the system characteristics for which measurements have been constructed. Research has well-established that differentiation and standardization are relevant for educational performance and inequality (Van De Werfhorst and Mijs 2010). However, particularly for immigrant children, different education system traits (e.g. inclusiveness, or the ability to deal with immigrant children's specific needs) might be relevant. Third, and related, educational system research focuses on national-level policies and system traits, while mostly disregarding within-country differences in policies.

To give one recent example, Levels et al. (2017) analyze data from PIAAC (OECD Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies) and show that the performance gap between 1.5 generation migrants and natives strongly correlates with education system traits. Using various aggregate measures constructed from PISA (i.e. percentage of immigrant students, percentage of schools with a majority of immigrant children, average math gap), they suggest that 1.5 generation immigrant children do better in education systems that are better equipped for dealing with the specific needs of immigrant children. However, the way in which education is equipped for immigrants' special needs varies widely between countries, and this variation is masked by using these aggregate measures. So, while these analyses point towards a plausible explanation for cross-national performance differences, specific country case studies need to be conducted to further dissect the explanatory mechanisms.

Table 27.2 Cross-national variation in education system characteristics

	% of Immigrant students	% pupils in schools with many immigrants	Immigrant student gradient on math	Vertical stratification	Horizontal stratification (between schools)	Horizontal stratification (within schools)	Vocational specificity	CE	Vocational orientation	Standardization
Austria	16	22	−45	0.068	2.234	−1.368	32.7	0.000	1.665	−1.396
Belgium	15	21	−29	1.005	0.820	−0.780	3.3	0.000	1.020	1.079
Canada	29	43	−9	0.376	−0.641	0.615	0	0.510	−1.703	−0.054
Cyprus	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Czech Republic	3	1	−24	−0.127	1.000	−1.547	35.5	0.000	1.841	−0.715
Denmark	9	8	−60	−0.217	−0.867	−1.071	47.7	1.000	0.531	−1.517
Estonia	8	13	−15	−0.537	−0.657	−0.416	30.9	1.000	−0.389	–
Finland	3	1	−80	−0.590	−0.983	−1.063	10.5	1.000	0.811	0.338
France	–	–	–	0.929	−0.031	−0.620	11.3	1.000	0.456	1.217
Germany	13	17	−32	0.431	0.522	0.060	45	0.440	0.967	−1.244
Ireland	10	7	4	0.278	−0.398	1.607	3.8	1.000	−1.032	−0.329
Italy	7	6	−31	−0.065	0.780	−0.460	0	1.000	0.215	1.476
Netherlands	11	12	−34	0.542	1.216	1.323	20	1.000	1.350	−0.092
Norway	9	7	−46	−0.885	−0.953	−0.768	13.3	1.000	0.966	–
Spain	10	10	−45	0.751	−0.930	0.932	2.8	0.000	0.063	−0.578
Sweden	15	19	−57	−0.488	−0.879	1.448	0	0.000	0.765	−1.396
United Kingdom	13	16	−9	−0.644	−0.732	1.816	0	1.000	0.516	–
United States	21	34	−5	0.843	−0.675	−0.218	0	0.090	−1.823	−0.559

Sources: PISA 2012, Bol and van der Werfhorst (2011)

Social Policy in Cross-National Perspective

Over and above the education system, immigrant children's "context of reception" is – in theory – determined by a wide variety of country-level contextual conditions, such as:

- Anti-discrimination legislation
- Welfare arrangements
- Labor market arrangements
- Immigration regulation
- Integration policies
- Political climate
- Economic development
- Societal openness
- Ethnic diversity
- Democratic history

Cross-national designs are well-suited for studying the effects of such policies and conditions at the country level. However, much of what we mentioned about educational systems also applies to these contextual characteristics: they obscure country idiosyncrasies and within-country differences and shift attention to those measures that are available.

Methods

When selecting literature for this review, we used very specific but flexible decision rules. We imposed a number of restrictions. First, we decided to focus completely on studies that used large-scale assessment data to study educational performance of pupils with a migration background relative to native pupils. More specifically, we focus on PISA, TIMMS, and PIRLS. As a result, we study only primary and secondary education. Analyses of immigrant performance in other forms of education (preschool, vocational, or higher education) fall outside the scope of this review. Secondly, we restricted the review to studies that were truly comparative in nature, arguing that it is the cross-national comparability of results that is the true added value of large-scale assessment data. That is, we restricted the analyses to studies that compare at least five destination countries. We imposed no restrictions on scientific disciplines, but restricted the literature search to research published in English-language between 2005 and 2017. As a further restriction, only peer-refereed journal articles, contributions to books and edited collections,

and published working papers with at least 10 citations were considered for analysis. These inclusion criteria guided the process of selecting papers. However, we also sometimes considered studies that did not fulfill these criteria. For example, some important studies only appeared very recently, but may contribute significantly to the research tradition.

We sampled specific papers in the following process. First, we searched the Core collection database of Web of Science using the advanced search function to incorporate Boolean arguments. We searched for the topical keywords "*migra*", to capture all spellings of related terms such as "Immigrants" or "Migration", and combined this with either "PISA", "PIRLS", or "TIMSS". This search yielded 90 results. We then manually refined the results to the five most populated fields "Education Educational Research", "Economics", "Demography", "Sociology", and "Psychology educational" (61 results). After restricting the list to articles that have been cited at least 10 times and that addressed the issue of immigrant pupils in a cross-national design, we ended up with a short-list of five articles.

To give our search a broader scope, we also consulted the database of Google Scholar using the following search query: (Migrant OR Immigrant OR Immigration OR Migration OR Ethnicity OR Ethnic OR "First generation" OR "Race" OR "Second generation") AND (PISA OR TIMSS OR PIRLS). This search yielded >100,000 results. To better manage search results, we continued our research not by means of the Google Scholar webpage, but with the assistance of Publish or Perish Software (Harzing 2007). Publish or Perish goes through Google Scholar's database and yields the 1000 most relevant search hits (i.e., the first 1000 hits as listed by Google Scholar). We once again restricted the list to relevant works that were cited at least 10 times, however we did not discriminate by scientific discipline. This yielded a list of 19 results. All articles found via Web of Science were also found via Google Scholar. In addition, we included four relevant studies which we did not find by the above described search routine. In three cases, this was because they were cited less than ten times. The full list of selected works is shown in Appendix B along with additional information on the type of analyses and data sets.

A Review of the Literature: Four Research Questions

The literature has evolved in four main ways, corresponding with four main research questions. Making use of the first PISA waves, researchers first started to quantify cross-national differences in immigrant performance and assessed

cross-national variability in the strength of predictors at the levels of (1) individuals and (2) schools. Almost simultaneously, they also started to assess the role of macro-level contexts of (3) destination countries, mostly using multi-level regression techniques to account for cross-national variability. With the publication of PISA 2003 it became possible to also assess origin differences. Papers that (4) account for origin differences, quantify these differences, or try to explain these differences are the fourth main area of research. We discuss the main findings from these traditions below.

Individual Level Predictors of Educational Success of Immigrant Children

Really the first seminal work in this tradition was the publication of Marks (2005). Using PISA 2000 data, Marks (2005) analyzed reading and mathematical literacy of first- and second-generation immigrants in a large number of countries. He concluded that in most countries social-economic, social-cultural and school characteristics explain the better part of the difference in educational achievement between native and immigrant pupils. Also, the proficiency in the destination language is affecting the educational attainment of immigrants. Nevertheless, Marks found international differences in the way these determinants affect the educational performance of immigrants. Only in Belgium, France, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States, differences in reading scores could fully be explained by these determinants. In Austria, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, reading literacy scores of second-generation immigrants proficient in the destination language remain substantially lower than those of comparable natives. For mathematical literacy, similar results were found: in Austria, Denmark, France, Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland, second-generation immigrant pupils who speak the language of their destination country on average score 20 points lower on the mathematical proficiency scale. Again, effects vary substantially per destination country. Suggested explanations for these findings are socio-economic, sociocultural and school factors. Of these, socio-economic factors are assessed to be most important.

Another early contribution was given by Schnepf (2006), who analyzed differences in mathematical literacy between first- and second-generation immigrants and native pupils in ten Western countries, using PISA, TIMMS and PIRLS. In general, first-generation migrants proved to be less mathematically literate than second-generation migrants, who in turn were less mathematical literate than natives were. Both findings were explained by the

influence of time: the longer immigrants stayed in their country of destination, the better they would perform at school. In addition, the overall lower educational achievement of immigrants can be explained through micro-level characteristics such as socio-economic background and proficiency in the destination language. Results are controlled for the influence of school characteristics, such as the levels of socio-economic and ethnic segregation; the latter proves to be of some importance for explaining different levels of mathematical literacy between natives and second-generation immigrants. However, these explanations do not solve the whole puzzle. The found effects differ strongly per country of destination, in strength as well as in direction. Schnepf (2006) suggests that these differences may be explained by selection mechanisms in the migration process.

Many of the theoretical puzzles to be solved later were already evident from the early papers. Before moving to describing these, let us first review the main substantive conclusions on the relevance of individual-level predictors. First, the body of research confirms that many of the individual and school-level predictors of educational success of native children are also important for immigrant children. For example, socioeconomic background explains most of the immigrant-native gap in educational achievement. However between countries, there is variation in the importance of socioeconomic background. In the US, socioeconomic background completely explains the immigrant-native gap (Marks 2005). In Austria, France, Germany, and Luxembourg it explains about half of it (Marks 2005; Schnepf 2006, 2007). In Belgium, Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, and Switzerland the decline is somewhat smaller but still substantial (Marks 2005; Schnepf 2006, 2007).

Second, a number of variables explicitly related to migration are important as well. First, generation status and length of stay are important. This is in line with classic sociological assimilation theory. According to the classical definition, assimilation is "a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Park and Burgess [1921] 1969: 735). From a micro-level perspective, assimilation means that individual migrants will gradually assimilate to the cultural patterns of their destination countries. When initially creating the theoretical concept, life-cycle effects were thought to be influencing the assimilation process; later, the notion of cohort-effects was added to the framework (Warner and Srole 1945). It was theorized that within time, first-generation migrants would adopt cultural patterns of their host societies. Also, second-generation migrants would be better assimilated into societies than their parents.

In addition to Marks (2005) and Schnepf (2006), several empirical findings support this theory. Entorf and Minoiu (2005) compared the effects of migration background in different countries. In five of the nine countries they analyzed, students profited from being born in the destination country. The effect of a parental migration background, however, differed widely between countries. In some cases, having immigrant parents posed a penalty (in FR, DE, and UK) in other cases having immigrant parents delivered a premium (in AUS and CN). Not only do immigrant students often perform worse than natives, the dispersion of achievement scores is also greater for immigrants than for natives (Schnepf 2008). In countries like Germany and Switzerland, achievement inequality is especially driven by very low achieving immigrants. In Canada and Australia, the mechanism is a different one. Here, relatively low-achieving immigrant pupils can perform better than their native counterparts (Schnepf 2008).

Time of stay is also relevant, as assimilation theory would predict. For first-generation immigrant children, the age of arrival is negatively related to their achievement (Cobb-Clark et al. 2012; Shapira 2012).But other factors are important too. An important predictor is L2 language proficiency. Good command of the national language is imperative for educational success. Speaking the destination country's language at home is a widely-used proxy for students' and parents' language skills. Indeed, studies consistently find a substantial positive effect of speaking the national language at home (Cobb-Clark et al. 2012; Dronkers et al. 2012; Dustmann et al. 2012; Entorf and Minoiu 2005; Hillmert 2013; Marks 2005; Ruhose and Schwerdt 2016; Schneeweis 2011; Schnepf 2007, 2008; Shapira 2012). Significant cross-national differences occur. The effect is relatively large in Germany and Finland (Entorf and Minoiu 2005). In France, the migrant population is mostly made up of immigrants from former colonies in Northern Africa, whose populations to a large extent have fluent command of French. Consequently, language spoken at home has a smaller effect than, for example, in neighboring Germany (Entorf and Minoiu 2005). In English-speaking countries, immigrant students are generally achieving similar to – or even better than – natives (Dustmann et al. 2012; Schneeweis 2011). In Anglophone countries, language contributes less to the explanation of immigrant-native gaps than in other continental European countries (Entorf and Minoiu 2005). In the UK, migrants mostly come from India or Ireland. Those who do come from non-English-speaking countries are mostly Europeans. Australia shows a similar pattern (Entorf and Minoiu 2005). The exception to the rule is New Zealand (Entorf and Minoiu 2005; Marks 2005; Schnepf 2007).

What more general lessons can we draw from this? It is worth noting that the papers we examined paint a highly consistent picture about the relevance of family backgrounds and individual-level traits for immigrant children's educational performance. However, it should also be noted that the effects of individual-level traits vary in strength between countries. This will prove an interesting source of variance, to be explained by destination country traits. Furthermore, the findings on the relevance of language proficiency also point toward the relevance of origin countries.

School-Level Predictors of Immigrant Children's Educational Success

Classic sociology of education maintains the socioeconomic composition of schools is seminal in predicting both the level of performance, and the socioeconomic gradient on performance. Indeed, the average sociocultural status of a school's parents has a strong positive effect on the achievement of both immigrant and native pupils (Dronkers and Van der Velden 2013). Ethnic diversity has a negative impact on immigrant pupils' achievement – independent of the destination country (Dronkers and Van der Velden 2013). The origin country of peers matters as well. For instance, a higher share of peers with a non-Islamic Asian background increases achievement, irrespective of pupils' background (Dronkers and Van der Velden 2013).

When taking into account that the effects of socioeconomic and ethnic school composition on immigrant students' achievement are cross-nationally diverse, some interesting country specific mechanisms come to light. In Australia and Canada, higher immigrant proportions in school increase immigrant pupils' achievement (Schnepf 2007). In the Netherlands, Sweden, UK, and US, the immigrant share is not important for achievement after controlling for other factors (Schnepf 2007). In Switzerland, Germany, New Zealand, and France, immigrant the share reduces achievement of immigrant pupils (Dronkers and Levels 2007; Schnepf 2007). On average, however, the effects of ethnic segregation are miniscule compared to the effects of socioeconomic segregation (Dronkers and Levels 2007).

Another aspect of schools is the pupil-teacher ratio. Immigrant pupils might need special attention from teachers. The pupil-teacher ratio quantifies the level of attention a teacher can give to each pupil. Empirically, fewer pupils per teacher increase the achievement of pupils (Dronkers and Van der Velden 2013). Yet, this effect is small and does not differ between immigrant and native pupils. A similar measure is teacher shortage, which does not only

relate to the quantity of teachers, but also the quality. Dronkers and De Heus (2016) show that in schools with a lack of qualified teachers, immigrant pupils perform worse.

Nevertheless, the achievement level of peers and the school composition only account for a small part of the immigrant-native gap. Whereas in Nordic countries, peer quality and school characteristics account for 10% of the immigrant-native gap, they only account for 1% in Central European countries (Dustmann et al. 2012).

Destination Countries: Contexts of Reception

Researchers were quick to recognize the value of assessment data for analyzing and understanding the relevance of contextual characteristics of destination countries. This cross-national testing has led to important theoretical insights. For example, cross-national tests confronted assimilation theory with potentially anomalous findings. If time is the only element relevant for immigrant integration, immigrants from different countries of origin should assimilate at about the same rate into the societies of their destination countries. These expectations were found to be false: macro-level differences were found in all dimensions of immigrants' integration. Several research findings indicate that macro-level differences also play a role in the educational performance of immigrants.

In line with the theoretical importance of the context of reception for explaining immigrant integration, various cultural, structural and institutional contextual characteristics have been examined. For example, the share of the population with an immigration background appears negatively related to the immigrant-native gap (Cobb-Clark et al. 2012). However, the larger origin groups in destination countries are, the better immigrant children belonging to the groups perform at math (Levels et al. 2008). Also, socioeconomic composition of immigrant communities in destination countries appears to matter as well: the better the average socioeconomic position of origin groups compared to natives, the higher children's performance (Levels et al. 2008).

Institutional characteristics related to educational systems, immigration laws and social policies are also important. For example, non-comprehensive school systems increase achievement inequality between immigrant and native students (Cobb-Clark et al. 2012; Entorf and Lauk 2008). This can partly be explained by different levels of peer interactions between high and low ability students (Entorf and Lauk 2008). However, some ability tracking per subject can also reduce the immigrant-native gap (Cobb-Clark et al. 2012).

Apart from the differentiation between educational systems, the age of selection into tracks seems crucial as well. Causal evidence points to an over-estimation of the negative effects of early tracking for immigrant pupils (Ruhose and Schwerdt 2016). However, early tracking substantially disadvantages immigrant children who do not speak the national language at home (Ruhose and Schwerdt 2016). Similarly, in countries that allow for grade retention, immigrant children are more likely to repeat grades and the immigrant-native achievement gap is larger (Park and Sandefur 2010).

The importance of time spent in school quantifies the relation of the educational system and the role of the parents for immigrant children's integration. In (pre-)school, pupils can learn from each other and become acquainted with the culture and the language of the country (cf. Crul and Vermeulen 2003). In countries with longer and more schooling days, pupils are also less dependent on the support of their parents, who were often not educated in the destination country. Because the level of support immigrant children receive will be lower than the support native parents can offer, time spent in school can decrease the immigrant-native gap (see Alba et al. 2011). Empirically, several mechanisms have been tested in a cross-national setting. Most findings suggest that time spent in school is beneficial for immigrant pupils. Pre-primary education can reduce the immigrant-native gap (Schneeweis 2011) as can a lower starting age (Cobb-Clark et al. 2012). More instructional hours per year also predict higher relative achievement of immigrant children (Schneeweis 2011). However, effects depend on outcome (e.g. math or science) and model specifications.

Education systems are not the only institutional trait that may be relevant for immigrant children's performance. Immigration laws also appear to matter. In traditional immigration countries like Australia, Canada, USA, and some extent in the UK, immigrant children are often less disadvantaged than in Continental Europe. This can partly be explained by selective immigration policies of these countries (Levels et al. 2008). This is a selection effect: because parental education is highly correlated with the education of their children, and immigrants in these countries are relatively highly educated, their children achieve better (Dustmann et al. 2012).

Another potentially relevant social policy is welfare. First generation immigrants appear to fare worst in countries with social-democratic welfare regimes than in liberal welfare regimes (Shapira 2012). For second generation immigrant students, however, a social-democratic regime may be beneficial (Shapira 2012). Apparently, liberal regimes encourage first-generation immigrants to obtain skills relevant to the destination country's labor market. On the long term, however, social-democratic policies lend more support and

security that enable the next generation to integrate better (Shapira 2012). However, the effects may also be spurious. Controlling for other characteristics and origin differences, Levels et al. (2008) do not find an effect of left-wing governments.

Interestingly, destination country traits may also interact with individual-level and school-level predictors. For instance, the socioeconomic composition of schools has a particularly strong effect in highly stratified school systems (Dronkers et al. 2012, Dronkers and Van der Velden 2013). The effect of ethnic segregation also appears to vary between stratified and comprehensive systems and affects immigrants and native pupils differently (Dronkers and Van der Velden 2013).

Origin Countries and Ethnicity

One important drawback of studies on destination country differences is that they mostly do not account for differences between origin groups. This has an obvious reason: data on immigrants' origin is often not available. However, given the unequal distribution of migrants from different countries of origin over the various destination countries, an analysis of the role of education for the performance of immigrant children without controlling for origin-effects makes analyses vulnerable and could invite false conclusions. For a rigid test of macro-level hypotheses, a design type that incorporates both origin and destination effects should be used.

In an analysis of 2003 PISA data, Levels and Dronkers (2008) made use of simple OLS regression techniques to analyze cross-national differences. Incorporating dummy variables for 13 destination countries to measure destination effects, and 15 dummy variables for regions of origin to analyze origin effects, they showed that both effects play a role in predicting educational performance of immigrants. Building on this, Levels et al. (2008) used a so-called "double comparative design" (cf. Van Tubergen et al. 2004). This enabled the analyses of multiple origin groups within multiple destination countries. Levels et al. (2008) find that – when controlling for composition differences, destination country differences and community effects – the performance of immigrant pupils from economically less developed countries is rather good. The same is found for pupils with a background from a politically stable origin country.

However, the relevance of economic and political circumstances may have been overestimated because features of the educational system have not been taken into account (Dronkers et al. 2014). Accordingly, Dronkers et al. (2014)

extended on the earlier papers and found that the performance of first generation immigrant pupils in the destination country partly depends on the length of compulsory schooling in the origin country. In these models, economic and political differences between origin countries do not explain the performance of immigrant pupils.

Discussion

Although the cross-national analyses of large-scale assessment data we reviewed have provided interesting insights in explanations of educational performance of immigrant children in Western countries, we may identify a number of important limitations of the papers we examined. First, data are not without limitations. Especially PISA received much attention from the media and in public debates. PISA is also seen as the most controversial and most critiqued. In this section we will not focus on general criticism of large-scale assessment data, regarding for example assessment methods and questionnaire design (for such a review see Hopfenbeck et al. 2017). Rather, we will focus on one specific issue related to the assessment of immigrant's skills using large-scale assessment tests: language. Immigrants may be at a definite disadvantage on assessment tests because of language issues. Constructs like mathematical ability or scientific literacy are conceptually distinct from language skills. However, language skills are important, as relatively low language proficiency of respondents might also hamper their ability to, for example, understand problems on math test. In general, observed variation in math skills may therefore partly be driven by differences in language proficiency as well. While this holds true in general, the validity issue may be particularly problematic for assessing math skills of immigrant children, given that for many immigrants, the language in which the test is taken is a second language at best. On the other hand, the skills tests in PISA purport not to measure respondents' proficiency in skills per se, but rather their ability to use these skills to "participate in society" as "constructive, concerned, and reflective citizen" (OECD 2003: p. 24;107). From that perspective, proficiency differences in math and numeracy as measured in PISA are insightful even if they are driven (partly) by language differences. TIMSS and PIRLS on the other hand specifically measure knowledge that students attained within educational curricula relating it to how that curriculum was intended to be taught and then implemented by teachers (Mullis et al. 2005). Hence, the scope of TIMSS is limited to assessing only those themes which are part of the curricula of all participating

countries. While this is not a limitation in PISA, the skills framework of PISA might at times assess skills which are not part of the curricula in some countries (Harlen 2001).

Other limitations of this literature relate to research designs. For example, the explanation of destination country differences has important limitations that are closely related to the common use of multilevel techniques to model between-country variance. Multilevel analyses in principle enable the construction of correct standard errors by correcting variance for clustering. However, the merits of these analyses are limited by data limitations in at least two ways. Firstly, analyses are not uncommonly performed on a limited number of destination countries. Country selection can be limited for several reasons, such as missing origin information, administrative purposes, or limited availability of macro data. However justified, using small numbers of destination countries limits the number of country-level characteristics that can be considered simultaneously, and may also lead to anticonservative tests of hypotheses (Stegmueller 2013). As a consequence, observed destination country effects may be spurious and driven by third factors not in the models, or even statistical artefacts caused by misspecification of confidence intervals. Destination country effects can be indicative of context effects, but need to be corroborated by other research before being interpreted.

We should also note specific problems with analyzing origin differences using these cross-national surveys. To quantify and understand differences related to immigrants' origin, researchers commonly rely on information about the birth countries of respondents and their parents. The use of birth countries to study origin differences should be qualified with at least four caveats. First, country samples of origin groups in large scale assessments are not necessarily representative for all origin groups in that country. That means that generalizations about origin variation beyond what is observed in the sample should be made with caution. Second, and perhaps obvious given the fact that cross-national migration has been going on for centuries and countries' borders hardly ever coincide with ethnic borders, birth country information is an imperfect proxy of ethnicity. As such, origin effects should not be equated with effects of ethnicity. Third, multilevel regression techniques are quite commonly used to analyze small origin groups (see e.g. Levels et al. 2008). Small origin groups are to be expected, given how migration is selective, immigrant samples are often small and non-representative. However, simulations suggest that analyzing small groups may result in biased level-2 standard errors (Maas and Hox 2005). Fourth, as our description of the evaluation of origin effects suggests, the strength and statistical significance of

parameters of origin characteristics in multilevel designs can be sensitive to model building. This means that inferring causality from these analyses should be accompanied with the necessary caveats. So, as with destination differences, origin differences should be interpreted with caution.

Another main point of debate relates to the validity of important explanatory variables. Many papers point to the importance of parental education for immigrant children's educational success. Cross-national surveys rely heavily on cross-nationally comparable measures of parental education. However, the comparability of parental education between immigrants and natives is not straightforward. Alba et al. (2011) name three aspects of this comparison that researchers should keep in mind. First, in most countries native parents are higher educated than immigrant parents. Second, even if comparing immigrants to natives with comparable attainment, it remains questionable how well the educational systems of origin and destination countries can be compared. Third, immigrants are a selective group (e.g. Feliciano 2005). Thus, even if immigrant parents attain comparable levels and educational systems are in fact comparable, unmeasured traits of agency and structure remain. However, this is the case for all analyses that draw on these types of data, and not necessarily restricted to studies of immigrant children.

Conclusions

With these important limitations in mind, we may draw a number of general conclusions from this literature. First, contexts matter. Taking into account the particularities of different social groups and national contexts is indeed the main strength of large-scale assessment data. For example, cross-national assessments suggest that educational tracking is likely related to achievement differentials between immigrants and natives. Most notably, large-scale assessment data corroborate the many papers suggesting that comprehensive systems give room for immigrant children to catch up with natives, whereas non-comprehensive systems exacerbate inequalities (Entorf and Lauk 2008). Yet, subject-wise ability tracking positively influences the achievement of immigrant pupils Cobb-Clark et al. (2012).

However, and this is the second main conclusion, the relevance of educational systems or other contextual traits is rather humble. Contextual characteristics related to origin and destination countries have only limited explanatory value (see also Schnepf 2008). From some studies, it seems that

origin country differences may be somewhat more important than destination country differences. Some studies find that a higher proportion of variance is tapped by at the origin country level than by the destination country level (Dronkers et al. 2012). Other studies find the opposite (Levels et al. 2008). However, in most studies, the overall contribution of both origin and destination countries to explaining variance in performance of immigrant children is limited. To illustrate the distribution of explained variance, Fig. 27.1 shows that of all the variation in PISA 2003 reading scores between immigrant children, by far most variance (about 86%) is explained by individual-level characteristics such as parental SES and language skills. So, while origin and destination effects play such prominent roles in public debates on immigrant-native achievement gaps, the scientific evidence suggests that their importance should not be overvalued.

The third main conclusion may therefore be that individual-level predictors are the key to understanding achievement inequalities between immigrant and native children. The most important predictor of success remains socioeconomic status. Also, language skills are important, not only as a direct effect, but especially in concert with other factors, e.g. high school starting age (Cobb-Clark et al. 2012).

There is also a conclusion to be drawn on a meta-level. One of the main hallmarks of international assessment data is that they allow for ranking countries' based on human capital potential. Such data also allow for ranking countries' immigrant-native achievement gaps (*cf.* OECD 2013a). It is tempting to interpret the achievement gap as evidence for the extent to which governments are successful in promoting ethnic equality in education. However,
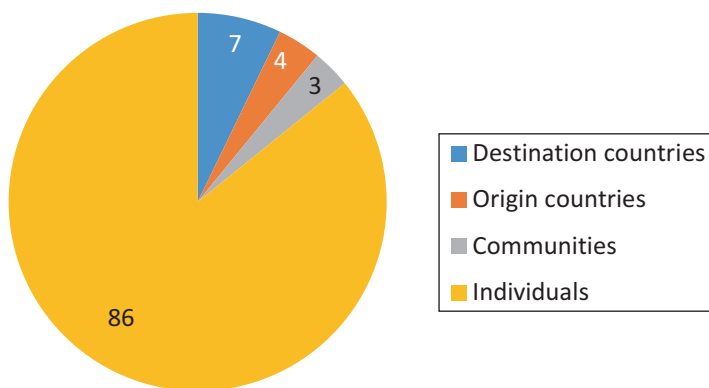
Fig. 27.1 Proportion of unexplained observed variance in PISA 2003 reading scores after controlling for individual-level differences. (Source: PISA 2003)

the research we reviewed for this chapter suggests that such a straightforward interpretation may not be merited. Countries have different immigrant populations: selective migration has amounted to an unequal distribution of immigrants over different receiving countries. Analyses that control for compositional differences suggest that only a modest proportion of the total variation in achievement gaps can be attributed to destination country differences that are not related to composition. Therefore, national league tables of such gaps should not be interpreted as an indicator of the success with which education systems promote equality between immigrant and non-immigrant children. Rather, they must be viewed in their full complexity, as the result of long-term sequences with which immigrant and native children and their parents have made educational and life-decisions, within the specific contexts of their origin and destination countries.

Future Research

Comparative studies can yield insightful conclusions about immigrant-native achievement gaps. From these studies we can learn about plausible – individual and contextual – explanations for cross-national differences in immigrant achievement. However, to understand the mechanisms at place, quantitative analyses of large-scale data have to be supplemented with other types of analyses. We have to rely on quasi-experimental and ethnographic methods, in-depth case studies and specialized survey data.

For future endeavors, pooling of available data seems a promising avenue. On the one hand, pooling survey waves can yield valuable insights regarding trends over time. On the other hand, creative combinations of survey data can create natural experiments (i.e. Ruhose and Schwerdt 2016). Traditional regression-control designs rely on the assumption that all confounding factors are observed and controlled for. Especially in multi-level designs, where the higher level samples are often very small, this can bias the estimation. Natural experiments can isolate causal effects by also controlling for unobservable confounders through randomization. Causal inferences are especially relevant to the evaluation of educational policies, and other destination country effects. However, the search for natural experiments could potentially limit the choice of research questions to be answered. Furthermore, researchers need to be cautious about the possible caveats that arise when combining data from different assessment surveys entailing different frameworks, some of which we have listed above.

There remain important questions to be answered. First, there is still much to be done examining the role of teachers. For example, teachers with an immigration background could have different expectations and assessments of immigrant pupils than native teachers (most of this research is related to the US context, e.g. Dee 2005). For PISA this is partly related to the sampling procedure of age groups in schools instead of classes and partly to the absence of a dedicated teacher questionnaire. That is, until 2015 when a teacher questionnaire was introduced in a limited set of countries (together with the linked teacher survey TALIS, cf. Le Donné et al. 2016; OECD 2015b). For TIMSS and PIRLS, teacher information is more readily available. Nevertheless, neither PISA nor TIMSS/PIRLS gather information on the origin of teachers.

Second, our knowledge of the (behavioral) role of the parents, above and beyond their socioeconomic resources, is limited in comparative contexts. Immigrant parents might have very different beliefs about the role of the school in education which affects their involvement in schooling matters (cf. Crozier and Davies 2007). Also here, data availability is the main hindrance to study related mechanisms in a comparative design.

Third, the observation of destination effects should invite research aimed at discovering possible mechanisms underlying observed macro-micro correlations. For such purposes, the outcomes of cross-national analyses of assessment data can serve as input for more small-scale comparative research. For example, ethnographic research in schools in different national contexts can provide valuable insights into the way in which national contexts lead to different (or similar) outcomes for immigrant children in different countries. Paulle (2013) is an exemplary participatory ethnographic study of schools in different national contexts, and may serve as an inspiration for scholars interested in the ethnographic study of immigrant children's educational achievements in different national contexts.

Finally, the league tables of nations' PISA scores has led to efforts to change education systems in various countries (Breakspear 2012), sometimes with the express goal of improving the chances of immigrant children (Ertl 2006; Egelund 2008). It would be insightful to use quasi-experimental designs to assess the causal link between these policy changes and educational achievement of immigrant children. Such studies would help to assess not only whether these policies were effective, but also whether or not holding countries accountable to their educational output helps in improving immigrant children's performance.

Appendix A

PISA

The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is an international survey that "aims to evaluate education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students." (OECD 2017). PISA is conducted every three years, in an increasing number of participating countries. The first wave of PISA was conducted in 2000 and 2001; at that point about in 43 countries participated. In 2015, over half a million students from 72 countries and economies participated in PISA. Students are assessed on science literacy, mathematical literacy, reading skills, as well as collaborative problem solving and financial literacy. The outcome variables are measured through multiple items, directly testing the extent in which pupils are proficient in certain skills. Pupils are presented with a selection of these items; item response modelling is used to calculate plausible values on literacy. These plausible values provide an unbiased estimate of the answers on all the literacy items. In addition, data on schools is collected through a separate questionnaire.

PIRLS and TIMMS

PIRLS is the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study. It runs every five years and targets pupils in fourth grade. It assesses reading literacy through a main survey that consists of a written reading comprehension test, and a background questionnaire. It is implemented in about 40 countries. TIMSS is the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study. Since 1995, it is organized every four years in about 40–55 countries, and focusses on pupils in fourth and eighth grades. TIMMS measures performance in various mathematics and science domains (such algebra, geometry, biology), and assesses the extent to which pupils are able to solve problems in these domains. Contextual information about schools is also collected. Both PIRLS and TIMMS are conducted by TIMSS & PIRLS International Study Center at Boston College and the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), with the objective to allow governments to make evidence-based decisions for improving educational policy.

Appendix B: Literature Review

Found via	Authors	Year	Data	Method	Destination/ Origin Countries (Regions)	Main result
WoS	Levels et al.	2008	PISA 2003	Cross-classified three-level hierarchical linear model	13/35	Low economic development in origin country has positive effect on immigrant pupil's performance. Politically unstable origin countries negatively related to immigrant pupil's performance. Children from immigrant communities with better socioeconomic capital than the native population perform better
WoS	Schnepf	2007	PISA 2003, PIRLS 2001, TIMSS 1995, 1999	Country regressions	10	Immigrant children in English-speaking countries often fare better than immigrant children in Continental Europe. Language skills, SES, and school segregation reduce the gap between immigrants and natives, however the gap remains in NL, DE, FR, NZ, and CH
WoS	Marks	2005	PISA 2000	Country regressions	20	SES most important factor for lower performance of immigrants. SES, sociocultural, and school factors account for 58–79% of differences between immigrants and natives. Language spoken at home only has minor impacts, once SES is controlled for
GS	Entorf and Minoiu	2005	PISA 2000	Country regressions	9	Language spoken at home is most important
WoS	Entorf and Lauk	2008	PISA 2000	Grouped country regressions for native/migrants	11(4)	Non-comprehensive school systems show a larger gap between migrant and native students. Peer effects are greater in tracked systems
GS	Dustmann et al.	2012	PISA 2006 (US: PISA 2003)	Pooled, Country regressions	18(4)/7	In countries with highly educated immigrants, immigrant children fare better. Language spoken at home is most important. Turkish migrants outperform children in Turkey, better school and peer quality key determinants
WoS	Levels and Dronkers	2008	PISA 2003	Destination and Origin-fixed effects regression	13/(14)	Immigrants from Southern- and Central America, Northern Africa and Western Asia have substantially lower math scores than natives

(continued)

(continued)

Found via	Authors	Year	Data	Method	Destination/ Origin Countries (Regions)	Main result
GS	Schneeweis	2011	PISA 2000/2003, TIMSS 1995/1999/2003	Pooled, Country-group-effects, Country fixed-effects	62(9)/(9)	Time in school and early education positively related to immigrant pupil's performance. Social and ethnic segregation are mostly unimportant
GS	Dronkers and Van der Velden	2013	PISA 2006	Four-level hierarchical linear model	15/46	High ethnic diversity is especially harmful for immigrant children. Pupils with a non-Islamic Asian background have an advantage compared to other immigrant and to natives. Other children also benefit from presence of non-Islamic Asian pupils in school. No effect found for socio-cultural diversity
GS	Dronkers and Levels	2007	PISA 2003	Three-level hierarchical linear model	13/(14)	Ethnic segregation in school is harmful for natives and immigrants, however for some origin groups more than for others. Still, socioeconomic segregation is more important
GS	Schnepf	2008	PISA 2003, TIMSS 2003 (CH/DE: TIMSS 1995), PIRLS 2001	Quantile regression	8	Performance dispersion is greater for immigrants than for natives. Dispersion is especially driven by very low performing immigrant pupils. Language skills are more important in lower than in higher performance quantiles
GS	Dronkers et al.	2012	PISA 2006	Cross-classified three-level hierarchical linear model	15/35	Performance of migrants differs over educational systems. Future research should not ignore ability grouping
GS	Cobb-Clark et al.	2012	PISA 2009	Country fixed-effects regression	34	Immigrant-native gap is larger for those who arrived at older ages and who do not speak the test language at home. Ability tracking per subject can be beneficial for some migrant students, but full ability tracking can be detrimental

(continued)

(continued)

Found via	Authors	Year	Data	Method	Destination/Origin Countries (Regions)	Main result
GS	Park and Sandefur	2010	PISA 2000	Country fixed-effects regression, Country regressions, Two-level hierarchical linear model	11	Immigrant pupils are more likely to repeat a grade. In countries with grade retention, immigrant-native gap is bigger
Added	Dronkers and de Heus	2016	PISA 2006	Cross-classified three-level hierarchical linear model	16/35	Immigrant children's performance suffers in countries with teacher shortage
GS	Borgna and Contini	2014	PISA 2006, 2009	Regression tree ANOVA	17	Severe migrant-specific penalties in Western Europe. Cross-country differences not attributable to origin composition. Migrant-specific and socio-economic penalties are two distinct dimensions
GS	Hillmert	2013	PIRLS 2001, PISA 2006	Country regressions	5	Parental SES, test language familiarity and school context explain the immigrant-native gap in France, and the UK. Some gaps remain in Germany, Netherlands, and Sweden
GS	Ruhose and Schwerdt	2016	PISA, PIRLS, TIMSS	Diff-in-Diff	25	Cross-sectional estimates overstate effects of early tracking on immigrant-native gap. However, early tracking does negatively affects second-generation immigrants who do not speak the test language at home and for first generation immigrants
GS	Shapira	2012	PISA 2006	Three-level hierarchical linear model	18	First generation immigrant children perform relatively well in liberal welfare regimes and countries with standardized educational systems and selective immigration policies

(continued)

(continued)

Found via	Authors	Year	Data	Method	Destination/ Origin Countries (Regions)	Main result
Added	Dronkers et al.	2014	PISA 2006	Cross-classified three-level hierarchical linear model	16/35	Higher student-teacher ratios in primary school relatively increase immigrant children's performance. For immigrant children who attended school in their country of origin at least for some time, the duration of compulsory education in the origin country is positively related to their performance
Added	Dronkers and Kornder	2014	PISA 2009	Destination country fixed-effects, separately for boys and girls	30/62(12)	Immigrant girls have higher reading and math scores than immigrant boys. This difference is larger among immigrants than among natives
Added	Dronkers and Kornder	2015	PISA 2009	Cross-classified two-level hierarchical linear model	17/45	Immigrant girls have higher reading scores when the gender equality in the origin country is higher. Gender equality is a mediator of religion

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28

Social Cohesion, Trust, Accountability and Education

A. Gary Dworkin

Most of the societies presented in the *Handbook* have addressed an egalitarian dilemma involving the desire to afford upward mobility to minorities and especially immigrants through education and pressures to support multiculturalism and the pluralistic ideal that supports minority and immigrants desires to retain their native cultural and linguistic identities. This dilemma was central to the race relations models of the USA by Gordon (1964, 1978). Pluralism encourages minorities and immigrants to retain their ethnic heritages without suffering from discrimination by members of the dominant group, while economic opportunities frequently require conformity to the culture of that dominant group—what Gordon termed "Anglo Conformity Assimilation." (1978, p. 66). In Europe following the end of World War II many nations needed the migration of "guest workers" to rebuild their infrastructures and assumed that such workers would return to their homelands after the work was done. Issues of assimilation was often not considered and few policies addressed the preparation of the children of the guest workers (should they have brought their families to the host countries) to adapt to the host countries. Once it was realized that a majority of the immigrants were not going to return to their previous homelands most of the nations examined in the *Handbook* were forced to address the issues of assimilation of immigrants. Several nations considered promoting the equality of educational

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opportunity through assimilation versus the right of immigrants and minorities to retain their own cultural identities. Frequently, however, native-born citizens of the host country's dominant population resented the retention on sub-group identities as "un-(whatever the name of the country in which the dominant and immigrant groups are living)." Such dilemmas have been faced by policy makers in **Belgium, the Netherlands**, **France**, the **USA**, **Germany**, **Austria**, **Brazil**, **Argentina**, **Sweden**, and numerous others. This dilemma has been especially salient since the massive arrival of refugees from the Middle East and from Africa and the wars in Southeast Asia and in Central America. Some countries, such as **Argentina**, **France**, and **Belgium** have opted to stress assimilation as the route toward upward mobility. Others remain conflicted and seek to promote social cohesion through educational opportunity and some admixture of core cultural assimilation and the selective retention of racial or ethnic heritages.

This exercise in this chapter involves the interplay among pluralism, tolerance, and trust. The latter two are central to the existence of social cohesion. Additionally, the chapter examines the effects of the impact of neoliberalism on education, particularly where pressures have been applied to demonstrate the accountability educational systems within a nation and to assess the extent to which the schools promote high achievement (effectiveness) and do not waste resources (efficiency).

This *Handbook's* cross-national examination of research on racial and ethnic inequality in education suggests a factor whose presence would promote the equality of educational opportunity and whose absence maintains barriers to educational opportunities and to intergroup tolerance and trust: the factor *social cohesion* among diverse populations in the society. In turn, social cohesion within the context of diversity fosters tolerance for difference and an organic trust that recognizes the beneficial contributions to the welfare of the society made by all groups. Social cohesion represents what Durkheim (1933) deemed "solidarity" and is vested in a collective conscience that allows members of the society to share values and meanings. Social solidarity, according to Durkheim, is challenged as populations become larger and more diverse and the division of labor increases. People no longer understand what significant roles individuals from other populations perform and how they serve to promote the welfare of the society. Furthermore, groups with more resources including greater amounts of power, prestige, and property are likely to erect barriers to opportunities (including educational opportunities) for groups with fewer resources. The latter are not seen as making a significant contribution to the social welfare of the collectivity. Restricted access to educational opportunities diminishes the amount of social capital of socially and eco-

nomically disadvantaged groups and social capital (Bourdieu 1977; Coleman 1988) and its networks are resources that individuals can utilize to better themselves and their children. In societies with high levels of social cohesion among diverse groups, tolerance and trust make for greater societal stability and enhanced benefits for all.

Societies characterized by substantial educational inequalities among racial and ethnic groups face the potential for civil unrest, alienation of such minorities from the life of the society, and even centrifugal strains (Trotsky 1932) that can lead to the breakup of the nation. By contrast, where the equality of educational opportunity exists, the prospect of other forms of equality may also be present, including economic equality and uniform civic commitment and involvement by most groups in the society. This also will result in substantially greater social cohesion among groups, trust in institutions, and personal commitment to the welfare of the society. The extent of social cohesion and trust vary among the 25 nations explored in the present *Handbook.*

In a pioneering book entitled *Education, Equality, and Social Cohesion*, Green et al. (2006) conducted a comparative analysis of the intermix among the components of the book's title in some 38 nations (the number of countries varied by the availability of measures accessible to their analysis). Many of the nations are also represented in the chapters in our current book. Social cohesion was defined by Green et al. (2006, pp. 4–10) as: the presence in a society of shared norms and values; shared identity and sense of common community; evidence of a sense of stability and continuity among the members of the society; the presence of institutions that promote the common welfare and share risk; equitable distribution of rights and opportunities; and a strong civil society and active citizenry. The principal variables used to assess the level of cohesion included: (1) low crime rates; (2) high civic cooperation; (3) tolerance for different cultures, religions, and groups, including immigrants; and (4) evidence of low levels of income inequality. An array of international data sets was used to examine the interrelationships among education, tolerance for diversity, income equality, trust and social cohesion. A significant analysis by Green et al. (2006) explored the nature of social cohesion in three key national models: (1) *The Nordic, or Social Democratic Model* depicting Finland, Norway, and Sweden, as well as Denmark, and Iceland; (2) *The Social Market Model* that included Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and to some extent Israel and Japan; and (3) *The Anglo-Saxon, or Neo-Liberal Model* as found in Australia, Canada, Ireland, the USA, the UK, and other English-speaking countries. Countries such as Argentina,

Brazil, China, Russia, South Africa, Taiwan, and Turkey have components found in each of the three models.

The Nordic Model is characterized by high levels of social cohesion and trust in institutions, as well as life-long learning. The model of the Nordic countries "…achieves higher levels of economic competitiveness by combining high labour productivity…based on widely diffused skills, with high rates of employment, facilitated by extensive adult learning." (The model)… "promotes both income equality and high employment rates, which along with universalist welfare policies, are high conducive to social cohesion." (2006, p. 17) However, the model is dependent on national solidarity the system is somewhat intolerant of racial/ethnic diversity and thus unwelcoming of immigrants who are different from the dominant population. This places real limits of the extent of social cohesion.

The Social Market Model "…achieves high rates of labour productivity through high technological investment and widely diffused workforce skills, but competitiveness is reduced by shorter working hours and lower employment rates." (2006, p. 17). Strong unions result in wage equity and substantial worker solidarity. Nevertheless, lower-skilled workers are excluded and hence, the level of social cohesion is reduced.

The Anglo-Saxon Neo-Liberal Model displays "…economic competitiveness based on flexible labour markets, high employment rates, long working hours and high skilled elites…" (2006, p. 16). High levels of employment promote the social inclusion of more diverse racial/ethnic and cultural groups, but skill-level (and pay-level) stratification of the labor force weakens intergroup cooperation and social cohesion, as does restrictions on and pejorative views of welfare.

Where it was feasible, I used more recent versions of data sources analyzed in by Green et al. (2006) to assess the components of social cohesion in the 25 nations in the second edition of our *Handbook*. However, not all of the countries in the *Handbook* were included in the Green et al. analysis and not all of the countries in our analysis were analyzed by Green et al. Nevertheless, we explored the components that contribute to social cohesion within the context of educational inequalities among racial and ethnic groups in 25 nations. Where possible, unlike in the Green et al. book, we attempted to explore the levels of cohesion and its contributing variables for all 25 nations. Sometimes we needed to supplement available data sets with information provided by the individual nations, rather than what was presented in reports by UNESCO or other international organizations. However, our goal was to be inclusive of all 25 nations.

The Measures

Cohesion scores (the dependent variable) were developed using a sub-component of the *Legatum Prosperity Index* (www.li.com) which measures cohesion as "social capital," including "…the strength of personal relationships, social network support, social norms, and civic participation in the country." The index was compiled in 2016 on data on 149 societies. Comparisons were made between these scores and data from the *World Values Survey* (World Values Survey Association, Vienna, Austria, www.worldvalues-survey.org). The measure of social cohesion was converted and reverse coded into a percentile rank for the nations taken from the ranking of all 149 nations in the Legatum Index, with zero representing the lowest level of social cohesion and 100 indicating the greatest level of social cohesion among the nations. Additionally, civic participation was measured using OECD's Better Life Index (www.OECDbetterlifeindex.org).

   Crime statistics for the analyzed nations came from the *International Statistics on Crime and Justice* of the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, UN Office on Drugs and Crime. Separate measures are reported to examine different types of crimes and a composite measure was constructed by computing a factor analysis that combined the individual rates for murder, assault, robbery, burglary, drug crimes, and human trafficking in each country. Individual crime rates are reported as number of crimes per 100,000 individuals in the country. Inspection of the data suggests that property crimes and simple assaults are more likely to be reported in wealthier nations and hence the association between crime rates and social cohesion would be positive in these data. Combining all of the types of crimes through factor analysis would also likely not support the thesis of Green et al. (2006) as the sheer number of cases of all kinds of assault and property crimes would likely favor wealthier nations and give greater weight to these measures. However, examining the relationship between homicide and social cohesion might correct for differential rates of reporting among nations and could be a more useful measure. In fact, the OECD *Better Life Index* uses the homicide rate as the only statistical indicator of safety. Additionally, a separate examination of the relationship between assault and social cohesion could be instructive.

   The *World Values Survey* used by Green et al. (2006) contained data for only 12 of the 25 nations in the *Handbook* and thus could not be used. However, the OECD Better Life Index (civic-engagement) did have voter turnout data that can use used as a measure of ***Civic Engagement.*** Data from the 2016 Gallup Poll further provided information of ***Tolerance and Trust***. Items in

the Gallup survey asked whether respondents would trust "people they met for the first time," "people of another religion," and "people of another nationality." Furthermore, the Gallup Poll included data by country on **Attitudes toward Immigrants**, asking individuals whether immigrants living in one's country, one's neighborhood, and marrying one's close relative were "good things" or "bad things" (Esipova et al. 2017), where a score of zero indicates complete rejection of immigrants under all situations and a score of nine indicates full acceptance of immigrants in all situations.

Two different measure of **Income Inequality** were used, one from the United Nations Development Programme that reports the ratio of wealth among the top ten percent of the population to the wealth of the bottom ten percent and a World Bank Gini ratio for each country in terms of degrees of spread of wealth in a population. The Gini ratio is based on a Lorenz curve and takes a value of zero when wealth is evenly distributed in a population and there is 0% inequality and a value of 100% is reached when the richest have all of the wealth and there is 100% inequality. The two measures provide quite similar results however, since Green et al. (2006) relied on the World Bank data and more countries are reported for those data, the analysis will be based on the Gini ratios computed by the World Bank in 2015.

Level of Education Attainment is presented in two measures, the percentage of the adult population (25–64) who have completed upper secondary education and the percentage of that same population who have completed tertiary education. The data are drawn from the OECD *Better Life Index*. Educational attainment is pivotal to addressing and mitigating income inequalities and enhancing the "breadth of perspective" (Warshay 1962), or the capacity created by education to address problems and challenges with broad understandings of an array of plausible meanings, ideas, and solutions. Such a broad perspective enables individuals more effectively to complete in a complex society.

Findings

Social Cohesion: The countries described by the Nordic model, as well as the countries that are identified with the Anglo-Saxon model cluster at the top of Social Cohesion and Trust. In fact, cluster analysis using Ward's aggregation method yielded four statistically significant clusters ($R^2 = 0.93$).[1] The highest level of cohesion was found for Norway, Finland, Sweden, Australia,

It might be surprising that the Japanese are substantially less cohesive and trusting than the other highly developed nations. Among the nations in this

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[1] The second author would like to thank Professor Jon Lorence for his statistical consultation.

Handbook, Japan has the lowest voter turnout, a measure of civic engagement. The Japanese rate of voter turnout is 52.7% compared with the OECD average of 69%. However, there are social and demographic forces operating in Japan that adversely affect cohesion and trust. Life expectancy in Japan is among the highest in the world (85 years), literacy is nearly universal (over 99%), and unemployment is low (4%), the median age of the population is the second highest in the world (47 years, as only Monaco exceeds it) and the birth rate at 7.7 births per 1000 women of childbearing age means that the national population could be cut by 20 million by 2050. A high cost of living, substantial competition to succeed in school and on the job have resulted in a greater likelihood that many Japanese people will not enjoy their longer lifespans as much as citizens of many of the Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, and Social Market nations. These observations are drawn from the data in the *OECD Better Life Index*. Additionally, many Japanese tend to be suspicious of foreigners, indigenous (the Burakumin), aboriginal (the Ainu), and non-Japanese peoples even if they were born in Japan (the Okinawans and the Koreans in Japan). The Japanese economy has been at a standstill since the recession of the 1990s and the OECD refers the country as a "no-growth nation." The conjoined effect of the social forces is a suppression of social cohesion and trust.

Russia and China have experienced upheavals in the past half century. The Soviet Union disintegrated in 1991 and Russia has had to struggle to return as a major world leader. Many older Chinese experienced the upheaval of the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and change in the Chinese economy in the years following the protests of 1989. There remains a disjuncture between the level of schooling that the economy currently needs and the level of schooling that will be needed as China becomes even more of an industrial giant. Currently there remain more well-educated young adults than the economy can absorb, given that upper middle school educations are best suited for assembly line production. Many college graduates assume the role of the "ant tribe generation"—well-educated workers who must share expensive housing as they pursue more menial jobs. Economic and political disruptions in Argentina and to some extent in Brazil, but are offset by industrial growth, lower cohesion and trust in these two countries.

Exploring the Correlates of Social Cohesion

Crime Rates and Social Cohesion: Graph 28.1 displays the varying relationships between crime measured by the homicide rate and social cohesion. It shows a negative correlation between the homicide rates and social cohesion. Higher levels of cohesion are associated with lower levels of homicide. Outliers
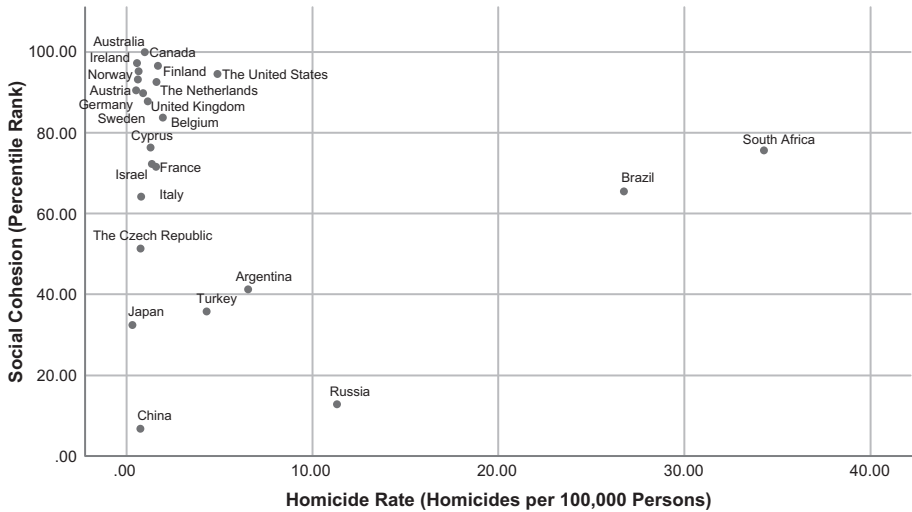
Graph 28.1   Social cohesion by homicide rate

are Brazil and South Africa with higher homicide rates and Japan, Turkey, Argentina, Russia, and China with low Social Cohesion and low homicide rates. The beta between homicide rates and Social Cohesion however is not significant at −0.143 (p = 0.50).

Graph 28.2 presents the distribution of countries in terms of the relationship between Social Cohesion and Assault Rates. Here, the relationship is positive in that greater social cohesion is associated with a higher assault rate. The obtained Beta is 0.558 (p = 0.005). Assault, unlike homicide is more prevalent in the Nordic Model and Anglo-Saxon Model countries than in others, and is especially high in the UK and somewhat less so in Israel, Australia, Sweden, and the USA. The assault data combines simple and serious assaults, as some nations do not report both kinds, but only list the overall assault rate.

Although not graphically displayed, crime rates for burglary (B=0.472, p = 0.02), rape (B=0.391, p = 0.06), and drug crimes (B=0.494, p = 0.04) were positively associated with Social Cohesion, although the rape rate failed to achieve statistical significance. Robbery rates (B= −0.119, p = 0.58) and human trafficking (B = −0.108, p = 0.71) rates also would have been consistent with the hypothesis of a negative association between Social Cohesion and crime rates had the *Betas* been statistically significant.

Tolerance for and ***Trust*** of groups who are different is hypothesized by Green et al. (2006) as an outcome of Social Cohesion. Trust in particular is a
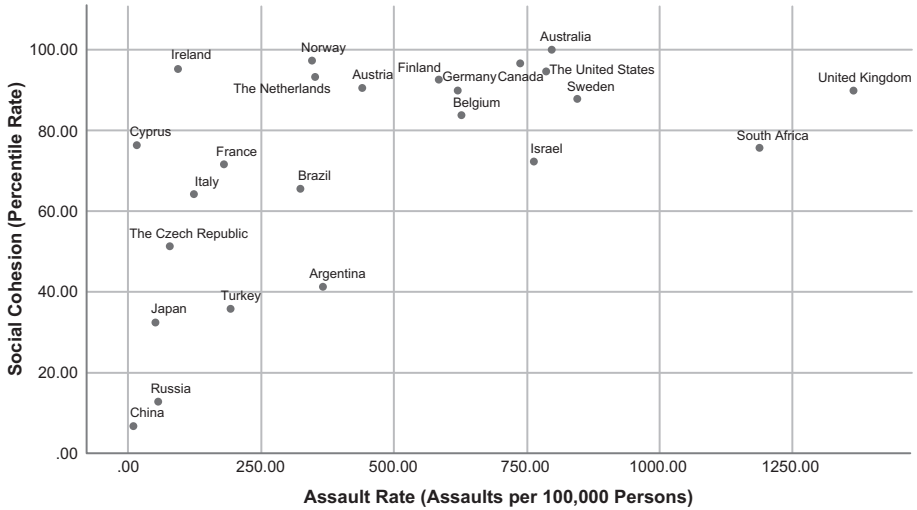
Graph 28.2   Social cohesion by assault rate

condition in which individuals are willing to place something they values in the hands of others (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy 2000; Van Maele et al. 2014; and Dworkin and Tobe 2014a, b). Taken from the *World Values Survey* the measures of tolerance and trust asked whether individuals would be willing to trust different groups of people, including those they have just met, those from a different religion, and those from a different nationality.

The association presented in Graph 28.3 between Social Cohesion and Tolerance of people who are different from the respondent is strong, with a *Beta* = 0.822 (*p* < 0.001). It is likely that the items measuring Social Cohesion, Tolerance, and Trust were seen by the respondents as phenomenologically equivalent. The two Nordic countries for which data on Tolerance is available are highly cohesive and tolerant of difference, despite the statement to the contrary by Green, et al. (2006).

Attitudes toward Immigrants represent another form of tolerance and are especially relevant in light of the ethnic cleansing, genocides, and civil wars that are currently present. Using the 2016 *Gallup Poll* data, Graph 28.4 indicates that there is a strong relationship between support for immigration and social cohesion. The obtained *Beta* = 0.613, which is significant at beyond the 0.001 level. With Gallup Poll index scores ranging from 0 (preference for a decrease in immigration) to 9 (preference to permit more immigration), the Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, and Social Market countries were generally supportive of immigration, while Israel, the Czech Republic, Russia, and Turkey (a
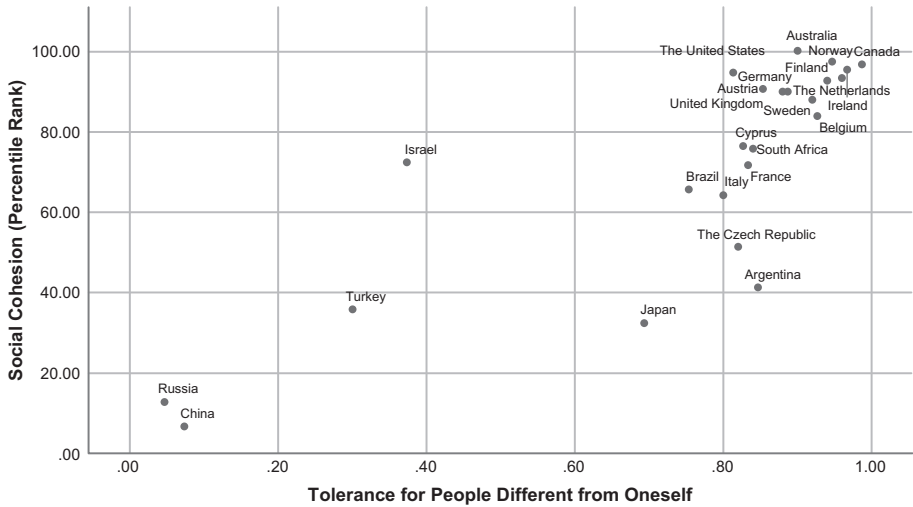
Graph 28.3 Social cohesion by tolerance
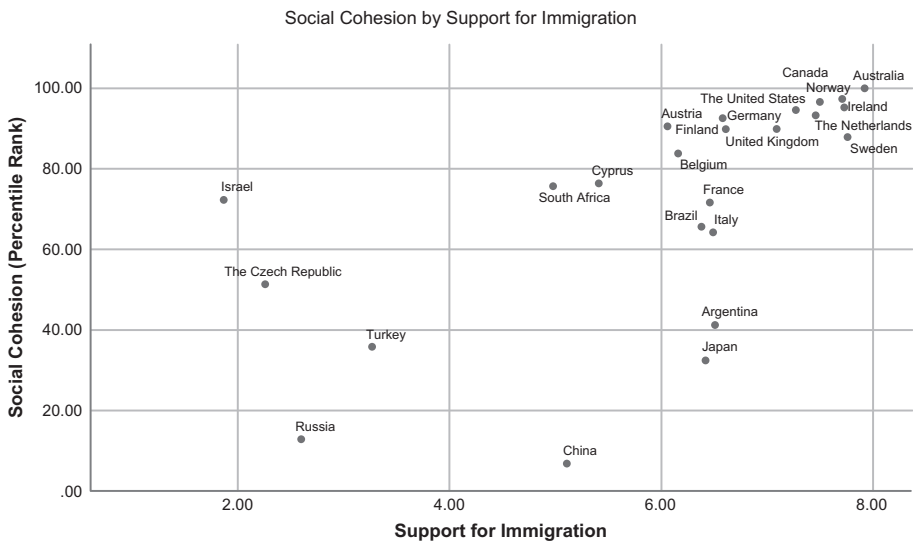
Graph 28.4 Social cohesion by support for immigrants

country that Amnesty International reports has received more than 3.3 million Syrian refugees by 2017), are less supportive of further immigration.

Civic Cooperation could be measured only by voter turnout data for the nations in the *Handbook*. The smaller group of nations reported in Green et al. (2006) would not be adequate for the present analysis. The OECD *Better Life Index* offered data on election participation. Graph 28.5 shows the
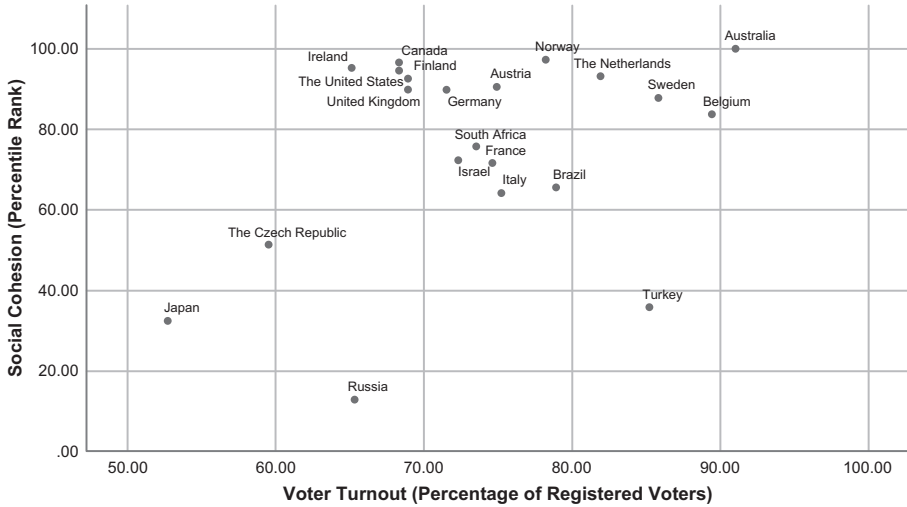
Graph 28.5 Social cohesion by civic cooperation (voting)

association between social cohesion and voter turnout was in the direction predicted (*Beta* = 0.351, *p* = 0.119), but failed to reach statistical significance. Australia, which makes voting mandatory and people have to pay fines if they do not vote, plus the Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium, and Turkey (not among the cohesive nations) had the highest voter turnout rates. Japan had the lowest rate and was not socially cohesive.

Income Inequality data collected between 2011 and 2015 by the World Bank reports the extent of inequality in incomes in each of the countries and is displayed in Graph 28.6. The interpretation of the Gini ratio is that higher values reflect greater inequality. The relationship between social cohesion and income inequality is negative, but fails to reach statistical significance (*Beta* = −0.245, *p* = 0.261). The greatest degree of income inequality is found for South Africa, followed by Brazil, with the USA, Turkey, Israel, Argentina, and China following those two most unequal countries. Finland, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Belgium, and Austria are among the least unequal countries in terms of income.

Educational Attainment is essential to the development of social cohesion in complex societies and in fact is seen as necessary for the development of trust and tolerance. Educational inequality is linked to numerous economic inequalities and the presence of discrimination. Much research has explored the relationship between the completion of upper secondary education and some significant life chances outcomes. This has certainly been a practice of the UNICEF within the United Nations. However, among the nations
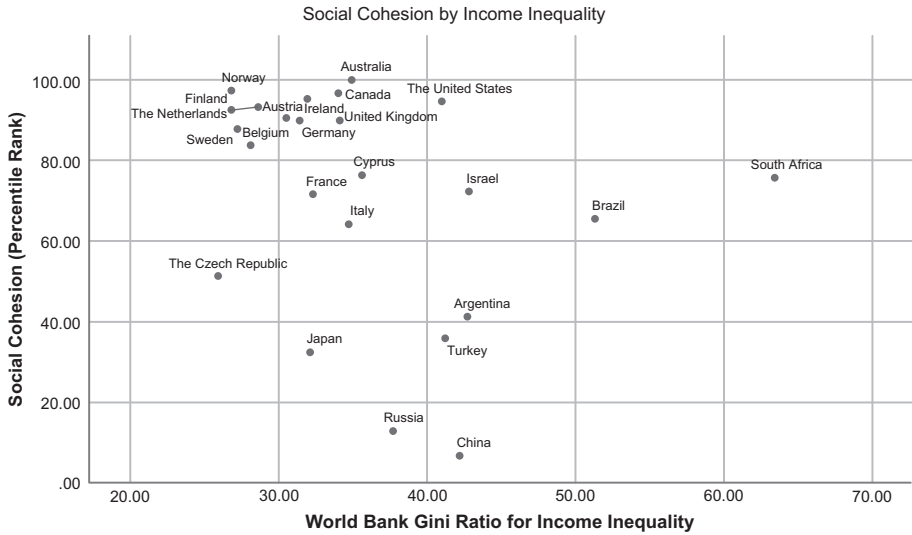
Graph 28.6   Social cohesion by income inequality

explored in this *Handbook* completion of upper secondary education displays little variance, with only Turkey below 40 percent and South Africa, Brazil, Italy, and Argentina at or below 60 percent. The remaining countries concentrate between near 80 percent to 90 percent. Countries with high, medium, and low levels of social cohesion had high percentages of secondary education attainment. The *Beta*, while in the direction predicted (higher completion rates of secondary education associated with higher levels of social cohesion) is 0.176 (p = 0.410).

Graph 28.7 indicates that the Anglo-Saxon countries, plus Russia, Japan, Israel, and Cyprus have the highest rates of tertiary education completion, while the lowest levels are found in South Africa and China. The rate of completion of tertiary education is more strongly associated with social cohesion, although it too, fails to attain statistical significance. The obtained *Beta* is 0.289, with a p-value of 0.181.

Conclusions

What can be concluded about the relationship between Social Cohesion and the measures identified by Green et al. (2006)? An OLS regression that used Social Cohesion as the dependent variable and Crime (homicide rate), Civic Cooperation (voter turnout), Tolerance and Trust, Attitudes toward Immigration, Income Inequality, and Educational Attainment (tertiary edu-
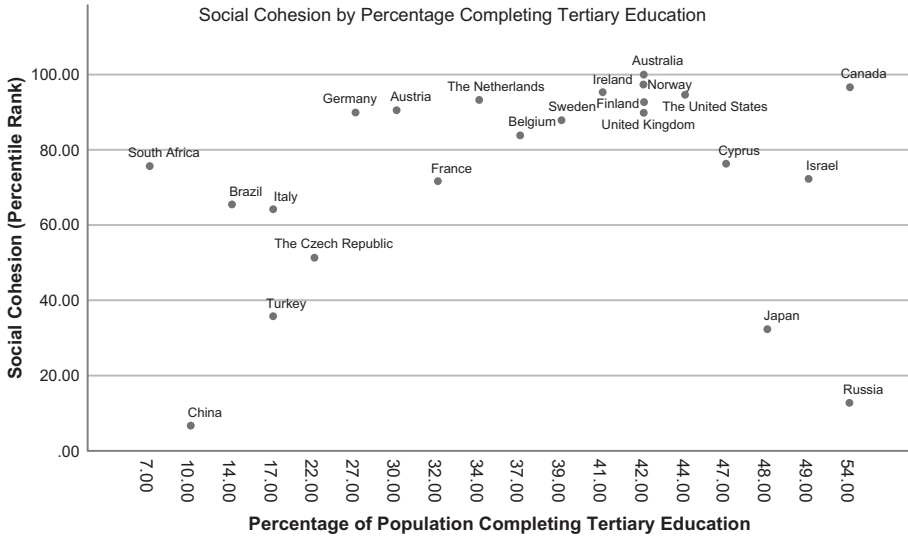
Graph 28.7   Social cohesion by tertiary education attainment

cation) is presented below. Inspection of the multicollinearity diagnostics reveals that Income Inequality and the Homicide Rate are substantially collinear. Likewise, Tolerance and Trust and Acceptance of Immigrants are also collinear. Each pair is more highly correlated with one another than with Social Cohesion. The level of Income Inequality affects the Crime Rate and societies that Accept Immigrants are likely to be Tolerant and Trusting of other people.

The initial model including all the independent variables produced an R^2 of 0.796, but some of the predictors failed to attain statistical significance. Dropping Acceptance of Immigrants (because it was multicollinear with Tolerance and Trust and dropping Homicide Rates) in Table 28.1 produced a preferable model that explained nearly the same amount of variance. Thus, revising the model does not appreciably reduce the R^2, but does eliminate multicollinearity.

Table 28.1   Dependent variable: Social cohesion

	B	(S.E.)	Beta	$t =$	Sig.
(Constant)	−98.944	32.293		−3.064	0.007
Income Inequality (Gini)	−0.636	0.352	−0.236	−1.807	0.090
Tertiary Ed. Attainment	0.689	0.233	0.376	2.956	0.009
Civic Cooperation	0.809	0.282	0.318	2.871	0.011
Tolerance & Trust	0.585	0.078	0.879	7.482	0.000

Adjusted R^2 =0.774, F = 18.125, $p < 0.0001$

Income inequality continues to fail to meet the criterion for statistical significance, although it is getting closer. Quite likely a larger sample of countries would produce the necessary t-value. However, among the nations in the *Handbook*, Educational Attainment, Civic Cooperation, and the combined effects of Tolerance and Trust produce higher levels of Civic Cohesion. Most likely, these variables interact upon one another. More education, especially tertiary education, leads to greater civic involvement and greater tolerance and trust as education provides the "breath of perspective" that Warshay (1962) proclaimed allows individuals to imagine and embrace a variety of solutions to challenging problems. The strongest predictor of Social Cohesion is Tolerance and Trust. In the ensuing section of this chapter explores, which addresses educational accountability, the role of trust and tolerance will be central.

Globalization, Neo-liberalism, and Accountability

The damage to the economies, infrastructures, and institutions in many nations following World War II resulted in wholesale migration of peoples to less affected countries, including many in the New World. This process of migration has continued due to wars, political instabilities, and civil strife up to the present, creating refugee populations and testing national resolve and levels of acceptance and civility. The substantial in-migration of diverse populations created new demands on the educational systems of the receiving nations. Eventually, progressive models of education that acknowledged the needs of diverse groups of students and focused on life skills were incorporated into many postwar educational systems. In some countries minority rights activism and later feminist activism resulted in an expansion of curricula from the basics to issues of multiculturalism, the equality of educational opportunity, and respect for diversity. Such changes in schooling threatened the hegemony of elite groups and even the dominant ethnic middle class. The response over the past 40 years has been the emergence of a movement to question the validity of progressive schooling, to challenge the validity of multiculturalism, and to reinstitute a return to basics, as well as control of education by elites. It also involved a questioning of the value of the education offered by the public schools and in some countries led to pressures to divert public tax monies from the public schools to the private schools in hopes of recapturing the hegemony over quality schooling and ultimately good jobs for the traditional privileged groups in the societies. Accountability has been the watchword over the past several decades. Schools, teachers, and school admin-

istrators had to demonstrate that they were providing a quality education, or drastic action would be taken, including school closures and the termination of teaching staffs.

Beginning in the 1980s challenges to educational institutions have been couched in two dynamic and international forces: globalization and neo-liberalism. Conjoined they created what has been known as the Standards-based School Accountability Movement, first in the U.S. under the Reagan administration and the U.K. under Thatcher and then expanded to include many developed and developing nations, including several countries presented in this *Handbook*. These forces lead to internal and external considerations about a nation's educational system. Globalization, created from technologies that provide rapid, world-wide communication and the consolidate of economic power in the hands of a relative few globalized actors, has meant that local and even multinational actors have less control over markets, products, public tastes, and myriad aspects of culture than in decades past. Chapter 27 on the USA in this *Handbook* discusses the nature and history of the Standards-based School Accountability Movement.

Neo-liberalism emphasizes the marketization and commodification of the elements of social institutions, including education (Ball 2003). The value of education as a commodity is that it can elevate the wealth of nations in their competition with other nations. Countries with well-educated populations and high scores on standardized tests are likely to thrive, while countries with poorer educational performances risk being relegated to the periphery of the world's economic hierarchy, as it is assumed that such countries cannot produce a talented and valuable labor force (Pigozzi 2006). In a globalized world such low academically performing countries will neither be selected to be the headquarters of global corporations, nor the source of high-priced labor.

Globalized corporations and multi-national NGO's require relatively accessible measures of the educational abilities of the children in each country. Neo-liberalism mandates that a country's educational system should be judged on the basis of its effectiveness in raising student test scores and its efficiency in terms of doing so at reduced cost. Social institutions can be further framed by neoliberal principles which posit that the private sector is more effective and efficient in delivering desired outcomes than the public sector, accountability systems in many countries rely on standardized tests, often created by globalized publishing corporations that also provide textbooks and test scoring services. Standardized testing provides efficiency in judging schools, school districts, and national educational systems. Such testing becomes "high-stakes" when the results are used to determine the fate of students, teachers, school administrators, and even nations. Testing has two general functions:

(1) those used internally to a nation to assess the accountability of all levels of schooling in that nation, and (2) those used externally to judge the future quality of a future labor force for a nation. In addition, external testing provides information to NGOs, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund of the extent to which debtor nations have adopted Western models of education that are assumed by the First World to be superior and likely to increase prosperity or retain more local educational models that are presumed to increase economic risk.

While some form of testing is used in all of the countries presented in this *Handbook*, not all rely on students' standardized test scores to evaluate schools, teachers and school administrators, and students in the manner that the USA, the UK, and Australia do. Indirectly, accountability is fostered in Ireland, Sweden, and Japan through the publishing league tables (school performance listings) that parents can use to select the best schools for their children. Low scores thus affect enrollment, especially of more middle class students. Most countries that utilize standardized tests, including Belgium, Turkey, the Netherlands, and Canada, and several others use them in the more traditional fashion, as ways of assessing the achievement of individual students either to facilitate remediation or to determine whether to promote the student to the next grade or whether to permit the student to graduate.

However, all of the nations discussed in this *Handbook* participate in international tests such as those provided by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (PISA, Program for International Student Assessment) and by the International Association for Educational Assessment (TIMSS, or Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study and PIRLS, or Progress in International Literacy Study). Chapter 9 of this *Handbook* examines the ramification and pitfalls of such tests.

Standardized tests that are used for internal consumption (used by schools or government agencies within a nation) as well as those used for external consumption (used to compare different nations) are high-stakes and subject to manipulation, cheating, and other means by which educational actors as well as nation states may improve their images. Teachers, schools, school administrators, and governmental agencies have been known to use a variety of means to ensure that their test scores are higher than they might be if no manipulation or "gaming" were done (Dworkin 2008, 2009; Dworkin and Tobe 2014a, b, 2015).

Tests that compare nations (for external consumption) have also been subject to questions of manipulation, including restricting testing to students who have the best chance of doing well on the tests. Publications by Dronkers

(2010) and Dronkers and Van der Velden (2013) have examined practices as well as demographic characteristics that lead to advantages that are sometimes independent of student abilities for some nations. Regardless of the cause of differences in test performances, some nations have flaunted their high test scores while others have questioned the viability of their educational systems in light of lower test scores.

Educational Accountability and Social Cohesion: The Changing Nature of Trust

Social cohesion is made possible because of a particular kind of trust that has been referred to by Bryk and Schneider (2002) as "organic trust." This form of trust is based on the willingness of individuals to risk placing ("entrusting") some valued object, relationship, or social status in the hands of another person, organization, or government. Organic trust posits that social actors other than oneself in whose trust something of values is placed share with the trusting individual common values, beliefs, world views, and goals. Organic trust does not demand contracts or formal, bureaucratic accountability, as it is assumed that trust will not be violated. Rather, organic trust is "…is predicated on the more or less unquestioning beliefs of individuals in the moral authority of a particular social institution, and characterizes closed, small-scale societies" (Bryk and Schneider 2002, p. 16). Contractual trust by contrast, is vested in more bureaucratic and formally-defined relationships in which the parties require the force of law to ensure mutual compliance with agreed to expectations. "A contract defines basic actions to be taken by the parties involved. The terms of the contract explicitly spell out a scope of work to be undertaken by the parties involved, or a product or service to be delivered" (Bryk and Schneider 2002, p. 17).

When trust relations mandate accountability it cannot be considered to be organic, but rather contractual. Parties to the contract, whether they be individuals, organizations, governments, or globalized corporations assume that those being held accountable will violate a trust if they are not constrained by the force of law. The Standards-based School Accountability Movement assumes that students, teachers, school administrators, governmental education agencies are essentially untrustworthy and must be constrained to promote educational excellence and to seek competence in their fulfillment of the contract. The accountability system is buttressed by a "hierarchy of distrust" (Dworkin 2008). Each successive level of organizations does not trust levels

below without the implementation of safeguards. Further, neo-liberal policies mandate the proof of competency and excellence must be quantifiable and based on efficient practices that demonstrate efficacy. Externally mandated standardized tests, usually created by a limited number of global corporations deskill educational professionals, thereby heightening cynicism, burnout, and commitment to the education of children. Dworkin and Tobe (2014a, b, 2015) have explored the way successive stages of the Standards-based School Accountability System has elevated teacher burnout rate and diminished the willingness of teachers to make extra efforts for their students.

Most school actors and especially teachers in nearly every country are paid less than individuals with a college degree working in business. However, teachers historically were offered three forms of benefits for lower salaries. They were given *job security* in the sense that tenure or its equivalent made termination problematic unless there were extenuating circumstances. They were given *professional autonomy* to the extent to which they could control what and how they taught. Finally, they were accorded *work flexibility* in that they could have summers off to do other activities and, given population growth, they could leave teaching to raise children and know that they could return sometime later.

All of the high-stakes accountability systems mitigated each of these alternative compensations. First, by mandating that teachers and schools are to be evaluated almost exclusively on the basis of the performance of students with the prospect of termination or school closure for low test scores, teachers lost *job security*. Furthermore, test performance of students is distinct and less subject to the control of teachers is specific teacher behaviors. Teachers need to trust that their students will do their best on tests and that low-performing students will achieve above their previous performance levels. Second, by standardizing tests that are used across whole states or provinces teachers are restricted in terms of their *professional autonomy*. They need to teach to the test. Third, as the high-stakes test require students who fail either to attend summer school or repeat a grade, the corps of teachers who might otherwise take the summer off is reduced in proportion to the failure rate of students in their schools. The result, especially for teachers in low-achieving, high-poverty school is a loss of *job flexibility*. Furthermore, the cost of testing to school districts and state education agencies burdens those organizations such that the surrender of the compensations for lower base salaries is not provided. The losses accrued to each level heighten distrust and fosters the transformation of trust from organic to contractual.

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Researching Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education. Key Findings and Future Directions

Peter A. J. Stevens and A. Gary Dworkin

As pointed out in the introduction, the sheer scope of the research discussed in this Handbook does not allow us to integrate critically all the findings that emerged out of these studies into a single concluding chapter that advises on future directions for research in each of the key research traditions and national and regional contexts. Instead in this concluding chapter we aim to realize three goals. First, we summarize and discuss some of the key characteristics of each national/regional review presented in an overview grid, which includes information on the: (1) research traditions; (2) research goals; (3) dominant research designs; (4) focus on groups identified as racially or ethnically distinct; (5) relationship between policy-makers and the research community; (6) key policy characteristics and developments over time; and (7) main language(s) of publication. This overview grid is used both as a tool to summarize research conducted in this area and as a reference guide that can be used by readers to identify particular areas of research and information and as a result assist in developing more specific, integrative reviews.

A second goal is to provide a cursory theoretical context with which readers of this Handbook might examine the national research literature on

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educational inequality among racial, ethnic, and other groups. This context acknowledges that the content of any national research literature on educational inequality is likely to reflect salient issues that a particular nation confronts in educating its populace, and especially members of groups who are not part of the society's dominant population or who do not participate in the core culture of that society. This section will not attempt to analyze the studies central to the research traditions of each nation, but instead will only suggest that, (1) research in the sociology of education that tends to focus on the social facts prevalent in a society, asking about the extent to which they are factual, and assessing their causes and implications for individuals and groups, and (2) the context of educational inequality is vested in the history of intergroup relations in the particular country. It therefore matters whether the disadvantaged groups are members of an indigenous and/or aboriginal population that have faced colonization, attempts at extermination, or historically been excluded from the mainstream of the nation. Somewhat different experiences and outcomes might exist if the disadvantaged group were conquered peoples as a result of warfare between nations. Here they may not be aborigines or even indigenous peoples, but rather those whose nation lost a war against the current dominant population. If the initial arrival of a group was the result of a slave trade the outcomes and current understandings would be even more distinct. It further matters whether the group is composed of recent immigrants to the society, who arrived as guest workers or as refugees from political oppression in their homelands.

A third goal of this concluding chapter is to highlight several gaps in the literature and suggest directions through which research on race and ethnic inequalities can further develop. It is expected that a more inclusive model of intergroup dynamics and the redress of racialized inequalities might be constructed from such future research.

Key Characteristics of Research on Ethnic and Racial Inequalities in Education

Table 29.1 summarizes some of the key characteristics of research on ethnic and racial inequalities as it developed in each of the 25 national and regional contexts included in this Handbook.

Observing this comparative summary table and a close reading of the chapters included in this Handbook allow us to draw some general conclusions

Table 29.1 Key characteristics of research on ethnicity, race and educational inequality in different national contexts between 1980–2017

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
Argentina	(1) Mapping educational access; (2) **Intercultural educational policies;** (3) Language conflict and schooling; (4) **Difference and diversity;** (5) School texts / books as a means of othering	Analyzing how social, policy and educational discourses contribute to disadvantage some minority ethnic groups' educational experiences and schooling	Mainly qualitative research	Indigenous minority groups: Mapuche Toba Kolla Wichi Bordered immigrants and their descendants	Researchers take a more critical relationship to social policy makers and rely on diverse funding sources (including non governmental agencies, universities and research governmental agencies)	A shift from more assimilation orientated policies to policies that emphasize the reality and importance of cultural differences and diversity	Spanish
Australia	(1) **Social class and family resources;** (2) **Ethnic minority cultures;** (3) **Language proficiency;** (4) Ethnic (urban/rural) segregation; (5) **Social-psychological features (such as motivation, identity and aspiration);** (6) Stereotypes and discrimination; (7) Multicultural teaching and education	Explaining Differences in educational and occupational aspirations and under-achievement by cultural and social psychological features Teacher preparation for migrant and indigenous students	Quantitative, qualitative, case studies and mixed methods	European immigrants Turkish immigrants Asian immigrants African humanitarian refugees; « boat people » Indigenous aboriginals and indigenous Torres Strait islanders	Researchers can be critical of, but have also a collaborative relationship with social policy makers; government funding for research	Pro-multiculturalism and integration from the 1980 onwards, but periods of laissez-faire attitudes, and occasional criticism of the policy	English

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
Austria	(1) **Political arithmetic;** (2) **Family background;** (3) Structures of educational systems; (4) Intercultural education and discrimination as well as; (5) Multilinguality	Explaining underachievement of ethnic minorities.	Since 2000 quantitative, before qualitative and critical theory	Descendants of immigrants from Turkey Former Yugoslavia and autochthonous minorities such as Carinthian Slovenes	Shift from a critical attitude towards social policy to a more collaborative relationship and an increase in policy funded and oriented research	Contradicting policies emphasizing both multiculturalism and assimilation; with an increased emphasis on the latter	German
Belgium (VG and FWB)	(1) **Political arithmetic;** (2) Cultural and educational outcomes; (3) Language proficiency; (4) Racial and racial discrimination in school; (5) **School effectiveness**	In the VG (Dutch speaking community), emphasis on the importance of socio-economic context and the importance of structural school features in developing ethnic inequalities and a focus on cultural features, such as expectations, aspirations, language and prejudice In the FWB (French speaking community), focus on reducing ethnic inequalities to structural social class inequalities, with cultural differences (between the dominant and minority groups) treated as a consequence of these	Mainly quantitative research	Descendants of immigrants in general and in particular from: Turkey Morocco Italy (in FWB) However, in FWB, a strong preference not to focus on ethnic categorization and instead focus on social class differences	Collaborative and critical relationship with government and increasingly more research funded through government independent channels	Contradicting policies emphasizing both multiculturalism and assimilation	Initially in Dutch but increasingly more in English in de VG and mainly in French in the FWB

(continued)

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
Brazil	(1) **Charting ethnic/racial inequalities in education;** (2) Race and school effectiveness; (3) **Racism and discrimination in schools**	Describing inequalities in access, survival and achievement and experiences of racism	Quantitative and qualitative	Indigenous (Indian) minorities and African Brazilian minorities	Collaborative relationship with considerable policy funded and oriented research	Pro-multiculturalism and affirmative policies	Portuguese
Canada	(1) **Mobility / Meritocracy;** (2) Individual Discrimination / Prejudice / Racism; (3) Identity / Values; (4) Aboriginal Education; (5) **Institutional Processes**	Explaining underachievement of visible minority students and highlighting the production and negotiation of racialized identities and hierarchies through schooling processes	Quantitative and qualitative, with the latter more dominant in recent years	Aboriginal and non-white, visible minority students	A detached relationship between the research community and government	Increased emphasis on pro multicultural policies (and intercultural policies in Quebec)	English and French

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
China	**Mandarin literature**: (1) Marxism and ethnic minority education; (2) Patriotism and national unity in education for ethnic minority students; (3) Multicultural education; (4) **Determinants of ethnic differences in education**; (5) School facilities and teacher quality; (6) Preferential / affirmative action policies. **English literature**: (1) **Policy overviews**; (2) Education and ethnic identity; (3) Incentives and disincentives for buy-in to the education system; (4) Educational stratification	Describing the complex interrelationships of ethnicity with cultural, policy, development, and language issues	Quantitative and qualitative designs, particular qualitative analyses of (policy) texts	Indigenous minority groups	Mandarin literature is mainly collaborative while English literature is more critical of social policy	The Chinese government adopts an integrationist perspective towards ethnic minorities, which is realized in and in turn fosters patriotism and economic development	Mandarin and English

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
Cross-national comparative research	**(1) Individual predictors;** **(2) School-level predictors;** (3) Predictors related to the contexts of reception/destination countries; (4) Predictors related to origin countries/ ethnicity	Investigating how characteristics of origin and destination countries inform ethnic inequalities in educational outcomes	Quantitative research using large-scale datasets (i.e. PISA, PIRLS, and TIMMS)	Broad categories, related to members of dominant and minority ethnic groups	Research is usually detached from government funding, but national governments pay increasingly more attention to this research (and how their country contexts rank or compare to other countries)	Is not characterized by particular ideologies regarding cultural diversity	English
Cyprus	(1) School ethnographies of national identity construction; **(2) School ethnographies of racism;** (3) Critical studies of curricula and textbooks; (4) Studies of teachers and intercultural education	Explaining Greek Cypriot ethnocentric identity construction in relation to "others"	Mainly qualitative research	Turks Turkish Cypriots Immigrants from Russia and Eastern European countries Asian countries like China, Sri Lanka and Vietnam	Researchers take a more critical approach to social policy makers and rely on self-funding and/ or funding sources that are independent of the government	From assimilation orientated policies to more pro-multicultural policies, but the latter are in turn focused on assimilation, albeit in a more hidden way	Greek and English

(continued)

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
Czech Republic	(1) Ethnic discrimination in the educational system; (2) The mapping of ethnic inequalities in education; **(3) Educational resources, social contexts, and under-achievement**	Mapping and explaining (by focusing on family background and discrimination) the under-representation of ethnic minority groups, particularly Roma minorities, in (higher status) educational trajectories	Quantitative and qualitative research	Roma Slovaks Ukrainians Vietnamese Russians	Researchers and government institutions work in a collaborative way	From assimilationist and colour blind policies towards more inclusive policies that recognize the need for multicultural and ant-racism education	Czech and to some extent in English
England	(1) Political arithmetic; **(2) Racism and racial discrimination;** (3) school effectiveness and inclusion; (4) Culture and educational outcomes; (5) Educational markets and educational outcomes	Identifying inequality in educational experiences and outcomes of racial and ethnic minorities	Mainly qualitative research	Descendants of immigrants from Caribbean Africa Pakistan India Bangladesh China Gypsy/Traveller/Roma' children	Critical approach to government policies	Pro-multiculturalism oriented policies with a less visible, more assimilation orientated agenda	English

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
France	(1) Structures, curriculum and policies for minority students; (2) Family background and ethnic inequalities in education; (3) Limited educational resources of ethnic minority families; (4) Ethnic school segregation; (5) Ethnic relations in classrooms and schools	Research conducted in France analyses the gaps between the official color-blindness of the traditional French integration model and concrete evidence of ethnic inequalities	From a focus on mainly qualitative research to more quantitative research designs	Mainly descendants from immigrants from North African and sub-Saharan countries	A critical approach to social policies with little research being policy orientated and funded	Traditional French integration (assimilation) policies with some limited departure from the assimilationist model in educational policy	French
Finland	(1) Non-Finnish backgrounds of students as a pedagogical and didactic problem; (2) Minority students' educational paths as parts of marginalized life-courses; (3) Ethnic discrimination in secondary education	Explaining how cultural differences and poor Finish language skills lead to educational drop outs of minority youth	Mainly qualitative research	(descendants from) Immigrants from: Russia Somalia Roma/Traveller background	A collaborative relationship with few critical studies on government policies	Contradicting policies emphasizing both multiculturalism and assimilation	Finish and more recently English

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
Germany	(1) Characteristics of migrant students and their families as causes of inequality; (2) Features of the education system and their relevance for inequality; (3) Linguistic diversity as a cause of educational inequality; (4) Discrimination (as part of the other traditions)	Explaining underachievement of ethnic minority groups	Quantitative and qualitative, often mixed methods	Turkish immigrants Russian speaking (Eastern European) immigrants	Critical and collaborative relationship	From multiculturalism to super diversity	German and (more recently) English
Ireland	(1) Cultural and religious diversity in policy documents and research reports; (2) Racism and education; **(3) The development of newer and more critical research agendas**	Focusing on gaps between progressive policy rhetoric and practices drawing mainly on Bourdieu	Qualitative research through analysis of (policy) texts	Focused more on policies rather than immigrants (most of which are very recent migrants of polish and Lithuanians background and to a lesser extent of Indian, Chinese and Nigerian background)	A widening relationship between educational sociologists and policy makers, and practice in the field	An development towards more pro-multicultural policies	English

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
Israel	(1) Social class differences; (2) Differences in quality of neighbourhoods and schools; (3) Ethnic and social composition schools; (4) Ability grouping (tracking); (5) Family (migration) background characteristics; (6) Discrimination in education and society	Explaining differences in educational achievement between various Jewish and non-Jewish groups	Mainly quantitative research	Jews of European-American descent (EA – Ashkenazim) Jews from afro-Asian descent (AA – Mizrachim) Russian Jews Ethiopian Jews "old-timers" Jewish majority (born in Israel) Jewish majority Arab minority	A close collaboration between researchers and social policy makers	Assimilationist policies.	Hebrew and English
Italy	(1) School inclusion and intercultural practices; (2) Political arithmetic; (3) Educational outcomes; (4) Interethnic relationships	Charting and explaining differences in attainment between ethnic minority and dominant ethnic groups in education	Quantitative and qualitative research	Romani students Undocumented migrants Eastern-European migrants Asian migrants African migrants	A close collaboration between researchers and social policy makers	Since the 1990s, policy shifted more to inclusive and intercultural policies	Italian and more recently in English

(*continued*)

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
Japan	(1) Quantitative descriptions of minority students' educational achievements; (2) **Schooling processes in relation to discrimination, school interventions and identity formation;** (3) Home cultures	Explaining underachievement of ethnic minorities	Qualitative	Indigenous minority groups, and descendants of former colonial subjects and migrants such as: *Ainu people; buraku people; zainichi Koreans;* new migrants	A collaborative relationship between educational anthropologists and local governments	A policy that emphasises human rights over cultural diversity (i.e. colour blind approach)	Japanese
Norway	(1) **Ethnic inequalities in educational enrolment, achievement, attainment;** (2) Immigrant families and ethnic minority communities as resources for educational careers; (3) Curriculum, teacher instruction, and student experiences with inclusion and exclusion	Charting and explaining educational underachievement of certain ethnic minority groups.	Mainly quantitative.	Pakistanis Vietnamese Sri-Lankan Moroccan; Turkish	Close collaborative relationship between researchers and the government	A shift in policy from more pro MC to more assimilation. Although MC is more visible and recognized in more recent textbook and curricula; it is at the same time essentialized and limited to 'folklore' differences	Norwegian and English

(continued)

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
Russia	(1) Languages of school education; **(2) School quality and ethnic background;** (3) Socio-cultural differences and education; **(4) Problems of migrants and receiving society;** (5) Students' inter-ethnic relations	Describing the educational problems experienced by various ethnic minority indigenous populations and migrants	Mainly quantitative	Indigenous (national) minority groups such as: Tatars; Yakuts; Bashkirs; Chuvashs; Buriats; Armenians; Georgians	Collaborative relationship with considerable policy funded and oriented research	A post-USSR context that is characterized by political tension conditioned by demands for cultural autonomy of various sub-national regions and ethnic minority groups	Russian

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
South Africa	(1) From Oligarchy to Democracy; **(2) Policy development – State versus resistance movements;** (3) The impact of the removal of race based policies; **(4) Racial (de) Segregation: Causes and consequences; (5)(de)Segregation and school resources;** (6) Curriculum studies; (7) Teacher Training and Pedagogy; (8) Charting inequalities in student outcomes; (9) Rural education	The development of social policy and the systematic educational inequalities between the majority black and minority White learners, in particular in relationship to achievement and school resources	Mainly quantitative	Black majority population	Close, collaborative ties with the government as most research is government funded and aimed at evaluating and guiding social policy interventions	From apartheid to post-apartheid regime	English

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
Sweden	**(1) Political arithmetic;** (2) Racism and discrimination; (3) Language proficiency tradition; (4) School choice and school segregation; **(5) Cultural and social capital and socio-historical contexts**	Charting and explaining educational underachievement of certain ethnic minority groups	Quantitative and qualitative	Migrants from: Nordic countries (excluding Sweden); EU27 (excluding Nordic countries); Europe (excluding EU27 and Nordic countries); North America and Oceania; South America; Africa; Asia	A collaborative relationship between researchers and social policy makers, but also a more critical stance of the former over the latter	Although there is an official discourse that favours multicultural education, in practice teachers adopt assimilationist assumptions about the role of schools in teaching ethnic minority children	Swedish and English
Taiwan	**(1) Social stratification;** **(2) Education stratification;** (3) Cultural identity and ethnic education; (4) Culturally responsive teaching; (5) Language proficiency and literacy program; (6) Intersectionality and academic performance	Research focuses primarily on explaining how indigenous students, especially those from working classes, tend to fail in school	Quantitative and qualitative	Hakka; Mainlander; Indigenous	Researchers and social policy makers work usually independent from each other, with researchers offering analyses that feed into social policy development	A shift in policy from assimilation to multiculturalism in the past two decades (particularly through minority language teaching); in part as a response to the dominance of mandarin language in the public sphere (due to the influence of China)	Mandarin

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
The Netherlands	(1) **Political arithmetic;** (2) Racism and ethnic discrimination; (3) School characteristics; (4) School choice; (5) **Family background;** (6) Institutional approach	Explaining underachievement of ethnic minorities	Quantitative	Descendants of immigrants from Turkey Morocco Suriname	Collaborative relationship with considerable policy funded and oriented research	From pro-multicultural to more assimilation oriented policies	Initially in Dutch but increasingly more in English
Turkey	(1) Regional differences; (2) Language differences; (3) Religious differences	Charting and explaining underachievement of minority groups	Quantitative	Language minorities Lower SES groups	Virtual no government funding on research on ethnic inequalities. Few researchers work in this area and there is not a strong, critical voices in relationship to government policies	Assimilationist and colour-blind policies and a deficit thinking in relationship to inequalities in education. Growing role of religion in education	Turkish and English

(continued)

Table 29.1 (continued)

Country	Research traditions	Main research goal(s)	Dominant research designs	Focus on which racialized or ethnicized groups	Relationship researchers and policy makers between 1980–2017	Policy towards ethnic or racial minorities between 1980–2012	Main language of publication
The USA	**(1) Emphasis on students; (2) Emphasis on families; (3) Emphasis on schools**	Measuring and accounting for the race/ethnic based test-score gaps; assessing the magnitude and effects of school desegregation and re-segregation; explaining the effects of the accountability movement on students and school staff	Quantitative in assessing the magnitude and nature of the test-score gap; Quantitative and Qualitative in examining the causes of the gap	Racial and ethnic minorities and immigrant groups, especially native-born African Americans Hispanics Native Americans (Indians) Asian Americans and immigrants from Latin American Asia	A considerable amount of the research is either policy research or policy-relevant research; Many of the large studies have been funded by the U.S. Department of Education or by state education agencies	A combination of policies that encourage multiculturalism as well as assimilation, promote educational opportunities across racial/ethnic and social class groups, but also address the threats by elites who seek to continue affluent and middle class hegemony over educational advantages	English

Note: Research traditions in bold are the most dominant traditions of research within this particular country

regarding the development of research on ethnicity, race, and educational inequality worldwide. First, the chapters included in this review testify to the wealth of research carried out on ethnic and racial inequalities worldwide. Second, although researchers appear increasingly more likely to publish their work in English and consider research developed abroad, most of the research carried out on this topic is 'inward looking', with scholars developing research traditions mainly in interaction with local developments in terms of policy and intellectual thought, and generally neglecting research conducted abroad. Additionally, a fully comprehensive cross-national review is a challenge because a considerable amount of published research on the ethnic and racial inequalities in education is written in the native language of the country studied (see the chapters on **Argentina**, **Austria**, **Brazil**, **Canada**, **China**, **France**, the FWB region in **Belgium**, **Germany**, **Israel**, **Japan**, **Russia**, **Taiwan**, and **the Netherlands**). This tendency makes some significant portion of the published research less accessible to a global research community and less likely to be included in the more popular and authoritative, academic electronic databases (such as ERIC, Sociological Abstracts, and Web of Science).

Sometimes, the language in which research is written can indicate particular ideological preferences or assumptions on the part of researchers. This is perhaps best illustrated by the context of **China**, which has produced both a Mandarin and an English body of literature on ethnic and racial inequalities. While there is considerable overlap between these bodies of research in terms of focus and employed methods, they often draw on different ideological starting points: while the Mandarin literature draws more on a Marxist ideology of ethnic minority education which emphasizes the role of the state in creating national unity and patriotism, English research is much more critical of such a view and emphasizes much more the importance (and lack of) multicultural policies in education.

Third, the chapters included in this Handbook show that research on ethnic and racial inequalities in education is strongly influenced by nationally specific political and demographic characteristics and processes. For example, most of the research carried out in Northern Europe focuses on the underachievement of second- and third-generation immigrant children, whose parents migrated from Southern Europe, North Africa, Turkey, and former colonies, particularly between the 1960s and 1970s due to labor shortages in Northern European countries. In sharp contrast, research in **South Africa** is more focused on the educational inequality between the white minority and black majority population in South Africa and the importance of the apartheid legacy and post-apartheid policies in sustaining or changing these inequalities. While a vast amount of research has been conducted on ethnic

and racial inequalities in the **USA**, focusing on large immigrant groups such as (children of) Spanish speaking migrants and descendants of the Spanish conquest of the New World, as well as Asian migrants, the most dominant tradition of research focuses on the persistent 'achievement gap' between the large and historically important (due to the legacy of slavery) black minority population and the white majority population. Finally, in **Russia**, research on multilingualism sharply increased after the collapse of the USSR and the subsequent regional developments of national and ethnic movements; as the politics of language became both related to a discourse on socio-economic inequality and cultural self-governance.

However, historical, political processes do not only influence the focus of research in terms of what are legitimate research questions and populations that need to be involved in research on ethnic and racial inequalities, but also how such research is framed. For instance, while there is considerable research on racial discrimination of ethnic minority groups and educational inequality in **Germany**, this research is rarely framed as such but instead linked to research on the role of families, school structures and processes, and multilingualism. The reasons why this body of research rarely explicitly refers to racism (or racialized groups) is that the concept of racism in Germany is heavily linked to and used in the context of studying the racist ideology and practices of Nazi Germany.

The chapters also suggest that there is a strong relationship between state ideologies and the production of knowledge on ethnic inequalities in education. More specifically, nationalism (**China**, **Japan**, **Russia**, **Turkey**), universalism (**France**, the FWB in **Belgium**), Marxism (**China**, **France**, the FWB in **Belgium**) and/or religious belief systems (**Turkey**), can function as state-sponsored ideologies that deliberately throw a cloak over the existence of ethnic diversity in society. In these countries / regions, ethnic diversity policies are usually characterized by a color-blind and/or assimilationist approach, in which differences in educational achievement are often reduced to social class, poverty and/or regional inequalities. Although these ideologies differ in terms of their world views, in the countries mentioned above, they seem to consider a focus on ethnic/cultural diversity as a potential threat to the social cohesion of society. In these countries, national governments will restrict or oppose investments in the development of data-sets that allow for the investigation of ethnic differences in educational systems, as explained by Ichou and Van Zanten: 'This continued 'veil of ignorance' makes it difficult to obtain official statistical or documentary data to assess the extent of these inequalities and to obtain funding to conduct original quantitative and qualitative studies to further explore their different expressions, causes, and consequences' (the chapter

on **France**). However, in such countries, researchers sometimes fall back on large-scale cross-national databases (e. g. PISA) as a sources of information (see for instance the FWB in **Belgium**, **France** and **Turkey**); which ironically leads to the production of quantitative research findings on ethnic differences in educational outcomes that are considered important by these national governments. This suggests a somewhat contradictory view on ethnic inequalities in education in these countries/regions: while they are considered to exist and be problematic (in that they might be indicative of or lead to an erosion of social cohesion), they cannot be highlighted too strongly and need to be explained by (manageable) structural forces (such as poverty, lack of education and/or regional underdevelopment), so that it cannot become a force of community destabilization. The reason why these ideologies in particular seem to restrict the development of knowledge on ethnic inequalities in education can be explained by their ideological assumptions: while communist (inspired) systems will emphasize the importance of economic forces over cultural forces in explaining inequality, nationalism (and religious belief systems and universalism) will emphasize the need to be (to some extent) homogeneous as a nation in terms of culture and identity. For these belief systems, the recognition of 'cultural diversity' as a legitimate, driving force, can be considered as a threat to their core principles. In contrast, in countries where governments have taken ethnic and racial inequalities in education on board as a policy concern, research on this topic, and particularly large-scale, quantitative research has flourished (e.g. **the VG in Belgium**, **England**, **Germany**, **The Netherlands**, **South Africa** and **the USA**), sometimes through direct funding of nationally specific policy-orientated research projects or through the participation in international comparative research projects (for the latter see, for instance, the chapter on **Austria**). However, continued pressure from powerful interest groups in society can stimulate national governments who prefer to focus on 'what we have in common', to recognize the value of and promote cultural diversity. In **Russia** for example, after the collapse of the USSR, continued pressure from the various sub-national regions encouraged the national government to implement MC policies that promote teaching in minority languages.

While, the (in)dependence of (particular types of) research on government funding poses important questions on how this relationship impacts on the production of knowledge and policy in this area, the chapters included in this Handbook suggest that there is considerable variability in terms of this relationship and its potential consequences. For example, research in **Argentina** and **Cyprus** is primarily qualitative, with strong roots in anthropology, and in both countries researchers adopt a more critical approach to social policy ini-

tiatives and educational processes, which are criticized for failing (often implicitly) to recognize ethnic minority interests and needs, and adopting a more assimilationist approach to diversity. However, while research in Cyprus has largely failed to make an impact on social policy and is – in terms of funding – largely independent from the government, researchers and social policy-makers in Argentina (and also in **Brazil**) seem to depend more on government funding and appear to have a more collaborative relationship in which critical research seems to lead to the adoption of more multicultural policy initiatives and practices in schools, which in turns spurs further research on these issues.

Fourth, in terms of focus on particular research traditions seven key traditions seem to dominate the field of ethnic and racial inequalities in education:

1. Large-scale, mainly descriptive studies of (developments in) inequality in outcomes between ethnic and racial groups, particularly between the dominant (largest and/or most powerful) ethnic or racial group and various ethnic or racial minority groups;
2. Racism in education, including a focus on policy, curriculum, pedagogy, selection mechanisms and inter-ethnic or racial relationships and attitudes;
3. The importance of family (and social class) background in accounting for differences in educational outcomes between majority and minority ethnic and racial groups;
4. The importance of (structural) school characteristics in explaining variability in educational outcomes between majority and minority ethnic and racial groups;
5. The development of students' ethnic/racial and national identities;
6. Multilingualism;
7. Teacher training.

Although most of these traditions feature in all the countries/regions included in this volume, the first four traditions tend to be the most dominant research traditions in the selected countries/regions. Whilst these seven research traditions are characterized by a different focus, there is considerable variability within each of these traditions and overlap between them. For instance, researchers working in the 'multilingualism' tradition often focus on issues related to racism, but also on the effectiveness and development of policy and school interventions, and the role of families in developing language and educational outcomes more generally (see, for instance, the reviews on **Argentina**, **Austria**, **Belgium**, **China**, **Finland**, **Germany** and **Russia**). Furthermore,

some research traditions overlap in terms of their approach and focus, with studies producing findings that are relevant to different research traditions at the same time. This is particularly the case for quantitative research that aims to map inequalities in educational achievement between ethnic or racial groups and assess the importance of school and family characteristics in explaining these differences (see, for example, the chapter on **Austria**). Finally, cross-cutting these research traditions is a more basic philosophical and to some extent methodological divide with, on the one hand, researchers adopting more critical and/or constructivist assumptions and qualitative research approaches (see, for example, research in **Argentina**, **Cyprus**, **England**) and, on the other hand, researchers working from a more post-positivistic and usually more quantitative research approach (see, for example, research in the VG in **Belgium**, **Russia** and **The Netherlands**). While the former are more focused on critically examining how the educational system and school processes disadvantage particular ethnic and racial groups and as a result perpetuate existing social, ethnic and racial inequalities in education, the latter are more concerned with charting and explaining variability in underachievement of ethnic and racial minority groups. This shows that the demarcation of specific research traditions is to some extent arbitrary, and that the research traditions identified in this Handbook should be conceptualized more as different and relatively loose sets of research that overlap in varying degrees.

However, the seven research traditions identified are different in terms of their general focus and often in terms of their adopted research methods, with quantitative research used predominantly by researchers working in traditions one, three and four and qualitative research methods mainly in traditions two, five and seven.

Conceptualizing Minority Group Outcomes Across Nations

The second goal of this concluding chapter is to provide the reader with a conceptual framework with which to read the individual national chapters. In the broadest sense each of the disadvantaged racial, ethnic, and economic groups subject to differential and pejorative educational outcomes is a minority group (Dworkin and Dworkin 1999). According to that perspective, minority group status is a process involving four linked components. Thus, we view minorities as groups that are (1) identifiable, (2) have differential (less) power, and consequently are (3) subjected to differential and pejorative

treatment, and (4) ultimately develop a sense of group awareness or consciousness of kind. The conjoined effects of identifiability and differential power generally lead to pejorative treatment, which eventually facilitates group awareness. This definition of minority avoids the problems associated with 'trait definitions' (see also below) in which specific phenotypic or genotypic characteristics or cultural patterns are specified, thereby requiring a continuous updating of the definition whenever a new disadvantaged group arrives.

Theoretical work by two groups of scholars can provide the basis for the present conceptual argument. First, Pierre van den Bergh (1967) noted that the relationships between the dominant group and the minority group often was influenced by the extent to which race relations in the society was 'paternalistic' or 'competitive'. The nature of initial contact and the history of conflict among the groups will affect the extent to which the minorities are stereotyped as 'intellectually and biologically inferior' and hence relatively uneducable, as seen in paternalistic systems. Such presumptions may focus research agendas on accounts for present academic outcomes and attainments. By contrast, when minorities are seen as competitors, restrictions of educational opportunities may occur in order to prevent the minority from gaining an advantage at the expense of the majority. Sometimes societies move from paternalistic to competitive race relations in the course of this history. Thus, in the USA relations between whites and African Americans were initially paternalistic, during the era of slavery and following racial segregation. Opposition to affirmative action and the emergence of the Standards-based School Accountability movement in the 1980s and beyond reflect white middle-class concerns that white hegemony and privilege had ebbed. Relations between groups in **South Africa** are also undergoing such a transition under black rule, while the treatment of South Asians in **South Africa** reflected a combination of paternalistic and competitive forces. Asian Indians were brought to South Africa by whites because it was assumed that they were more capable of low-level management activities than were the native population, but there were concerns about the extent to which Asian Indians might gain too many advantages because of their hard work. By contrast, the relations between the dominant populations in most of the European countries in this Handbook and other European and Turkish minorities reflect issues of concerns about competition, including fears that the guest workers and political refugees who do not leave will alter the nature of the society to which they emigrated. In fact, educational issues associated with the children of guest workers may include condoning educational inequalities on the assumption that the children will leave shortly, while the education of children of political

refugees who are culturally quite different from the dominant population may create longer-term strains that raise research questions about pressures toward assimilation as seen in **Finland, Austria, Germany, France**, **Belgium** and **The Netherlands**, and **China's** treatment of some of its population in the western portion of the nation. In the case of **France**, the assumption has been that all people in France are de facto 'French'.

Michael Banton (1967) in his analysis of possible outcomes of intergroup relations held that different forms of initial contact between groups affect future outcomes. Thus, the long-term outcome of domination, whereby the minority group is conquered and oppressed may result in a pluralistic society with the minority retaining its distinctive culture. Paternalism and accultura-tion, Banton notes, will lead to integration and the incorporation of the minority into the core society. However, Aboriginal peoples in Australia and Native American groups in the USA have experienced both domination and paternalism, and some have remained excluded (or protected) from assimila-tion into the dominant society. The same has been the condition of some tribal groups in **South Africa, Brazil**, and to some extent in **Argentina**.

Another useful theoretical orientation incorporates work on the nature of economic systems and the obligations nations owe their people. Green et al. (2006) examined the interplay between educational and employment oppor-tunities, social capital, and social cohesion. They described three models, each with different consequences for social cohesion and for minority populations. The Social Democratic and Nordic model, exemplified in the Handbook by the chapter on **Finland**, has high levels of economic productivity, high employment, life-long learning that promotes continuous job-skill improve-ments, a strong social welfare policy, but tends to reserve these benefits to citi-zens, especially those who are from the dominant population. Culturally different minorities are a concern for the educational system, especially for non-standard language learners. Thus, research in educational inequality will explore the extent to which such societies encourage the assimilation of immi-grant minority groups as a prerequisite for equity. The Social Market model, as found in **France, Germany**, and **Austria** maintains high productivity due to the reliance on technology, but labor agreements lead to shorter working hours and lower employment rates. Domination by high-priced labor pres-ents barriers to immigrant and minority workers. Research in social market countries will more often focus on the extent to which minorities are consid-ered to be sojourners with less attention paid to societal efforts to produce cohesion and assimilation of immigrant groups. Finally, the Liberal Anglo-Saxon model as seen in the **UK**, **USA**, **Canada**, and **Australia** has high employment and somewhat longer working hours, with more diversity in the

better-paid labor force. Additionally, more restricted welfare policies than in the Nordic countries results in less social cohesion. Research on educational inequality will tend to focus on how meritocratic policies and restrictions on access to educational resources have produced such inequalities.

Directions for Future Research

A final goal of this concluding chapter is to identify particular gaps in or issues with the literature that can stimulate researchers in developing more innovative research questions that build on this rich area of research. These suggestions are based on our reading of the various chapters and are by no means comprehensive. Hence, readers might not (fully) agree with our analysis of the research literature or consider additional issues to be more important. Nevertheless we feel that innovation in this rich area of research is possible by considering these suggestions.

More Research on How Actors Negotiate Structural and Cultural Opportunities and Constraints

A considerable proportion of sociological research on race and ethnic inequalities in education investigates how social background characteristics of ethnic minority families facilitate or constrain the opportunities of minority students, without paying much attention to how young people manage these structural and cultural characteristics. In so doing, researchers across the globe seem to be influenced by the more quantitative, functionalist family-background literature that emerged in the US, following the publication of the Coleman Report (1966). In line with Coleman's conclusion that family background is more important than school context in explaining differences in educational outcomes (see chapter on **USA**), many researchers focused their analysis on the importance of social class and/or ethnicity in explaining differences in educational performance within ethnic minority groups and between ethnic minority and majority groups (e.g. **France**, **Netherlands**, **England**, **Sweden**, **Taiwan**, **USA**). Research in this area often suggests that social class is more important than ethnic background, but that this varies according to country (see: **cross-national comparative research**) and intersects with ethnicity and gender in explaining achievement patterns (e.g. **Norway**, **Sweden**, **The Netherlands** and **UK**). In most of these countries, this line of research developed into a more 'resources' or 'capital' focused

research approach, in which 'differential access to / use of resources' is used to explain differential achievement patterns. These studies typically frame differences in availability and/or use of resources into a 'deficit model' approach, in which ethnic minority families are described as 'lacking' and/or 'not using' the 'right' cultural and social resources to do well in school (**Australia**, **Czech Republic**, **Italy**, **Norway**, **Sweden**, **Taiwan** and **The Netherlands**).

Inspired by the development of sophisticated (multilevel modelling) techniques, a School Effectiveness and School Inclusion tradition emerged, which countered the idea that schools 'don't matter' by showing how school features relate to differences between groups in terms of their educational performance (see review on **England**). However, at the same time this line of research adopts a more deterministic view on human actors' behavior and often fails to open the 'black box' of schools, by ignoring how underlying (socio-psychological and micro-sociological) processes mediate relationships between school structural and cultural features and educational and broader outcomes.

However, both traditions could be enriched by introducing a stronger notion of agency in their explanatory models. For instance, a rich line of research developed in **England** focuses on how (particularly) Muslim girls and parents of different social classes negotiate various structural and cultural constraints and opportunities in making educational choices. Although Muslim girls might feel pressured to conform to gender-specific, patriarchal expectations (and, for instance, marry early and focus more on their family role), they also show the ability (through negotiation) to obtain highly valued educational qualifications and at the same time to meet these cultural expectations (for instance, in choosing a partner that is also approved by the family, and by combining a career with a more traditional role in the family). Similarly, research on the importance of school context, could further develop by focusing more on the importance of micro-sociological processes and socio-psychological characteristics in mediating the relationship between school features and outcomes. For instance, while there is considerable research that critically analyzes the development and content of educational policies, there is far less research that investigates how teachers in schools enact or translate such policies in their everyday interactions with their social environment in schools, and how this impacts on race and ethnic inequalities in education (Ball et al. 2012). In a way, this calls for a revaluation and contemporary application of classic ethnographic and symbolic interactionist studies that developed mainly in **England** in the 1970s and 1980s, and which highlight the importance of considering students, parents, and school staff as

active (re)creators of their own social environment (Delamont 1977; Hammersley and Woods 1984; Hargreaves and Woods 1984; Woods 1990; Woods and Hammersley 1977). Research with a stronger focus on the role of 'agency' would help not only to develop more comprehensive and less deterministic theories for race and ethnic inequalities in education, but also to deconstruct prevailing stereotypes of certain racial and ethnic groups in popular discourse.

More International, Comparative Research on the Influence of Institutional Processes

One of the key findings of this Handbook is that research on race/ethnic inequalities is primarily focused on particular (national/regional) educational systems, instead of examining how differences between educational systems impact on ethnic and racial inequalities in education. However, at the same time the chapter on **cross-national comparative research** shows that the availability of large-scale datasets (PISA, PIRLS and TIMMS) has allowed researchers to gain insight into how individual background characteristics, school characteristics and host and destination country characteristics influence educational inequalities between dominant and minority ethnic groups in society.

Research in this field shows for instance that individual level features, like parental SES, generation and length of stay and language knowledge of parents all explain variability in achievement, but also that there are large differences between countries: while SES seems to explain all variability in educational performance in the US, in in EU countries it appears to be not so strong as a predictor. Furthermore, the data show that effects of ethnic segregation vary by country (sometimes it has positive effect, no effect or negative effect) and these effects are generally very small compared to segregation by SES. Cross-national comparative research also shows that there are certain school factors that seem to increase immigrant achievement: (1) spending more time in school (i.e. going to school at an earlier age and until a higher age), (2) no rigorous tracking at a young age and (3) no grade retention; effects that seem to be stronger for immigrants who do not know the language of instruction very well. In addition more comprehensive systems seem to give room for immigrant children to catch up with natives, whereas non-comprehensive systems exacerbate inequalities. Yet, subject-wise ability tracking positively influences the achievement of immigrant pupils. Finally, analyses also show the importance of national legislation: more right wing

governments seem better for first generation immigrants, more left wing governments for second generation immigrants and more selective immigration systems are better in that they select more high achieving immigrants (such as **Australia**, which uses a 'point system' that results in an immigration population that is often more educated, and proficient in English compared to other countries that do not use such a selective system).

These findings underline the importance of what Crul and Schneider call an 'institutional approach' (see chapter on the **Netherlands**), which relies on both quantitative and qualitative international comparative research to investigate how minorities' educational trajectories differ between countries, and how this variability can be explained by pointing to specific characteristics of educational systems. They conclude that such research does not lead to particular judgments of educational systems as either 'bad' or 'good' but as having different consequences for different groups of students.

The use of such an institutional approach can be very rewarding in explaining differences in ethnic inequalities in educational outcomes between regions and national contexts. For instance, in the VG community in **Belgium**, ethnic minority children are more likely to finish secondary school, but less likely to obtain a HE diploma compared to the FGB community in Belgium. This can be explained by the different selection systems employed in both regions. The VG educational system can be seen as an early differentiated system, or a "separation model", which combines separate educational routes or tracks and early academic selection. The FWB system in contrast, is said to be a "uniform integration model" that offers a common curriculum until the age of 14 or 15 but uses grade retention as an alternative selection tool. Similarly, the particularly high level of inequality between native and ethnic minority groups in **Austria**, can be explained by some key features of this educational system: the late starting age of pre-schooling, the early segregation into different ability tracks (at the age of ten), a low degree of permeability between education tracks after the early tracking, and a half-day teaching system in compulsory education.

This also shows that international, comparative research is not synonymous with choosing large (random) and more representative samples, in that researchers should consider the benefits from doing research in particular national contexts that are theoretically interesting to compare. For instance, the reviews on Brazil, South Africa and the USA show how these countries differ in terms of the historical development and (perceived) contemporary nature of race-relations. A similar observation has encouraged Lareau and colleagues (Lamont and Mizrachi 2012) to investigate how country-specific historical processes inform the discourses that are available and used by racial

minorities in responding to experiences of racism. In addition, researchers could, for instance, explore how different models of multiculturalism and assimilation as applied in particular countries (with France and the UK as obvious examples in an EU context) impact on the development of race and ethnic inequalities in education. Finally, Stevens and Van Houtte (2011) compare how teachers' perceptions and interactions with ethnic minority students are informed by a market-driven (school accountability) educational context (i.e. England) and a system where teachers and schools have much more freedom and power to determine the careers of students (i.e. Belgium). These examples suggest the importance of future qualitative and quantitative case-studies conducted in carefully selected, theoretically relevant national and/or regional contexts.

Interrogating Notions of (In)equality and Ethnicity/Race

In line with Foster et al. (1996), we call for a more critical approach to how researchers conceptualize and measure notions of 'equality' and 'equity'. Whilst a concern for more equal opportunities and outcomes for racial and ethnic minorities drives almost all research written in this area, there is virtually no consideration of or critical reflection on what is actually meant by these concepts, and why certain indicators and/or (often implicit) definitions of what constitutes 'inequality' should be favored over others. In line with the contributors' observation in relationship to research carried out in **Canada**, we find that in most countries two general, almost oppositional views in relationship to equality emerge. While the first view equates inequality with academic underachievement, linked to (lack of) social mobility, a second view perceives inequality more in terms of an equal, accurate, or representative representation of cultural knowledge, history, and difference. While the first view appears to be more dominant in research on ethnic and racial inequalities in education (see overview grid), there is little consideration given to why and how certain conceptualizations and measurements of 'underachievement' are preferred over others (and preferred over 'educational success') and how actors develop particular definitions (including those of minority students themselves) of these concepts and the processes and contexts underlying their views. A very interesting exception in this respect constitutes the debate that developed in **England** over the measurement of educational outcomes between racial and ethnic minorities over time (see chapter on England), which shows that very different conclusions can be drawn regarding the 'underachievement' of particular groups depending on how this is measured

and interpreted. Furthermore, the kinds of inequality on which researchers focus, is sometimes informed by the kids of data that are available. For instance, researchers in **Belgium** often focus on 'soft' outcomes, such as students' sense of school belonging, ethnic stereotypes, wellbeing, self-esteem and/or study motivation, as the lack of standardized tests score-data from Belgian students (and the difficulties in collecting these through surveys) forces researchers in this context to focus more on broader educational outcomes. In contrast, researchers in **Italy** focus almost exclusively on 'hard outcomes' such as students' test scores on mathematics and language exams, as these types of data are more readily available for researchers to use. Finally, research on various forms on inequality shift over time in particular countries as progress in relationship to certain forms of inequality, make other forms of inequality theoretically more important. For instance, in **Brazil** research focused first on access/enrollment in early education but once this was deemed to be sufficiently realized, researchers started to focus more on access to HE and subtle processes of discrimination in early education (see also **Israel**).

Similarly, future research should adopt a more careful approach to the use of 'ethnicity' and 'race' as explanatory concepts. Typically, research tends to focus on ethnic and racial groups that are considered to be sufficiently large and/or visible and/or politically recognized and/or underachieving in a particular national or regional context. This often leads to the construction and use of particular ethnic or racial classifications which are subject to change and contested in terms of their validity. For instance in the chapter on **Brazil** (in relationship to the use of various color categories) and **Czech Republic** (in relationship to the measurement of 'Roma'), the authors describe ongoing debates on the validity of the classification system proposed by the government. In line with more contemporary criticism leveled at much sociological research that uses ethnic and racial groups as structural (ontological) determining forces (Brubaker 2004; Carter and Fenton 2009), researchers should focus more on how people develop particular in-group identifications and out-group categorizations in relationship to educational inequality, and how such ethnicized and racialized notions of collective belonging and positioning are mobilized as a resource, rather than assigning any determining force or constitutive properties *a priori* to such groups.

In some national contexts, the different ways in which ethnicity and race are used as concepts in research has resulted in the development of very different, almost oppositional traditions of research that focus on different research questions and findings, even when focusing on similar issues (see for example the discussion in the chapters on **Canada** or the **USA** on research analyzing the impact of teacher expectations on students). The changing nature of such

ethnic classifications also manifests itself in a changing focus over time in terms of which 'ethnic groups' should be studied and compared. In **Israel** for instance, researchers initially focused on differences in educational outcomes between 'new comers' (defined as 'ascenders') versus 'old timers' (Israeli – born). Later this focus shifted first to a comparison of Ashkenazim and Mizrachim Jews, and afterwards to a comparison of majority Jews with minority Arabs. More generally, the socially constructed nature of ethnic/racial categories and the perception of educational underachievement as a social problem for particular ethnic groups, calls for research that explores why particular groups are (not) identified as a source of concern, who takes part in this process, how this develops over time, and what the consequences are of (not) being recognized as such. Research in this area could focus on national contexts where such ethnic categories are contested in the academic and/or public debate (such as in **Brazil** and the **Czech Republic**) and countries where ethnic classifications have remained remarkably stable over time (such as in **China**).

Multicultural Policies and Practices: What's in the Name?

In a considerable number of countries, explicit assimilation policies have been gradually replaced by policies that emphasize the importance of celebrating multiculturalism in society in general and schools in particular (e.g.: **Argentina**, **Australia**, **Canada**, **Cyprus**, **Czech Republic, Germany, Italy**, **Ireland**). Schools are seen as ideal settings where young people can be taught how to function in an increasingly more super-diverse society, which calls for the development of inter-cultural skills, a general appreciation of the diversity that is part of a multicultural society and a clear stance against racism.

However, at the same time, researchers have raised concerns about the nature and effectiveness of such policies (see for instance reviews on **Belgium**, **Canada**, **Cyprus**, **England**, **Ireland**, **Italy and Sweden**). First, studies have identified contradictions in multicultural (MC) policies and related, official discourse surrounding multiculturalism and multicultural education (MCE), in that such policies are often characterized by implicit assimilationist views. Second, it is argued that the translation from such policies to the development and implementation of multicultural curricula is weak. Third, little is known about what makes such policies effective in developing particular outcomes (such as: less prejudice, more positive inter-cultural relationships in school, ethnic minority students' sense of belonging to school, their self-esteem and their educational outcomes). Finally, it is argued that principals

lack the training and related knowledge and skills to effectively develop, implement and evaluate MC school policies and for teachers to implement these in their teaching in classrooms. For instance, recent large-scale, quantitative research in the VG of **Belgium** suggests that principals have in general little influence on teachers' adoption of multicultural teaching (MCT) in the classroom, that efforts to implement MCT remain underdeveloped and merely focused on what Banks (1993) calls 'content integration' (or teachers' use of examples from a variety of cultures in teaching their curriculum) and that students' ethnic prejudice is not reduced by teachers' perceptions of their involvement with MCT, but rather by how students evaluate teachers' involvement with MCT (Vervaet 2018). Research could build on this developing area of research by focusing more on what makes MCE/MCT (more) effective for developing particular outcomes and by explaining why school, regional and national settings differ in terms of their willingness and success in adopting such policies. Finally, critical research could continue to play an important role in this area of research by unveiling the hidden, subtle ways in which so called MC policies harbor in fact assimilationists and/or color blind approaches to diversity in education, and the effects of doing so for educational and broader outcomes.

The last two chapters of the Handbook do not focus on individual countries, but rather raise cross-national issues. Dicks, Dronkers, and Levels provide insights and cautions about analysis of cross-national achievement data used to compare the performances of immigrant and native-born youth. Data on variations in socio-economic status, language facility, and the immigrants' home countries can significantly improve analyses. Other consideration include the pooling of available data over time, data on the students' teachers and their own immigrant backgrounds and data on parents can greatly improve the analyses.

The chapter on social cohesion, trust and accountability offered by Dworkin points to issues that make plausible the redress of racial and ethnic inequalities in the educational sphere. Societies that are cohesive in the presence of racial and ethnic diversity are unlikely to place educational barriers before minority and immigrant children. The factors that contribute to social cohesion, and especially cohesion in light of diversity, are explored in the chapter. By contrast, those factors that increase the social capital of dominant groups may reduce it for minorities and immigrants. Neoliberal accountability systems frequently militate against social cohesion in the presence of diversity and likewise do regularly enhance the social capital of immigrant and minority children.

In the course of this Handbook the contributors and the editors have attempted to emphasize that the research traditions found in each country reflect the particular salient social issues present in that country. Because sociological research often has substantial policy implications, and in fact, is frequently undertaken to inform and influence educational decision-makers, the watchword for much of the research discussed in this Handbook is 'relevance'. Our purpose in organizing this Handbook has been two-fold. First, we wanted to portray the rich diversity of research traditions, existing cross-nationally, that address educational inequalities in our globalizing world. Second, we wanted to develop a framework by which educational researchers from many parts of the world can come to recognize that in this diversity of research traditions there are also numerous commonalities, albeit influenced by the particular nature of a society's history of intergroup contacts. In a world in which education is increasingly being globalized and in which standards and measurement of academic achievement have ramifications for the competitiveness of national labor forces (Pigozzi 2006), we think that both diversity and commonality of research themes and traditions can be most informative.

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[1] Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.