

-APPENDICES-

Report on the thematic workshop on Segregation and Integration in Education.

9-10-2013 The Hague, The Netherlands

Dutch National Knowledge Centre for Mixed Schools, on behalf of the SIRIUS Network

Paco Lucassen, Guido Walraven



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the European Union



Content

a. Program

b. Participants

c. Power point presentations of key note speakers

- *Joep Bakker*
- *Orhan Agirdag*
- *Michael Merry*

d. Country notes

- *Austria*
- *Catalunya (Spain)*
- *Croatia*
- *Cyprus*
- *Flanders (Belgium)*
- *Latvia*
- *Lithuania*
- *The Netherlands*


Program

9.40 Introduction, Joep Bakker
Coffee/tea
10.30 Country perspectives
12.15 lunch
13.15 Role of teachers, Orhan Agirdag
13.45 Interventions
14.45 tea / coffee
15.00 Critical Reflection, Michael Merry
15.15 Recommendations
16.15 Sharing results
17.00 Reception

Participants

Thematic Workshop on Segregation and Integration in Education

Name	Affiliation
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Ferenc Arató	Institute of Education, University of Pécs, Hungary
Joep Bakker	Radboud University, Nijmegen, The Netherlands
Jan Brons	Payoke
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SIRIUS CONFERENCE

Thematic Workshop Segregation and Integration in Education

9 October, 2013
The Hague

Some introductory notes

Joep Bakker





Joep Bakker, Eddie Denessen, Dorothee Peters, & Guldo Walraven (Eds.) *International perspectives on countering school segregation*. Antwerp/Apeldoorn: Garant



Contributions

USA



North Carolina
Massachusetts
Maryland




Contributions

Chapters:

Europe





Contributions

Chapters:

Europe



Ireland
Scotland
England
Sweden
Denmark
Germany
Netherlands
Belgium
France
Italy
Slovenia
Estonia
Latvia
Romania
Slovakia
Bosnia & Herzegovina
Kosovo



Country notes, 9 October, 2013



New
Lithuania
Hungary
Austria
Catalunya
Spain
Croatia
Cyprus

Updated
Flanders
Latvia
Netherlands



Presentation layout

- Backgrounds of segregation
- Problematic nature of segregation
- Measures to counter segregation
- Effects of those measures

7



Characteristics of segregation

Segregation refers to the unevenness of distribution of individual characteristics between organizational units

(Gorard & Taylor, 2002)

In this case, we specifically focus on cultural-ethnic segregation between schools



Which groups are involved?

US:

- Caucasians, Latinos, and African-Americans (US)

Western Europe

- People from former colonies, and 'guest workers' from mediterranean countries (esp. In North-Western Europe)

Eastern Europe

- Concentrations of minorities from neighbouring countries / often groups, officially registered as native citizens in previous times

Hungary (also other countries, e.g. Croatia and France)

- Concentrations of Roma and Sinti



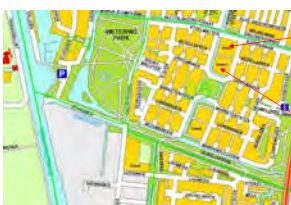
The Main Causes

- Residential segregation



Different contexts

Segregation as a result of residential segregation



School A
100% minority
students

School B
100% minority
students

A hypothetical situation: community with 100% minority citizens



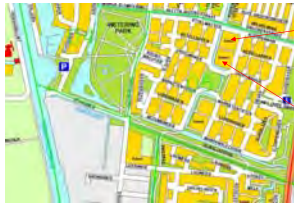
The Main Causes

- Residential segregation
- School choice behaviour of parents
 - o 'White flight' to 'white' middle-class schools
 - o 'Self-segregation', e.g. Islamic and Chennai schools
 - o Paradoxically 'free choice' encourages school-segregation cf. England and Sweden



Different contexts

Segregation as a result of school choice behaviour



School A
100% **majority**
students

School B
100% **minority**
students

A hypothetical situation: between school segregation in a 'mixed' community



The Main Causes

- Residential segregation
- School choice behaviour of parents
 - o 'White'- and (!) 'Black' flight to 'white' middle-class schools
 - o 'Self-segregation', e.g. Islamic and Chennai schools
 - o Paradoxically 'free choice' encourages school-segregation
- School system characteristics
 - o Private - *versus* government or state financed education
cf. Italy, France, USA, England
 - o Religion funded (faith affiliated) - *versus* public education
cf. The Netherlands, Germany
 - o Age of selection for secondary education
Sweden (at age 15) vs Germany (at age 11)



Segregation : is it a problem?

Certainly not in some Eastern- and South-Eastern European countries
e.g. Russian schools in Latvia and Estonia
Italian schools in Slovenia
Hungarian schools in Slovakia and Romania

Certainly not for e.g. Muslims and Hindus

Segregated schools may be regarded as an acquired right to promote emancipation, self-respect and a fulfilling community membership.



Segregation : Is it a problem?

Between school segregation is assumed to negatively affect...

Cognitive outcomes

- lower teacher expectations of student ability
- less challenging education
- lower levels of student aspiration



What do we know from research?

PISA- and OECD-data demonstrate an achievement gap between 'native' and minority-students

However:

- Although some authors (mainly from the US, but also from Denmark and Germany) provide some evidence against segregated schools, in general, the many studies investigating so called peer-effects on student achievement outcomes show no or only weak (de)segregation effects. In other words: 'Mixing' only marginally affects minority student outcomes.
- Schools, predominantly visited by minority students, may reach test-scores that are equal, sometimes even better than the scores of schools predominantly visited by majority students.
- Segregated education enables adaptive schooling (own mother tongue, culturally adapted education)



Segregation: Is it a problem?

Between school segregation is assumed to negatively affect...

Social outcomes

- negative intergroup attitudes (Allport)
- less access to diverse values and norms
- the preparation for a culturally-diverse society



What do we know from research?

Not much. Nearly exclusively American studies provided some empirical confirmation of Allport's contact hypothesis. In Europe some contradictory results.

- From a social identity development perspective (Nesdale et al.) it can be assumed that inter-group contact may lead to an increase in prejudiced attitudes;
- Contact-hypothesis research suffers from a positivity bias (Stark, 2011). Negatively loaded contacts may promote prejudiced attitudes.
- Authors report 'ethnic bullying' (Verkuijten, 2003; 2008), even overtly racist behaviour (Golubeva, Powell, & Nedelcu, 2011) in mixed schools.



Teachers' key role in mixed classrooms

The success of school integration largely depends on the quality of teachers in mixed classrooms. They are expected to play a key role in creating conditions for positive effects of classroom diversity.

- They have high expectations of all their students
- They promote cross-cultural communication
- They deliver culturally responsive instruction (Banks, 2007)
- They stimulate forms of (implicit) intercultural education which emphasize, unlike traditional forms of intercultural education, the *sameness* of students more than their *otherness*.
 - cooperative learning according to the jigsaw method (Slavin & Cooper)
 - self-disclosure techniques (Turner, Hewstone, & Voici, 2007)



Measures to counter segregation

Measures reported:

Choice policies

- Increased freedom of choice
- Restricted freedom of choice (controlled choice)



Measures to counter segregation

Measures reported:

Parent initiatives

'persuading majority parents to choose their local public school'

'highly educated parents mixing a black school'



Measures to counter segregation

Measures reported:

Promoting school status, increasing school attractiveness

- staff competences
- new pedagogical approaches
- additional programmes, extra-curricular activities
- strengthening home-school partnerships



Sharing good practices

What can we learn from good practices?

- Controlled choice policies prove to affect school compositions
- Parent initiatives contribute to mixed schools
- Strengthening schools may lead to increased attractiveness for mixed groups of parents
- We need a strong research agenda to gain more evidence for successful interventions



A final note

Given a lack of empirical research-data that unambiguously legitimize our attempts to desegregate schools, all the more we should realize that desegregation is, besides a pedagogical -, above all a political and moral choice.

Consequences of school segregation The role of the teacher

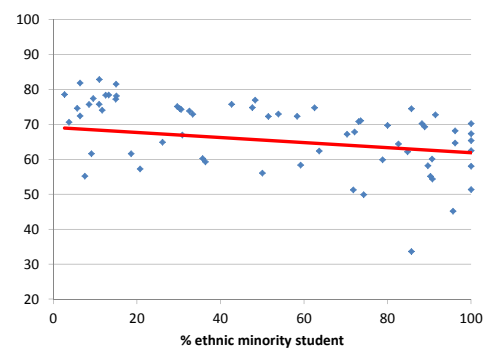
Dr. Orhan Agirdag



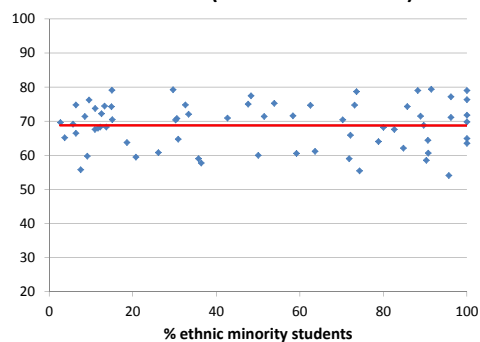
Inequality is there....

Is school segregation to blame?

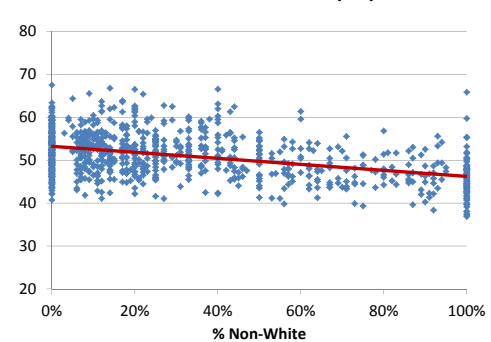
Math Achievement



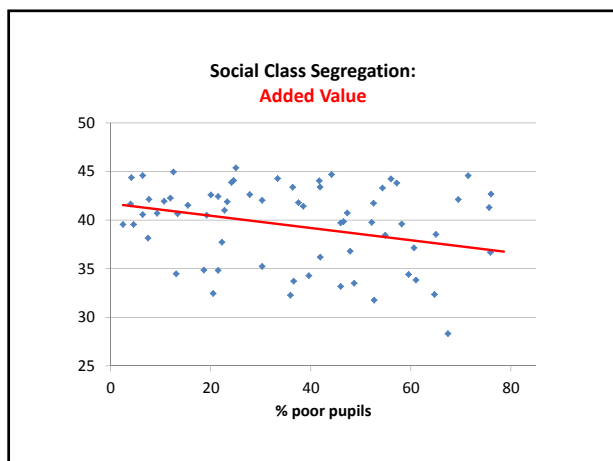
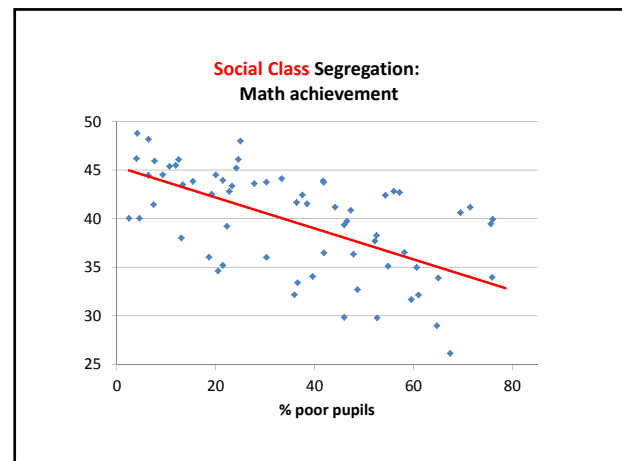
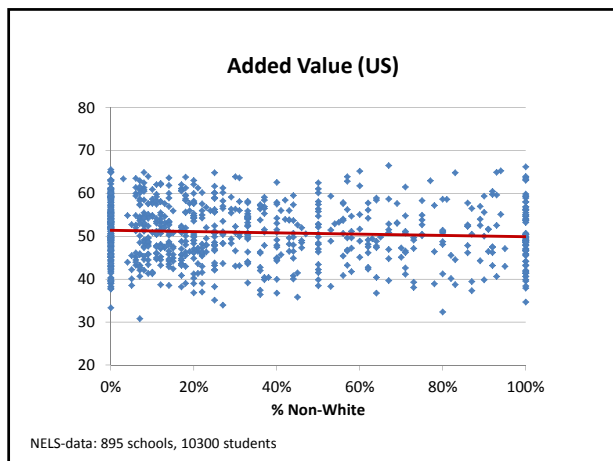
Added Value (Math Achievement)



Achievement scores (US)



NELS-data: 895 schools, 10300 students

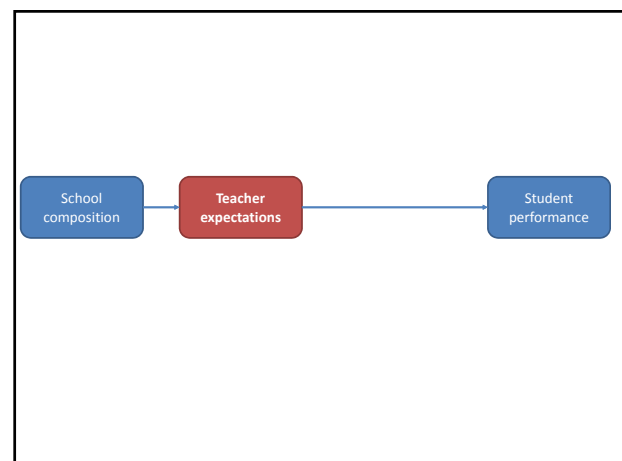
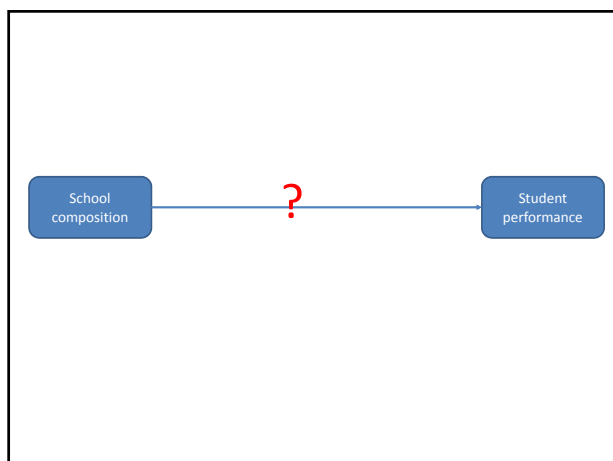


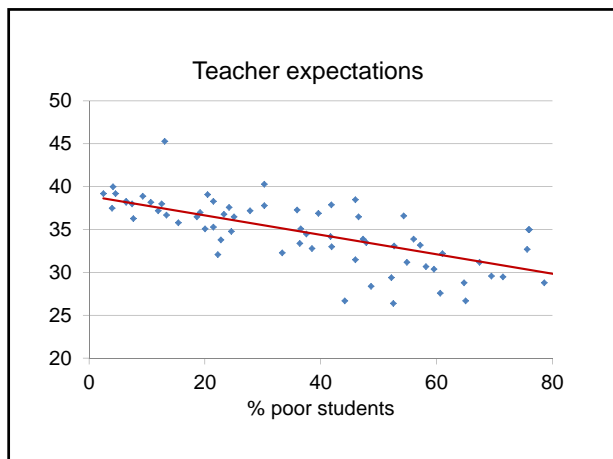
Ethnic segregation *per se* not problematic

Ethnic segregation \approx social class segregation

Concentration of poverty = problematic

→ WHY ←





Teacher expectations based on **stereotypes**

Stereotypes **different** in each country

Flanders : “language problems”

Kelly: They lag behind, *already before they started, at baseline...* Without knowing the [Dutch] language properly, you will lag behind in understanding things. You must also use the language for math or if you want to do science, or later, to have conversations with your boss, you know. Even if you are very smart and know a lot of things, without mastering the common language, it will be difficult. (*Teacher, female, 26*).

Kristof: When they [*immigrant pupils*] have to deal with more Dutch speaking children, when there is more interaction, then it is easier to learn the language and they'll make a little more effort to learn the language. Honestly, if we could choose, then we would prefer 50/50, maybe with 50 percent non-natives and 50 percent Belgians. That might have been the best mix. (*Teacher, male, 32*).

Sarah: Here, there are [poor] children with Belgian roots as well, but they speak a lot of dialect and so they have also a lot of problems with the [Dutch] language. (*Teacher, female, 29*)

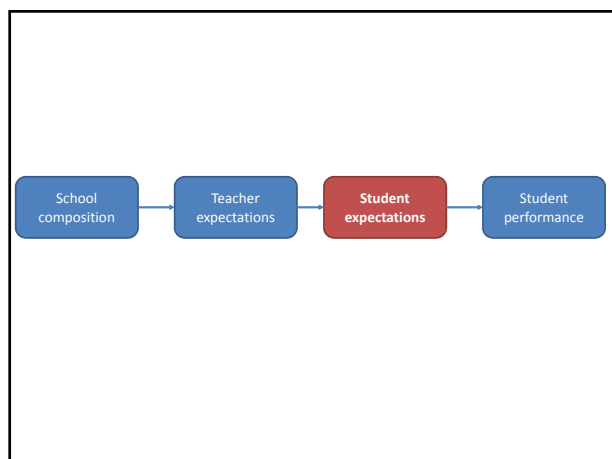
→ Low expectations also **communicated** to pupils and parents

Researcher: What do you think is the decisive factor [regarding academic achievement]?

Sarah: Here, *the language is the big problem*, the language plays an important role. That is, they [the pupils] go outside and they immediately start speaking Turkish. In the hall, again Turkish, with their friends, again in Turkish, when they quickly have to tell something, again Turkish. *So we are like constantly, all day long: 'speak Dutch with each other, say it in Dutch'* (*Teacher, female, 29*)

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Tom: the only thing that we have a problem with is that when these people [the parents] are in the playground with their children or with neighbors or family and they start speaking a foreign language. But we stress: 'please speak Dutch, especially when you are at the school, because *that can make or break everything, if you do not master the [Dutch] language, then your child will lag behind*' (*Teacher, male, 54*)



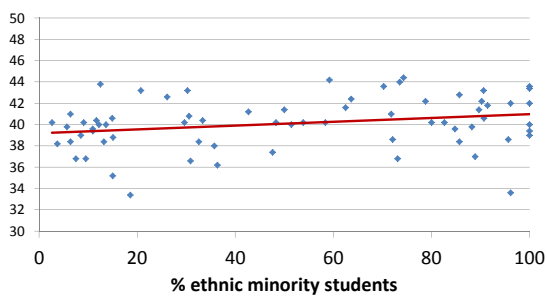
→ Low expectations also **internalized** by pupils

Ersan Actually I do, I want to go to college if I can. My teacher said that I could handle it, but only if I improve my proficiency in Dutch, you know, I make a lot of writing errors and things like that. (*Ersan, Turkish student*)

Yilmaz: When you are not a native Dutch speaker, it is kind of difficult. You can't build ... for example [proficiency in] French depends on your Dutch, first you have to completely acquire Dutch and then you can learn other languages, you got it? (*Yilmaz, Turkish student*)

Segregation and **well-being**?

Well-being: self-esteem



Conclusions

(De)segregation ≠ achievement

Teacher expectations → achievement

(De)segregation ≠ well-being

Teacher support → well-being

(De)segregation = **social cohesion**

Mixed schooling → positive **and** negative contact

Solutions

For the sake of **achievement**:

1. "Create" best teachers (via teacher education)
2. Best teachers in 'poor' segregated schools

For the sake of **social cohesion**:

1. Voluntarily desegregation
2. Integrate middle-class and rich pupils

Is segregation inevitable, and if it is, how should we respond?

Michael S. Merry
University of Amsterdam

Segregation: some beliefs

- Segregation = (always) bad / right wing – left wing
 - 'Parallel societies'
- Minority concentrations problematic (and inferior)
 - 'Separation' too: historical narratives / co-opted
- Schools should reflect neighborhood composition*
- Choice policies aggravate segregation
 - Restrict choice
 - Public & private initiatives
- Mixing schools will correct injustice
 - Equality (social capital necessary for mobility)
 - Citizenship ('bridging' civic virtue necessary for participation)

Standard academic response

- "In spite of the accumulation of more than 60 years of social science evidence **documenting the importance of diverse schools.....**"
 - -Siegel-Hawley & Frankenberg, *Southern Slippage*, Civil Rights Project 2012

Segregation: some facts

- Index levels
 - Labour market
 - Language
- Constitutional guarantees
- Voluntary association
- Discrimination
- School structures
 - Screening mechanisms
 - School board autonomy
 - Grouping practices

What response should we have?

- Public outrage, private hypocrisy
- Genuine concern, but must prioritize
 - When the dilemma is between my child and others, my child wins
- Mixing works better for some groups, less for others
 - Hard cases
- Spatial concentrations *may* be advantageous
 - Voluntary and involuntary forces
 - Pragmatic response: redefine/reclaim/redirect
- Structural obstacles
 - Limited resources and selection
 - Grouping & discipline
 - Labelling & expectations
 - Teachers (and their unions) and other magnet effects
- Assume the burden of integration ourselves
 - But then are we hypothesizing outcomes without evidence?

Questions

1. Who (and what) is mixing *for*? At what cost (and whose expense) should we strive for it?
2. Are we perhaps naive about mixing – both its feasibility & its benefits?
3. If we're not naive, then what other options are there when (a) mixing, or (b) the alleged benefits of mixing, do not seem likely?

COUNTRY NOTE Austria

Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger,
Federal Institute for Research in Education, Innovation
and Development of the Austrian School System

In 2008-2009 Austria participated in the OECD-project "migrant education" for which a country background report was provided.

<http://www.bmukk.gv.at/medienpool/18847/countrybackgroundreportaust.pdf>

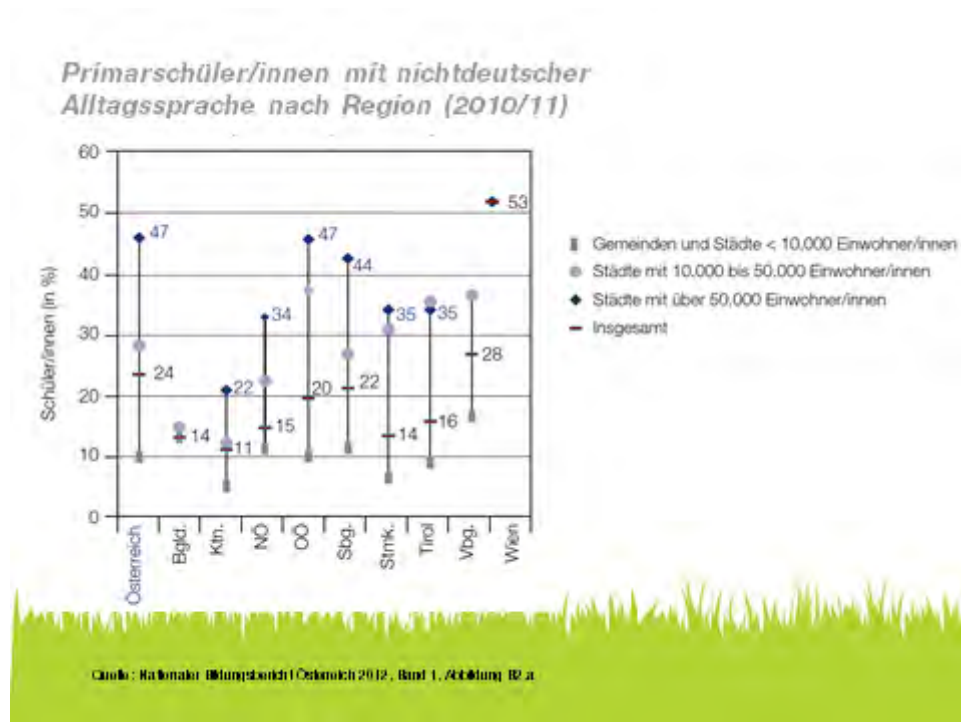
The final policy report can be downloaded <http://www.oecd.org/austria/44192225.pdf>

To answer the questions for the workshop slides are provided which apart from the PISA slides are based on the National Education Report for Austria 2012 which is available in a short version in English and in a long version in German on the internet. www.bifie.at/nbb

▲ What is the nature and the size of the cultural-ethnic segregation in education in Austria?

In the first slide you can see the different percentages of multilingual students in primary schools in the 9 federal states (Bundesländer) of Austria, reaching from 11% in Carinthia to 28% in Vorarlberg and a different case, 53% in the federal state of Vienna which is at the same time the capital and biggest city with 1.8 mio inhabitants. Within the federal states the distribution is also very uneven according to number of inhabitants in a municipality. Apart from Vienna, the biggest cities such as Linz (180.000 inhabitants) and Salzburg (150.000) also have almost half of their 6 to 10 year old population with a migrant background talking another language than the language of instruction (German) at home. In Graz (270.000), the second biggest city, only a third of primary school children are multilingual, equal with Innsbruck and St. Pölten.

Percentages of primary school children who (also) speak another language than the language of instruction at home according to federal state and number of inhabitants in the municipalities.

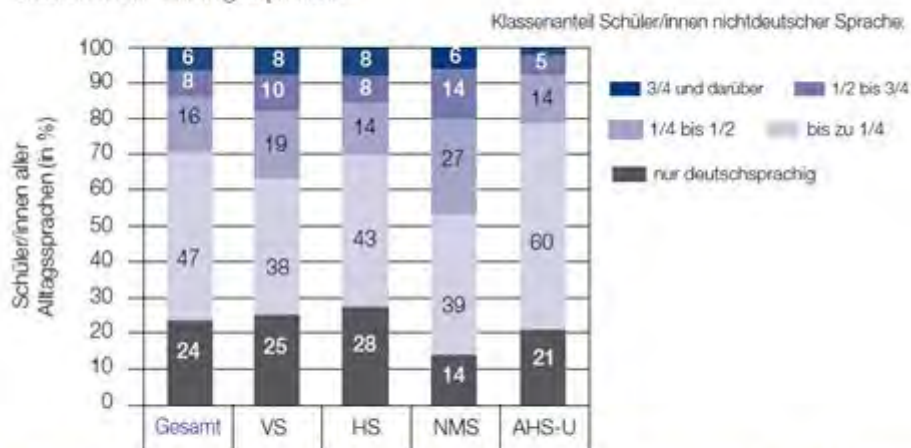


In the second slide you can see the percentage of classrooms with different shares of multilingual students according to school type. The different colours symbolize different shares:

Dark grey = only German-speaking students
 Lightest violet = from one multilingual student to a quarter of the classroom
 Medium violet = from a quarter to a half of the classroom
 Dark violet = from half to three quarters multilingual students in a classroom
 Blue = three quarters to 100% of multilingual students in a classroom

The first column represents (almost) all school-types during compulsory schooling (age 6 to 15), i.e. primary and different types of lower secondary schools. In an overall view, only 24% of classrooms do not have any multilingual pupils, almost half of the classrooms have few, i.e. up to a quarter of multilingual pupils, 16% have between a quarter and half of the pupils in their class speaking at home another language than German, 8% between half and three quarter and 6% over 75% up to 100%. In the academic track there are in general less multilingual pupils and therefore with 20% also less classrooms with more than a quarter of multilingual pupils.

Anteile von Klassen mit unterschiedlicher Zusammensetzung von Schüler/innen nicht-deutscher Alltagssprache

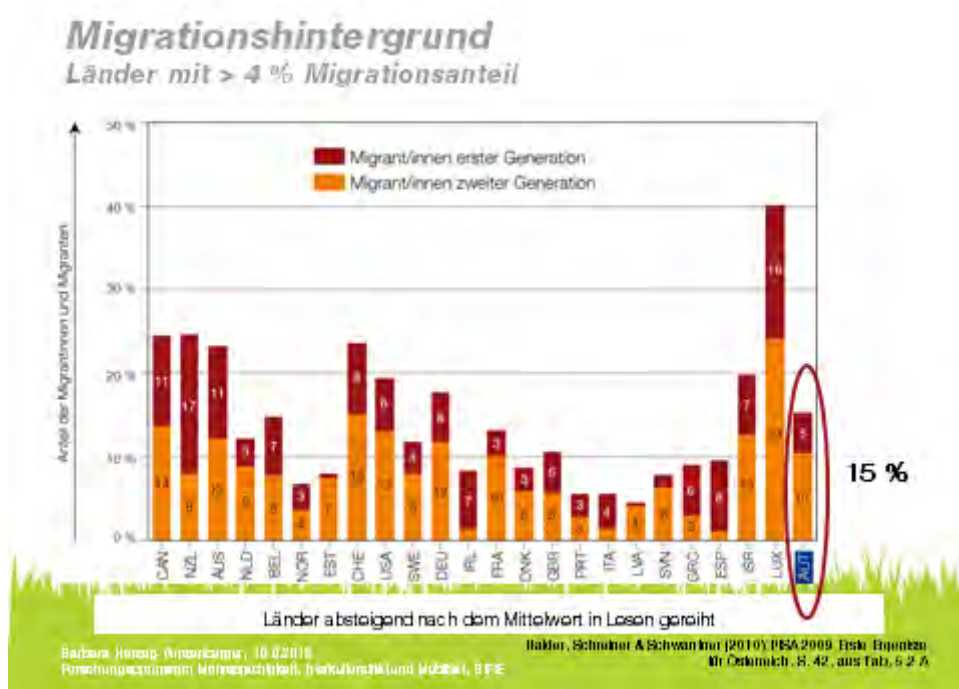


Quelle: Rademaker, Bildungsbericht Österreich 2012, Band 1, Abbildung B2.4
 Mag. Beate Puntzenberger, BFE Salzburg

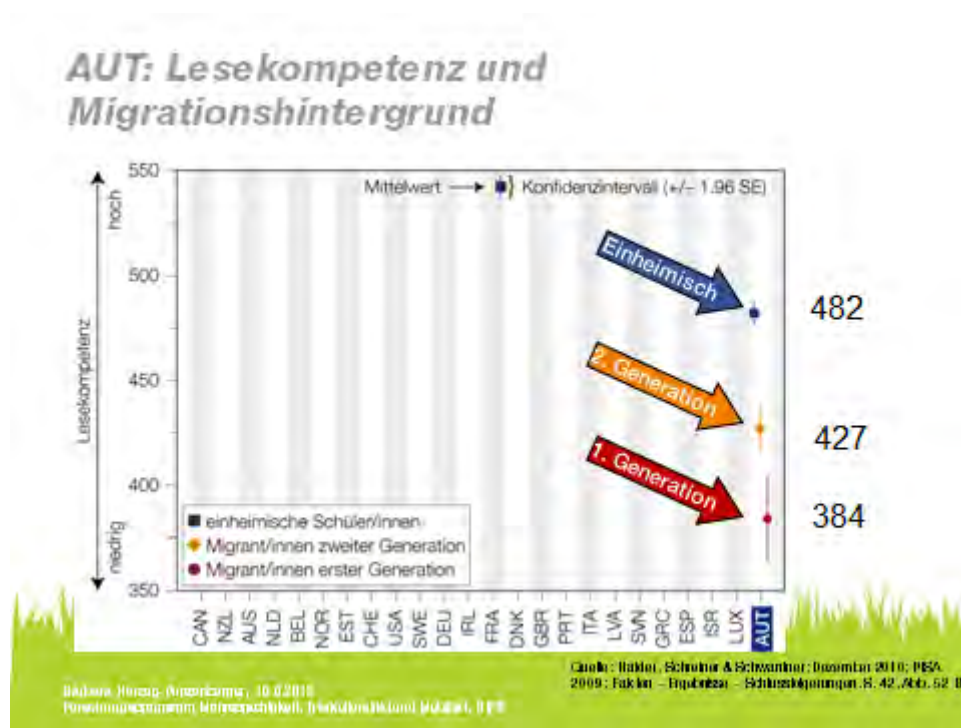
- ⚡ What can be observed concerning performance gaps between pupils with and without migration background in Austria?

To get the bigger picture it is good to know how different the situation is in different countries. On the one hand concerning immigration and the share of migrant pupils and on the other hand concerning their school success. The categorization is different in the various studies. As we are looking at OECD statistics in this section we are using their categories. First generation students are those born outside the country and second generation are born in the test country (e.g. Austria) with parents born outside the country. Lately OECD also introduced the category of students speaking (also) another language than the language of instruction at home. For all the analyses one of the most important information is on the socio-economic background of the families. Comparing countries also reveals differences in composition of immigrants regarding their socio-economic background. Countries also differ widely in the “warmth of welcome”, their reception policies and labour-market integration.

One of the best data sources available in the field of education are the analyses OECD is providing based on the PISA tests which are carried out every three years since 2000. The following slides are from the PISA test in 2009 where reading skills were the focal test domain. In the first PISA-slide you can see all countries with more than 4% of pupils aged 15 having two parents born outside the country. The order is according to average reading skills from left to right, i.e. Canada had the highest reading score with 11% of pupils born outside the country and 14% born inside the country with both parents born outside the country. Austria had the lowest among OECD-countries with 5% born outside the country and 10% inside but both parents born outside.

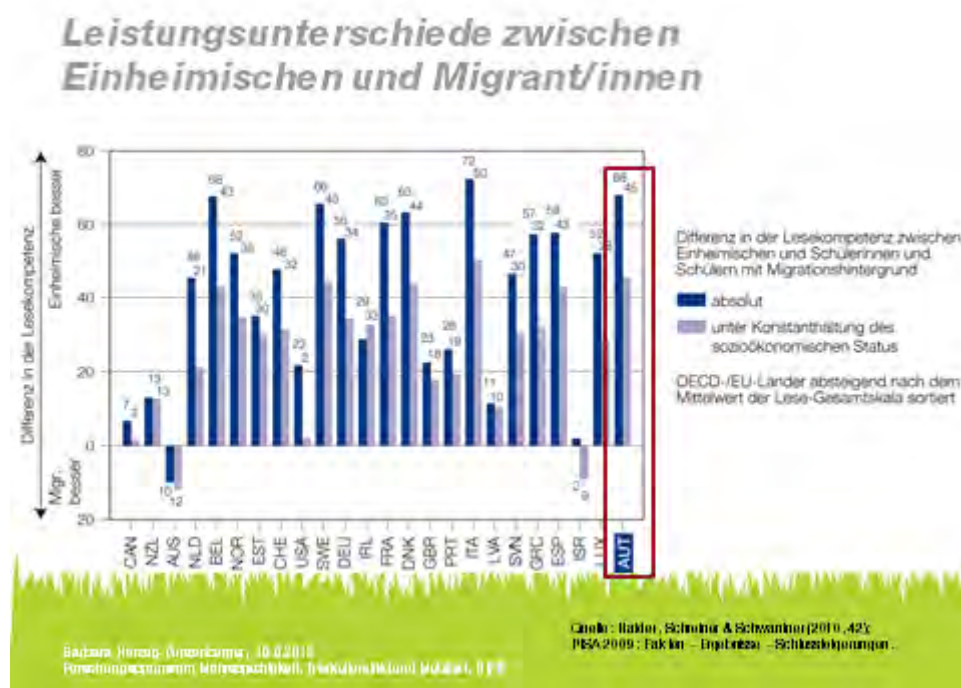


The second PISA-slide is about the different reading scores in Austria in 2009. The blue point signifies the reading score of the category called “native pupils” which are those who have one or two parents born inside the country. The orange point are those born inside the country with two parents outside and the red are pupils born outside the country.



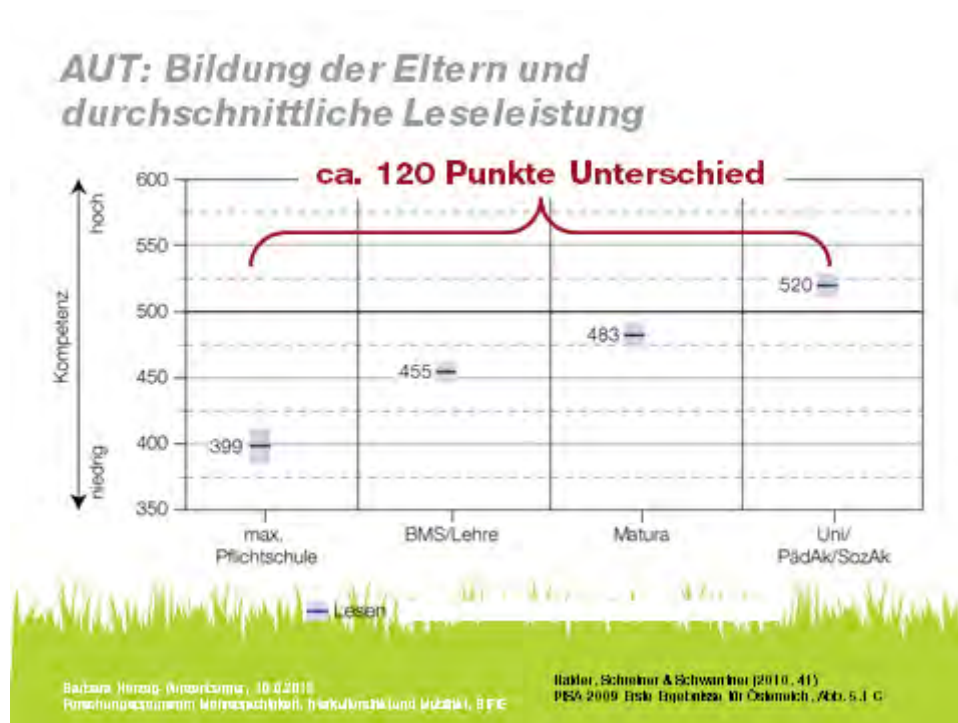
The performance gap in reading among 15 year old pupils is quite high in Austria with 55 points for the 2nd generation (born in AT) and 98 points for those born outside Austria.

The next slide however shows not only the differences between average reading scores of pupils with and without migration background in selected OECD- countries but also how much the achievement gap would be reduced if the socio-economic background of the parents would be equal between those two groups.



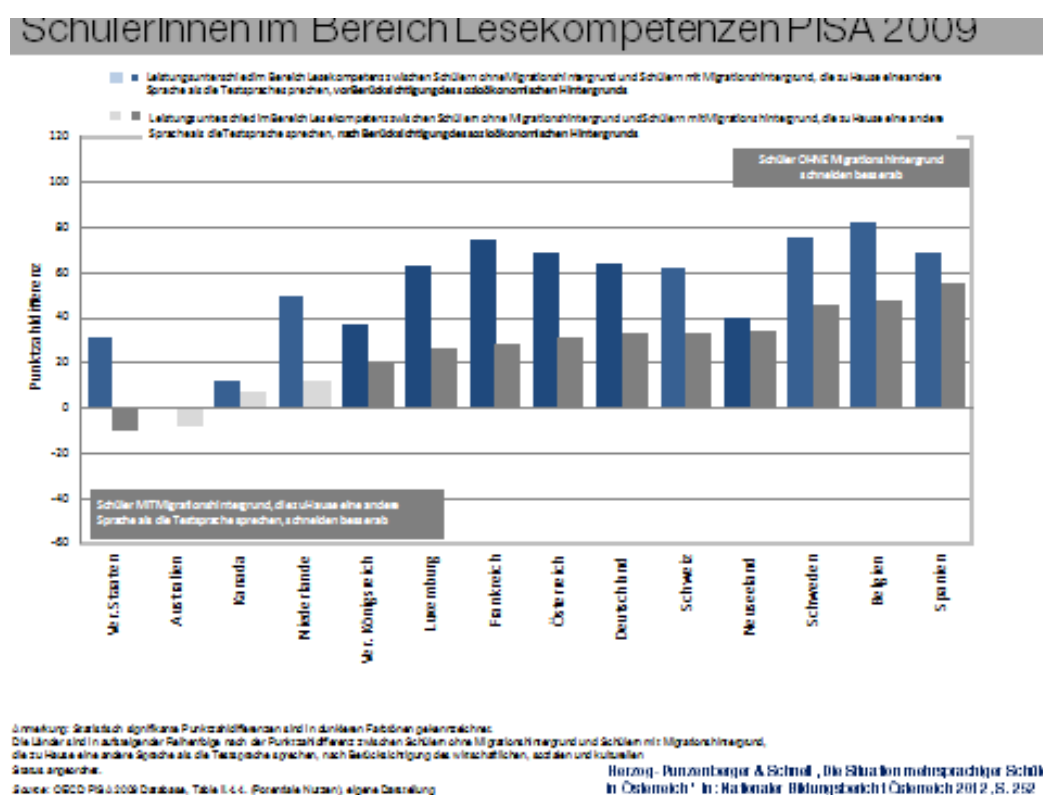
In the case of Austria one third of the achievement gap would be reduced while in the Netherlands it is more than half when looking at students with migration background (not accounting for language spoken at home). In Australia students with migration background have a better average reading score than those without migration background even after controlling for socio-economic background, in Canada the gap is very small. In the US the achievement gap accounts for 22 points but disappears after controlling for socio-economic background.

The fourth PISA-slide shows that the education of the parents is in Austria the most important predictor for reading achievement with a gap of 120 points between the lowest of four categories (max compulsory schooling) and the highest category (university degree). That is double the distance we found between the achievement levels of students with and without migration background. Therefore the reproduction of the knowledge, skills, habitus etc. of the parents in the Austrian school-system is quite strong with half-day schooling, late entrance in kindergarten, early selection with age 10 etc.



Sometimes the question arises if traditional immigration countries have better results because there students speak the language of instruction at home anyways. That explanation does not hold true according to PISA data as the good results remain also when only pupils are selected that speak other languages at home than the language of instruction.

PISA-slide 5 shows the differences in reading achievement between pupils who only speak the language of instruction at home and those who speak also other languages at home before and after controlling for SES.



Interesting is the fact that in Australia there is no achievement gap and in Canada the gap is small. The analyses display a surprising result for the Netherlands, the difference between monolingual (only Dutch) and multilingual students is not significant after controlling for the socio-economic background. A result which is not replicated in any of the other European countries. Maybe this shows that the efforts concerning anti-discrimination, support and multicultural awareness raising and competences among the teaching force, head of schools and population (parents) has had a positive effect.

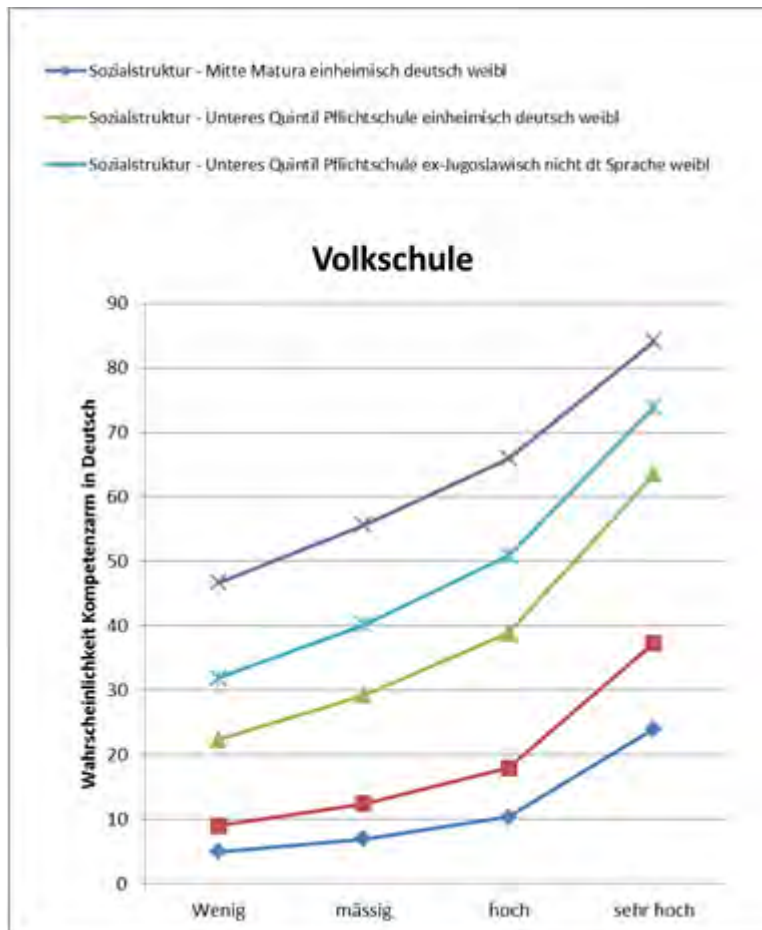
✧ Is segregation or desegregation for that matter seen as a problem and/or as a sensitive issue? By educational professionals and/or policymakers (local, regional, national).

High shares of multilingual pupils are seen as problematic especially by policymakers from the nationalistic, far right spectrum. The Freedom Party tried to campaign for thresholds, i.e. not more than 30% of pupils in a classroom should be multilingual. But there is a problem with classification anyways as more than half of the pupils in Vienna are multilingual. Therefore the category can neither be migrant pupils nor pupils with another first language than German but it is about those pupils who have a minimal knowledge of German.

Teachers are said to be afraid to work in classes with a high share of multilingual children, especially those starting because teacher education has not been providing them with the necessary skills to feel competent.

In the National Report on Education 2012 it was the first time that analyses regarding classroom composition were published. This has become possible due to national testing of grade four and grade eight pupils, i.e. two times 80.000 pupils each year with an extensive background questionnaire.

The analyses in chapter 5 (Bruneforth, Bacher & Weber) on equal opportunities in education showed that the likelihood to develop poor reading skills for a child with given background characteristics rises enormously with a high share of children with a poor socio-economic background and migration background in the classroom.



The different colours are pupils with given background characteristics such as socio-economic background of the family (highest educational degree and professional position of parents) as well as birth country of parents and language spoken at home.

The lowest graph in middle blue symbolizes a girl with parents who have a university-entrance-certificate, a medium prestige job, they are born in Austria and speaking German at home.

The red one is from the same family but a boy.

The green is a girl from a "native" family but among the lowest socio-economic quintile (20% of the population).

The light green-blue graph symbolizes a girl with a very similar SES whose parents are from former Yugoslavia and speak Serbian at home.

The violet graph symbolizes a girl from a similar family regarding SES whose parents were born in Turkey and speak Turkish at home.

Those fictitious children attend the same classroom in four scenarios (wenig - mässig - hoch - sehr hoch).

Scenario 1, the first on the left, is a classroom with very few pupils from low SES families, migration background and non-German languages. The likelihood of poor reading skills is very different already depending on background characteristics of the pupils with 5-10% probability for medium to high family background children, over 20% for low SES but native and German-speaking, 30% for Ex-Yugoslavian and over 45% for Turkish family environment.

If they change to scenario 4, on the right, a classroom with very high proportions of low SES families, migration background and non-German language environment the probability to become poor readers rises significantly for pupils with advantageous family background - over 20% for girls and close to 40% for boys. And for children from disadvantaged families the risk to become a poor reader becomes very high - 85% for girls from Turkish families and 75% for girls from Ex-Yugoslavian background.

Therefore it is a question of justice to find ways to desegregate schools (and neighbourhoods) and support schools in difficult environments in a more efficient way.

- ✧ What activities and policy measures are implemented to prevent and combat segregation? And to facilitate integration in education? What aims and targets are involved? Who are the actors (government, education, civil society – e.g. parents)?

So far there are no explicit measures to combat segregation. There are a number of strategies and measures in place to deal with migrant children and especially those lacking German language skills in the school-system generally. The effects of these measures on segregation are more or less unclear.

- ✧ What do we know from empirical research about results of the activities / policies? Is there research that validates the aims and claims of desegregation?

No targeted measures, hence no results and evaluations.

- ✧ What do we know from research about the implementation process of these policies? What are the pitfalls and dilemmas?

- ✧ Can you mention some key publications on the effects of segregation and desegregation policies in your country?

Bruneferth, M, Bacher, J., Weber, Ch. 2012 Chancengleichheit und garantiertes Bildungsminimum. In Herzog-Punzenberger, Barbara (Hrsg.) Nationaler Bildungsbericht Österreich 2012. Band 2. Fokussierte Analysen bildungspolitischer Schwerpunktthemen. Graz: Leykam.

- ✧ Can you mention one or two 'best practices' from your country?

At the moment a new system is brought into public discussion which is called social-index-based financing of schools. With this system schools with a high share of disadvantaged students should get more funding and support so that the pupils really do have equal opportunities to develop their skills. Maybe those schools will then in the long run become more attractive too.

COUNTRY NOTE OF CATALUNYA (SPAIN)

Rosa Sensat Teacher's Association, Barcelona
Maria Lucchetti

- ✧ What is the nature and the size of the cultural-ethnic segregation in education in your country?

In our country (Catalonia) “school segregation continues to be a great problem when it comes to guarantee the right to equal opportunities in education”. Those are the words that head the chapter about school balance in the annual report 2011 from the Ombudsman.

- ✧ Is segregation or desegregation for that matter seen as a problem and/or as a sensitive issue? By educational professionals and/or policymakers (local, regional, national).

We believe that segregation within the school is treated as a sensitive matter, even though being considered a problem difficult to solve. This is not a contradiction, since children and young people segregation is a real fact in our country beyond the school frame. Teachers are very aware of the repercussions that school segregation has in the intellectual, emotional and physical development of children and young people. They do as much as they can –which is not much–, they do all the necessary efforts to minimize as much as possible its effects within the school frame.

- ✧ What activities and policy measures are implemented to prevent and combat segregation? And to facilitate integration in education? What aims and targets are involved? Who are the actors (government, education, civil society – e.g. parents)?

Since the school year 2004-2005 reception rooms were launched with the aim to allow school adaptation of newcomers through, basically, the learning of the country's language. This initiative has had a positive outcome in the inclusion of the newly arrived children and teenagers.

Subsequently the Education Department has developed a series of tools with the aim to fight school segregation: reservation of places, increase or decrease of ratios, marking out the proximity areas and schooling commissions.

Although school segregation is related to urban segregation, it's not a correlative fact, not always the towns with a bigger amount of immigration are

the more “segregators”. This is due to active local policies that promote children and young people's integration.

- ✧ What do we know from empirical research about results of the activities / policies? Is there research that validates the aims and claims of desegregation?

There are many researches about school segregation and all of them point out the need to find effective policies to fight school segregation.

- ✧ What do we know from research about the implementation process of these policies? What are the pitfalls and dilemmas?

The research led so far has enabled to analyze in depth the state of the art. The knowledge generated has helped to define and implement equity policies that favor desegregation.

School segregation is related to urban segregation, which hinders integration and equity policies. In our current society, where there is an increasing worry to reach equity in various contexts, school segregation is an obstacle for equal opportunities.

- ✧ Can you mention some key publications on the effects of segregation and desegregation policies in your country?

- Processos de segregació escolar a Catalunya (School segregation processes in Catalonia). Ricard Benito, Isaac González
- Municipis contra la segregació escolar (Municipalities against school segregation). Director: Xavier Bonal
- La segregació escolar a Catalunya (Informe extraordinari 2008) (School segregation in Catalonia – Extraordinary report 2008). Síndic de Greuges, el Defensor de les Persones (Ombudsman)
- Les desigualtats territorials en l'ensenyament a Catalunya (Territorial inequalities in Catalonia's education). Xavier Bonal, Xavier Rambla, Marc Ajenjo.
- Política educativa i igualtat d'oportunitats. Prioritats i propostes (Education policy and equal opportunities. Priorities and proposals). Coordinadors: Xavier Bonal, Miquel Àngel Essomba i Ferran Ferrer

- ✧ Can you mention one or two ‘best practices’ from your country?

Faced with the school segregation situation, some municipalities have launched experiences of education planning that help fight it through local action. Two examples of this are those from Terrassa and Olot.

Next school year an initiative based on the magnet schools from the USA will be implemented. The most interesting in this proposal which establishes contacts between schools and different kinds of institution to develop a joint education project, is the fact that the schools that take part in it end up becoming reference schools, both for the families and for other schools.

COUNTRY NOTE OF CROATIA

Education and Teacher Training Agency, Zagreb, Croatia
Sanja Milović, MA – senior advisor for international cooperation

⤴ What is the nature and the size of the cultural-ethnic segregation in education in your country?

In Croatia “school segregation” is not a common issue due to the fact of low numbers of immigrants/migrants. At the same time, by becoming EU member country mobility is likely to increase. Nevertheless, a lot has been done to develop comprehensive policy/practice for inclusion of children/youth from different disadvantaged groups (children of Romani/national minorities background, azilants, migrant children that do not speak Croatian language, children with disabilities,...) in the educational system.

⤴ Is segregation or desegregation for that matter seen as a problem and/or as a sensitive issue? By educational professionals and/or policymakers (local, regional, national).

The segregation has been seen as a problem in 2010 when The Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights, in the case *Oršuš and Others v. Croatia*, ruled that the policy of Croatian primary schools distinguishing among students based on their grasp of the Croatian language resulted in discriminatory segregation of Roma students (*14 students, 3 schools*) in violation of the European Convention on Human Rights. This judgment had a great impact on the education system and importance to these students and other Romani children in Croatia, as it acknowledges that they have suffered unlawful discrimination. Since then, many policies and practices changed for the better and are still doing so. Nevertheless, there is a need for additional support in learning Croatian as a second language, in promoting values of multiculturalism, human rights and active citizenship in order to facilitate social inclusion in general. One might say that segregation is a sensitive issue that everyone in the education system is aware of.

⤴ What activities and policy measures are implemented to prevent and combat segregation? And to facilitate integration in education? What aims and targets are involved? Who are the actors (government, education, civil society – e.g. parents)?

Legislation framework is changed to help children with migrant background to enter education system (at all levels) and to get support in learning Croatian language and their mother tongue and culture.

Teacher who teach children with migrant background can attend Professional Development Programmes. Teachers that teach Croatian language as mother tongue get additional education to learn how to teach Croatian as second language.

New curriculum of Democratic education has been implemented in schools (pilot stage) in school year 2012./2013.

Many Associations (civil society) are providing support to children of Roma and azilant background in order to be included in education system and society in general.

- ✧ What do we know from empirical research about results of the activities / policies? Is there research that validates the aims and claims of desegregation?

Not aware of any empirical research.

- ✧ What do we know from research about the implementation process of these policies? What are the pitfalls and dilemmas?

- ✧ Can you mention some key publications on the effects of segregation and desegregation policies in your country?

Policy papers

- Akcijski plan za uklanjanje prepreka u ostvarivanju pojedinih prava u području integracije stranaca od 2013. – 2015. / Action Plan for the removal of obstacles in implementation of particular rights in the area of integration of foreigners in the Croatian society, for the period of 2013 to 2015 (draft proposal)
- Migracijska politika Republike Hrvatske 2007/2008 / Migration Policy of Republic of Croatia for 2007/2008
- Migracijska politika Republike Hrvatske za razdoblje 2013-2015 / Migration Policy of the Republic of Croatia for the period 2013-2015 (draft proposal)
- Strateški plan Ministarstva regionalnoga razvoja i fondova Europske unije za razdoblje 2014-2016 / Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Regional Development and EU Funds for the period 2014-2016
- Strategija regionalnog razvoja Republike Hrvatske 2011– 2013 / Strategy of Regional Development of the Republic of Croatia 2011-2013
- Nacionalna strategija razvoja zdravstva 2012 - 2020 / National Health Care Strategy 2012-2020
- Strateški plan Ministarstva znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta za razdoblje 2012 - 2014 / Strategic plan of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport for the period 2012-2014
- Strateški plan Ministarstva rada i mirovinskog sustava 2013-2015 / Strategic plan of the Ministry of Labour and Pension System
- Strateški plan Ministarstva gospodarstva za razdoblje od 2013 – 2015 godine / Strategic plan of the Ministry of Economy for the period of 2013-2015
- Nacionalni program zaštite i promicanja ljudskih prava za razdoblje od 2013 do 2016 godine / National Program for Protection and Promotion of Human Rights for the period of 2013-2016

Key legislation

- Zakon o odgoju i obrazovanju u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi / Act on education in primary and secondary schools (2012)
- Zakon o strancima (Narodne Novine 130/2011 i 74/2013) / Aliens Act, Official Gazette (130/2011 and 74/2013)
- Zakon o azilu (Narodne Novine 79/07 i 88/10) / Asylum Act, Official Gazette (79/07 and 88/2010)
- Zakon o suzbijanju diskriminacije (Narodne Novine 112/2012) / Discrimination Combat Act, Official Gazette (112/2012)
- Pravilnik o statusu i radu stranaca u Republici Hrvatskoj (Narodne Novine 52/12) / Regulation on status and work of aliens in Republic of Croatia, Official Gazette (52/2012)
- Zakon o Hrvatskom kvalifikacijskom okviru (Narodne novine, 22/2013) / The Croatian Qualifications Framework Act, Official Gazette (51/2012)

✎ Can you mention one or two 'best practices' from your country?

Schools that have good relationships with Roma communities and Roma children have Roma-helper in classrooms.

Bilateral Project (In-Service CPD): *Strategies for Learning and Teaching Croatian Language as "Other" Language (2011. – 2012.)* Aim: To provide in-service professional development for staff that are already working with students that do not know or insufficiently know Croatian language. These colleagues include Primary School Teachers, Croatian Language Teachers, school development staff and School Principals. 30 participants, teachers (14 Primary and 3 Secondary schools in Zagreb, Sesvete, Rijeka, Pula, Ogulin, Podturen) have been trained to provide quality education for children with migran background. As a project result – Hadbook for Teacher has been published and it is available to all teachers in Croatia.

COUNTRY NOTE OF CYPRUS

Dr Pavlina Hadjitheodoulou Loizidou
Cyprus Pedagogical Institute

- ⤴ What is the nature and the size of the cultural-ethnic segregation in education in your country?

A current discourse on issues and relations between different ethnic and/or social groups derives from recent flows of migration and gradual redefinitions of diversity and identity in Cyprus. A series of social, political and financial changes have taken place after 2000: becoming an EU member, the partial lifting of the restrictions since April 2003 which further exposed members of the two Cyprus communities (Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots) to each other, human mobility due to worldwide globalization, economic crisis and conflicts creating increasing numbers of refugees.

These demographic changes have made Cyprus, as many other countries, very different from the seemingly culturally homogeneous place it once considered itself to be. Schools have experienced the enrolment of children from diverse cultural backgrounds and countries of origin (about 10% of the student population unevenly distributed in different schools and areas resulting to schools with over 90% students of migrant background) whereas, by and large, schools just like societies, have traditionally considered themselves as being mono-cultural.

The increasing numbers of children and students with migrant background have created new educational needs and have stressed the need of ensuring educational achievements and success for all students. Differences in academic performance suggest that students with migrant background had insufficient opportunities to learn the language of instruction and thus adequate support for learning the language would improve their integration in terms of school achievement, educational attainment and future success. These conclusions have accelerated a debate on the effectiveness of measures taken although there is neither clear national policy on the issue nor the implementation of an holistic approach.

- ⤴ Is segregation or desegregation for that matter seen as a problem and/or as a sensitive issue? By educational professionals and/or policymakers (local, regional, national).

A series of laws and regulations represent the Cyprus Education System reaction to “new” perceptions of socio-cultural diversity. At the same time a sequence of ministerial decisions and directives from the Department of

Education have focused on Greek language teaching. The first directive, issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture and entitled “Intercultural Education” (dated 29.10.2002) declared the main policy of the Ministry and focused mainly on the following:

- The growing number of non-Greek language speakers in Greek-Cypriot schools;
- The aim of integrating smoothly these children in the Greek-Cypriot educational system and society, instead of assimilating them. The route suggested for achieving this aim was through supportive and differentiated programmes of Greek language learning;
- The intention of the Ministry of Education and Culture to secure freedom and human rights of all members of the society and to prevent racism and social exclusion;
- The reference to the General Attorney consultation of 2002 illuminates issues regarding the education of all non-Greek-Cypriot pupils. Based on this consultation the Ministry concluded that the right to education cannot be denied to any children living in the territories of the Republic of Cyprus regardless the circumstances under which the children find themselves in the country.

- ▲ What activities and policy measures are implemented to prevent and combat segregation? And to facilitate integration in education? What aims and targets are involved? Who are the actors (government, education, civil society – e.g. parents)?

The appendix accompanying the directive mentioned above presented examples of multicultural activities and the philosophy of teaching Greek as a second language. According to this, regardless of the level of the Greek language knowledge, all pupils should learn Greek in order to be able to attend school classes, to communicate with teachers, classmates and other people and become socialized. The Ministry directive expressed the belief that to satisfy the needs migrant children it is not enough to enable them to learn to read or learn the grammar rules but in addition to promote and develop critical communicative abilities. What was stressed was that by participating in the educational processes with the other pupils in the classroom and the school at large, migrant pupils would have the chance to communicate with more adept language learners, in this case the native speakers, who have more linguistic resources in Greek, therefore enhancing their own acquisition of the Greek language. In addition to the mainstreaming program, a flexible system of intervention within the ordinary timetable was suggested. This involved pulling migrant pupils out of their classroom, in a separate group for some hours of the week, the number of which is decided by the Council of Ministers, for intensive learning of the Greek language and specialised assistance according to their specific needs. As regards secondary education the rhetoric focused on immersion without any accompanying supportive measures. At the beginning newly arrived migrant students enrolled in schools as “observers” for one year but with no linguistic support apart from the possibility to attend language classes at State Afternoon and Evening Institutes (KIE). Failure of integration through this blind route led to the implementation of a pilot program for teaching

Greek as a second language and the change of terminology: the “observer” pupil is changed into a “newcomer”.

In 2003 zones of educational priority (ZEP) were implemented in deprived areas to prevent early school leaving and in these urban areas large numbers of inhabitants were migrants.

Following the 2004 decision for implementing changes in the education system, five pillars of managing students with migrant background were announced:

- Publishing a Reception Guide to the Cyprus Education System in seven different languages representing the larger groups of migrants
- Teaching Greek as a second language (as described above)
- Providing in service for teachers on Diversity and Intercultural Education issues
- Mapping out students with migrant background
- Implementing new curricula

- ✧ What do we know from empirical research about results of the activities / policies? Is there research that validates the aims and claims of desegregation?

Despite the positive impact of ZEP on migrant students' sense of participation in school and the relation between the schools and the community the research results and Ministry reports set questions on whether this approach of positive discrimination could promote segregation and whether it could be applied in different schools and not only to ZEP schools in order to promote education for all students. School segregation is related to urban segregation and there is an increasing worry to safeguard equity and equal opportunities.

- ✧ What do we know from research about the implementation process of these policies? What are the pitfalls and dilemmas?

There are many pieces of research on the role of the school and the impact of institutional school segregation. All of them point out to the need of finding effective policies against exclusion and segregation and to move away from boutique multiculturalism approaches to diversity and partial measures.

A recent piece of research (Hadjitheodoulou Loizidou and Papasolomontos, 2010) showed that refugees in Cyprus regard school as the perfect place for induction to the Cyprus society for both the children and the parents due to opportunities for interaction with Cypriots and the Greek language.

- ✧ Can you mention some key publications on the effects of segregation and desegregation policies in your country?

Demetriou K. (2008) *Twitch, wink, twitch mistaken for wink, or ...? Engaging students in the thick interpretation of ethnic borders*, paper presented at the Second Consultation Table, Organised by the Council of

Europe Ad hoc Committee on Teaching Sociocultural Identity, Nicosia, Cyprus, 5-6 June 2008.

Gregoriou Z. (2004) De-scribing hybridity in 'unspoiled Cyprus': postcolonial tasks for the theory of education, *Comparative Education*, 40 (2), pp. 241-266.

Hadjitheodoulou Loizidou P. (2007) Intercultural Education in Cyprus: Legal framework, actions and perspective in Cyprus Educational Systems. Proceedings "The European Union and its Neighbours: What can be achieved», Nicosia 29/11/2007.

Cyprus Pedagogical Institute (Hadjitheodoulou Loizidou P.) (2009) Pilot program for teaching Greek as a second language in Secondary Education. Cyprus Pedagogical Institute..

^ Can you mention one or two 'best practices' from your country?

The implementation of ZEP approach gave emphasis on project work, parent involvement, development of closer relations between the school and the community and these are regarded as successful measures to be adopted in all schools.

SIRIUS Thematic Round Table: Segregation and integration

Country Note Flanders (Belgium) – Ward Nouwen, CeMIS University of Antwerp

- What is the nature and the size of the cultural-ethnic segregation in education in your country?

Available data on the extent, causes and effects of school segregation in Flanders almost exclusively regard the situation in primary education in some larger Flemish cities. Data on the extent of the unequal dispersal of minority pupils and the role of parental school choices are predominantly linked to a specific research project called SinBa on the extent, causes and effects of segregation in Flemish primary education. This country note will be strongly reflect research findings from the SinBa project and therefore mainly limit its scope to primary education in the Flemish cities Antwerp, Ghent and Genk.¹

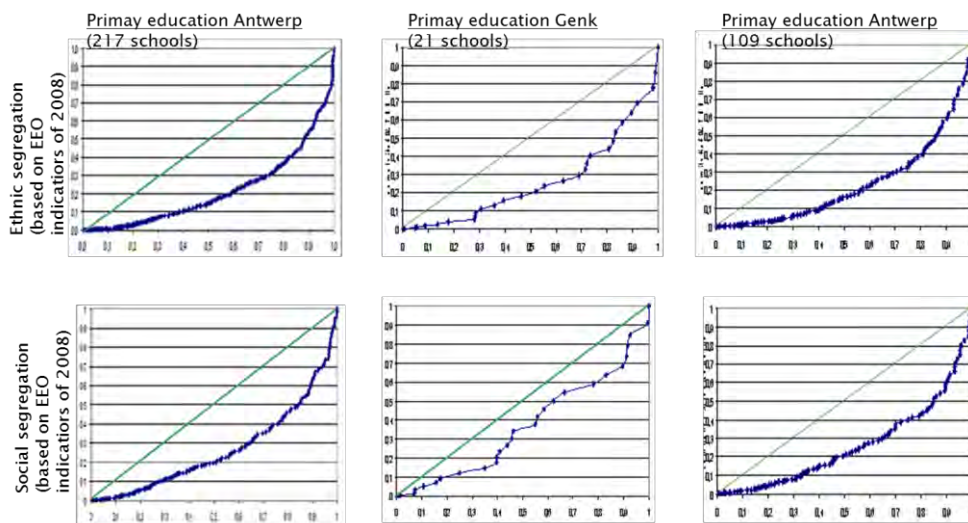
Existing data on secondary education does provide us with the insight that segregation in secondary education strongly corresponds with the overrepresentation of ethnic minorities and socially disadvantaged pupils in vocational oriented educational tracks and therefore schools providing these types of secondary education. Analyses on the basis of the PISA tests shows that concentration of socially disadvantaged pupils in secondary schools is an important cause of lower achievements, especially for those pupils with an unprivileged social background. The achievement gap between native and minority pupils in Flanders is among the highest in the OECD countries. Additional analyses based on the PISA data showed that the ethnic achievement gap can almost exclusively be explained through differences in the family SES and the language spoken at home at the individual level and school segregation explaining the achievement gap at an institutional level (Jacobs & Rea, 2009).

The composition of the primary school populations in the bigger cities in Flanders (the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium) varies in terms of socio-economic background and ethnic origin, and the socio-economic and ethnic composition of primary schools tends to correlate. In the 1990's the socio-economic approach to segregation in education changed into a more ethnically-oriented approach and became a topic of political debate and research. Desegregation also became subject to educational policy. Precisely how policymakers define (de)segregation is not entirely clear. Research findings show that segregation in education can be defined based on various characteristics (language, socio-economic background, ethnicity, residence, etc.), which are sometimes interrelated. But mostly segregation is defined with a bipolar criterion (e.g. home language Dutch versus home language not Dutch).

Figure 1 below represents the unequal distribution of ethnic minority pupils based on the indicator non-native home language (top row) and social segregation using the indicator having mother without a diploma from secondary education diploma (lower three figures), respectively in the Flemish cities Antwerp, Genk and Ghent (from left to right). The full green line represents the hypothetical situation

¹ Since similar questions were already answered in the Flemish chapter in "International perspectives on countering school segregation", I will make use of some citations from Sierens, Mahieu & Nouwen, 2011 by using parentheses.

of a complete equal distribution of specific target pupils among the different schools in a specific city. The dotted blue line represents the actual spreading in 2008. Both the distribution of socially disadvantaged and ethnic minority pupils is most skewed in the city of Antwerp (see also table 1). The SinBa research however also found that the neighbourhood schools in Antwerp represented the neighbourhood population better than in the two other research areas. One should therefore keep in mind the relativity of only using a distribution measurement for segregation. Since local policy in Antwerp and Ghent recently invested in strengthening neighbourhood schools in primary education by giving priority based on the distance to school, this strong representation can be expected to be continued. Given a high residential segregation, this policy aim does not encourage a more equal spread of target pupils but does open other policy options like investing in extended neighbourhood schooling.



Bron: Vlaamse Gemeenschap, departement Onderwijs – GOK-telling 2008
Bewerking: Studiedienst Stadsobservatie

Figure 1: Social and ethnic segregation in the Flemish cities Antwerp, Genk and Ghent (2008)

	<u>Number of schools</u>	<u>Social segregation</u>	<u>Ethnic segregation</u>
<i>Antwerp</i>	217	.200	.211
<i>Genk</i>	29	.138	.160
<i>Ghent</i>	109	.175	.180

Table 1: Segregation indices using Hutchens Square Root Index² (2008)

- Is segregation or desegregation for that matter seen as a problem and/or as a sensitive issue? By educational professionals and/or policymakers (local, regional, national).

When considering policy attention for the topic of school segregation and the policy options open for desegregation efforts, one should keep in mind Flemish constitutional legislation on freedom of education.

² The Hutchens Square Root Index (H) has a value between 0 and 1. The 0-value indicates no segregation (target pupils are evenly spread across all schools). Value 1 shows that there is a total segregation (target pupils are completely separated from the other students).

“Freedom of education is a constitutional right in Belgium. Every natural or legal person has the right to organise education and establish institutions for this purpose. A governing body (school board) is responsible for one or more schools and enjoys considerable autonomy. The Belgian constitution also guarantees parents’ freedom of choice. Parents and children must have access to a school of their choice within a reasonable distance from their home. What is certain however is that the Flemish authorities strive for more ‘mixed’ schools with populations that reflect the socio-ethnic diversity in the school environment. This has to do with the fact that in recent decades a sharp division has risen between ‘white’ and ‘black’ primary schools in urban areas. Ethnically mixed schools have had great difficulty in maintaining a balanced mix in their population; the majority evolved quickly into concentration schools as a consequence of ‘white flight’. At a later stage ‘black’ concentration schools also lost the bulk of their socially advantaged migrant pupils (‘black flight’). The Flemish government is unable to steer residential patterns of population groups in a real way. Legal tools for enhancing social mixing in urban neighbourhoods have their limits: Flemish housing policies are highly liberal and the share of social housing in the housing stock in Flanders is limited. The Flemish government issues rules to amend the negative side effects of the existing freedom and market forces within education in favour of socially deprived groups. Since the compulsory dispersal of pupils among schools is not permitted, decision makers have adopted a relatively ‘soft’ mode of operation: they hope to make their admission policies more equitable through voluntary agreements between schools.”

Aside from the historical roots of the constitutional freedom of education in Flanders, in most cases (neo-liberal) economic theory inspires proponents to defend freedom of education by referring to the quality assurances allegedly granted by competition among schools. Although there isn’t much consensus in research findings concerning these theoretical assumptions, the market idea is also in Flanders a leading argument pro freedom of education. Nonetheless, facilitating a quasi-market situation in education is proven to have unintended consequences on social and ethnic segregation. In a quasi-market context, next to (unwarranted) selection by schools, also parental choice patterns and differences in the ability to realize the preferred school choice contribute to educational stratification and segregated schools.

“A twofold assumption underlies the past and present desegregation policies in Flemish primary education. The desegregation policy is primarily justified on the basis of equal educational opportunities for all pupils, irrespective of their background or position. The dispersal of migrant pupils over a wider range of schools is seen as an effective means to raise their (on average lower) educational achievement. High concentrations of migrant and socially disadvantaged pupils in the same classes and schools is conceived to lower their performance, as well as the schools’ average achievement levels. So high concentrations of ‘deprived’ pupils create, as it were, ‘deprived’ schools. Social cohesion/integration in Flemish education constitutes the second basic idea underlying the policy intention of mixing primary school populations. This argument is founded on the democratic notion that all children, white and black, rich and poor, healthy and handicapped, boys and girls, should go to school together. To turn children into good citizens and tolerant democrats, it is important that they learn to deal with the diversity inherent in society. For that reason the school is the meeting place par excellence for children from all sections of the population. ‘Black’ and ‘white’ schools do not meet this ideal and hence generate undesirable social segregation.”

- What activities and policy measures are implemented to prevent and combat segregation? And to facilitate integration in education? What aims and targets are involved? Who are the actors (government, education, civil society – e.g. parents)?

Policy interventions: an overview (citation from Sierens, Mahieu & Nouwen, 2011)

“A first desegregation measure in Flemish education was introduced in connection with the Educational Priority Policy (1991-2002). This regulation was an initial attempt to influence the admission policies of ‘black’ schools. Within the applied weighting system, schools with more than 80 percent migrant pupils received less weight for those pupils in the allocation of extra resources to the school. It was expected that this principle of ‘degressive weighting’ would discourage high concentration schools from enrolling too many migrant pupils. The ‘Joint Declaration concerning a Non-discrimination Policy in Education’ (15 July 1993) was the second step in the development of a dispersal and mixing policy in primary education. In this framework, the possibility of referral of pupils was introduced for schools with too many migrant pupils. One of its aims was to strive for a more proportional presence of migrants in all schools by pursuing a local admission policy. Attaining more balanced school populations – especially in ethnic terms – is a major objective of the Equal Educational Opportunities policy, which took effect in 2002. The Act on Equal Educational Opportunities (EEO) is very ambitious with respect to socio-ethnic desegregation: it explicitly aims to prevent exclusion, segregation, and discrimination of pupils, and to promote social cohesion (MFC, 2002, 14 September). The Act on EEO contains three major provisions, the first two of which directly relate to desegregation:

- The Right to Enrolment (inschrijvingsrecht): each pupil has the right to enrol in the school of his/her (parents’) choice. Only under strictly limited conditions can a school refuse an enrolment or refer a newly enrolled pupil to another school
- The establishment of Local Consultation Platforms (lokale overlegplatforms) to ensure amongst others the right of enrolment and to co-operate in implementing a local policy on equal opportunities.
- Extra support for additional needs provision in schools with additional teaching periods or additional teaching hours per teacher (according to percentages of EEO-pupils).

An important innovation in the EEO-related desegregation policy is that it focuses more on relative segregation by also taking account of the concentrations of certain target groups at a residential level. Schools are encouraged to match their composition with the neighbourhood’s composition. The revised Act on EEO (MFC, 2005, 30 August) introduced a 10 percent deviation priority rule. This means that a school can give priority to non-EEO pupils, if the relative presence of EEO-pupils is 10 percent above the relative presence of EEO-pupils within the operational zone of the Local Consultation Platform.”

- What do we know from empirical research about results of the activities / policies? Is there research that validates the aims and claims of desegregation?

See presentation of Orhan Agirdag during thematic round table (researcher within SinBa project).

- What do we know from research about the implementation process of these policies? What are the pitfalls and dilemmas?

The desegregation efforts within the EEO policy haven't been assessed sufficiently to conclusively report on the effects of these policy efforts. Nonetheless, based on interviews with school principals and parents within the SinBa research project we received important signals about back doors still open to schools for getting around parent's right of enrolment and the priority rules of the EEO policy. A recent television documentary which made use of undercover reporters also showed how schools can (illegally) give priority to socially advantaged parents to circumvent desegregation policies and help them to keep a more elitist school composition.

- Can you mention some key publications on the effects of segregation and desegregation policies in your country?

Sierens, S., Mahieu, P. & Nouwen, W. (2011), The desegregation policy in Flemish primary education. Is distributing migrant students among schools an effective solution?, In Bakker, J., Denessen, E., Peters, D. & Walraven, G. (Eds.), International perspectives on countering school segregation, Antwerpen-Apeldoorn, Garant.

Agirdag, O., Nouwen, W., Mahieu P., Van Avermaet, P., Vandenbroucke, A. & Van Houtte, M. (Eds.). (2012) Segregatie in het basisonderwijs: Geen zwart-wit verhaal, Antwerpen: Garant.

Levräu, F., Nouwen, W. & Clycq, N. (2011). "De onderwijspositie en -segregatie naar herkomst". Pp. 239-262 in Armoede en sociale uitsluiting: jaarboek 2011. Leuven: Acco.

Nouwen, W. & Vandenbroucke, A. (2012). "Schoolkeuze en ervaringen met inschrijvingen bij etnisch-culturele minderheden" In Timmerman, C., Clycq, N. & Segaert, B. (Eds.) Cultuuroverdracht en onderwijs in een multiculturele Context, (pp. 156-185). Gent: Academia Press.

Mahieu, P., Vandenbroucke, A., Nouwen, W. & Schryvers, E.. (2011). "Segregatie in het Vlaamse basisonderwijs : omvang en oorzaken". School en Samenleving 27, pp. 35-54.

Jacobs, D., Rea, A., Teney, C., Callier, L. & Lothaire, S. (2009) De sociale lift blijft steken. De prestaties van allochtone leerlingen in de Vlaamse Gemeenschap en de Franse Gemeenschap (Brussels, Koning Boudewijnstichting).

Agirdag, O., Demanet, J., Van Houtte, M., & Van Avermaet, P. (2011) Ethnic school composition and peer victimization: a focus on the interethnic school climate. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 35 (4), pp. 465-473.

Agirdag, O., Van Houtte, M., & Van Avermaet, P. (2012) Why does the ethnic and socioeconomic composition of schools influence math achievement? The role of sense of futility and futility culture. European Sociological Review.

Agirdag, O., Van Avermaet, P., Van Houtte, M. (2012). School segregation and math achievement: A mixed-method study on the role of self-fulfilling prophecies. Teachers College Record, forthcoming.

- Can you mention one or two ‘best practices’ from your country?
 - The “School in Zicht” (school in sight) organisation gathers more socially advantaged parents in urban neighbourhoods that are primarily characterized by socially disadvantaged inhabitants and encourages these parents to visit the neighbourhood school and take it into consideration in their school choice process. By organizing info moments and collective school visits the organisation invests in convincing the parents of the intrinsic quality of these neighbourhood schools. Furthermore “School in Zicht” collects these parents’ concerns and desires and tries to help the neighbourhood schools to assure middleclass parents that these concerns can be met without losing sight of the needs of more socially disadvantaged pupils.
 - In case of capacity problems (which are widely spread in larger cities like Antwerp and Ghent) current legislation allows schools to give admission priority according to a set of standards promoting neighbourhood schools and desegregation. In the cities Antwerp and Ghent local actors in education implemented a central admission registration systems to coordinate this constrained choice. Nevertheless, these constrained choice programs were initially introduced to handle capacity problems rather than to combat social and ethnic segregation. Furthermore, the effects of these local initiatives haven’t been sufficiently assessed.

SIRIUS Thematic Workshop on Segregation and Integration in Education
9 October 2012, The Hague, The Netherlands

COUNTRY NOTE OF Hungary

Ferenc Arató PhD, assistant professor
University of Pécs

- What is the nature and the size of the cultural-ethnic segregation in education in your country?

Researchers from the beginning of the seventies until nowadays brought the evidences of segregation of Roma learners in our country. Almost half of the Roma students attend to classrooms where Roma learners are represented in 75% or more. There are different drivers of the dynamism of segregation. One of the main drivers of segregation is related with the social status of these communities. They are living in segregated settlements both in towns and villages, enormous percent of these communities are unemployed from decades. These people are mainly unschooled which means that they have no higher education than primary education. Although 78% of Hungarian youngsters finish their secondary education successfully only the 12% of Roma youngsters could enter to the secondary education and lot of them can't graduate. A new dynamism of segregation is identifying Roma learners as learners with specific learning needs and sending them to special schools of learners with learning disabilities or creating special classes for them within the school. The third main driver is the covert form of racism which is supported by the free choice of schools and the fact that overt racism took its place in the political discourse of Hungary (see Jobbik Party). Segregation affects not only the Roma learners but also the learners with migrant background, and learners who are socially disadvantaged. The bottom 10% of the Hungarian society, the families with the lowest income and maximum primary education, in 50% contains non-Roma poor families suffering from the same segregation dynamism of the education system. The clear racist feature of the Hungarian society could be understand from the fact that the other 50% of this bottom 10% contains 66-77% of the Hungarian Roma people.

- Is segregation or desegregation for that matter seen as a problem and/or as a sensitive issue? By educational professionals and/or policymakers (local, regional, national).

Segregation and the selectiveness of the Hungarian public education system is one of the identified factors of the underachievement and lower quality of education in Hungary clarified by the Hungarian discourse of educational sciences since the eighties. Not only the research studies about the segregation of Roma and socially disadvantaged learners mentioned above but international comparison studies like PISA were interpreted this way. Although desegregation was a key element of the educational policy between 2003 and 2010 it was not obligatory for all schools. Segregation was forbidden by the law of antidiscrimination and de-segregation was enhanced by extra supports for the educational institutions. This lack of obligatory de-segregation, among

others, leads to the failure of the integration policy of the previous government. There were good desegregation local and regional policies and interventions like in a few larger cities where obligatory de-segregation was managed by the local authorities as they were the maintainers of the local public education systems. There were sub-regions where the entire public education system of the region started to develop all of the institutions for the purpose of enhancing inclusion in schools. In 2013 the whole educational system of Hungary was changed: almost all of the public education institutions belong to the state (or churches) instead of the local governments as it was before. The main message of these changes was to provide equity in education but deeper analysis of the nature of the changes made it clear that it is a simple political double-talk: the new public education act probably will increase the segregation tendency within the Hungarian education system.

- What activities and policy measures are implemented to prevent and combat segregation? And to facilitate integration in education? What aims and targets are involved? Who are the actors (government, education, civil society – e.g. parents)?

First actors of de-segregation and inclusion were civic actors from the end of the eighties and during the nineties: innovative teachers, innovative community representatives, civic organizations, innovative schools, kinder gardens, newly founded alternative schools and mentoring programs. The aim was to influence the state to adapt good practices and effective support programs or systems for enhancing de-segregation and inclusion in education. On the basis of the network and lobby of these actors a new government in 2002 started to collaborate with these civic actors developing a complex support system. Antidiscrimination act and new chapter of the public educational act targeted de-segregation and inclusion. In a one and a half year pilot program ministry of education and civic strategic expert with schools and local communities elaborated a complex support system for enhancing desegregation and inclusion in public education. It was a voluntary based program which means that although discrimination was forbidden desegregation was not obligatory (it was a political decision from the side of the government, civic experts recommended obligatory desegregation). Schools which entered the program accepted that they should desegregate their institution “in every single corner”, in every learning group and realized that they should start an institution development program lasting at least 8-10 years. A whole network of services was established (National Educational Network for Inclusion, NENI) and a complex model was elaborated with the focus of institution development (ISE).

“Inclusive System of Education (ISE) model is a system-wide model for creating desegregative conditions and for enhancing the inclusiveness of educational practice from public education system level to classroom practice level. This model was established and developed between 2003 and 2013 in Hungary. One of the main concepts of this model is to imply the basic principles and structures of cooperative learning to systematical structures (Arató – Varga 2004, 2005, 2012, Arató 2008, Arató

et al. 2005). Inclusiveness refers here to the inclusion of every single participant of the learning processes in public education system. The selective features and segregation tendency of the Hungarian education system were studied since the beginning of the seventies focusing on Roma communities (Kemény et al. 2004). Since the middle of nineties this focus was completed by the focus on learners with disadvantaged social background (Kertesi 2005, Kézdi – Kertesi 2008). The evidences show that the selectiveness and segregation within the Hungarian public education system leads to the low achievement in education of these groups. I had the opportunity to participate both as a developer and a researcher in creation of this ISE model (Arató et al. 2005, 2008, Arató – Varga 2012) and had conducted researches with my colleagues on this development (Arató – Varga 2004, 2005, Arató et al. 2008). Independent researchers also had studied the progress of this model (Kézdi – Surányi 2008) from the aspect of cooperative learning basic elements (following Johnson brother's five elements, Johnson – Johnson 1999). Although some of the main elements of the model were ignored after 2005 the evidences of these researches had pointed out that the cooperative and horizontal structures of this model were playing significant role in the internalization of the importance of inclusiveness as a main focus of the educational institution development (Arató – Varga 2004, 2005). Other important evidence was that the elements of the ISE model played important role in the achievement of expected outcomes of the model like decreasing drop outs, fostering participation in everyday school life and increasing academic achievement (Arató et al. 2008). In 2013 half of the institutions of the Hungarian public education system (approximately 1600 institutions) were participating in this developmental program from kinder gardens to high schools. The new educational policy of the Hungarian government has ignored this full process and the evidences and stopped the supports of these institutions in 2013.

The main elements of this model were the following. *Supportive educational policy and legislation* – forbidding discrimination, supporting de-segregation and development of inclusive educational environment, providing a competence based, expected outcomes oriented and interdisciplinary core curricula. *ISE model* – maintains the autonomy of creation of local pedagogical programs and curricula for every single institution, provides a guideline for the most relevant aspects and approaches for development. *National Educational Network for Inclusion (NENI)* – based its services on the cooperative structures of the ISE model, provided individualized supports for every single educational institution and organized cooperatively structured network services for enhancing development in practice. There is not enough space to describe the elements of the ISE and NENI services here. We have described them in handbooks for trainers (Arató et al. 2005, Arató – Restyánszky 2008) and for institutional developers (Arató – Varga 2012).” (Arató 2013)

- What do we know from empirical research about results of the activities / policies? Is there research that validates the aims and claims of desegregation?

After a decade of development, although the ISE and NENI model was dislodged and fragmented since 2005 and ignored from 2013, a lot of publication was edited about the good practices of different schools, with good results and evidences. Overall researches clarified that systematical changes were not conducted, the whole developmental process were collapsed. Some research studies had traced that the reason of this collapse were the following: incongruence in the cooperative principle based network services of the NENI (in three target region services did not follow subsidiary and horizontal principles Arató – Varga 2004, 2005), the whole support system was fragmented, services were provided in a non appropriate way, central coordination of the program were chaotic, the whole process suffered from the lack of complex monitoring and mentoring, lack of a complex quality insurance system (Arató et al 2008).

- What do we know from research about the implementation process of these policies? What are the pitfalls and dilemmas?

I will describe the answers in details in my report about the National Roundtable. Some of the main statements are the next:

- Public educational institutions need autonomy in creating pedagogical programs and curricula but desegregation needs obligatory interventions.
- Subsidiarity and cooperative structures are key elements for effective and efficient implementation: individualization, cooperation, horizontal learning and authentic assessment are needed not only in the case of the learners but in the case of the teachers and institutions as well.
- Differentiated supports, training and mentoring services for schools should be provided long lasting (independently from the actual government) and should contain quality insurance system of monitoring and mentoring. The importance of participative, horizontal learning in effective and efficient implementation is inevitable.
- Local communities (parents, families, neighborhood, stakeholders, inter-sectoral partners etc) should be involved structurally into the developmental process. Critical publicity of the implementation process should be part of the local, regional and policy level of the developmental process.
- Research, development, training and practice in teacher training (pre- and in-service) recommended working together in a synergic way dislodging the academic hierarchy of these dimensions. Gaps between research and development discourses, between training and good practice discourses erode the advocacy or/and the empowerment of the teachers, developers and by this the empowerment of the learners.

- Can you mention some key publications on the effects of segregation and desegregation policies in your country?

Arató, Ferenc (2008) A kooperatív tanulás szerepe az IPR alapú intézményfejlesztésben. (The Role of Cooperative Structures in ISE Based Institutional Development) In *Kooperatív tanulásszervezés az integráció szolgálatában. (Cooperative Learning for Enhancing Integration.)* (Ferenc Arató (ed.) Budapest: Educatio, 7-12.)

Arató, Ferenc – Varga, Aranka (2004) Együttműködés az együttnevelésért. (Cooperation for Co-education.) *Educatio* 2004/3 503-507

ARATÓ, Ferenc – VARGA, Aranka (2005): *A kooperatív hálózat működése. (Cooperative Network in Process.)* Pécs: PTE BTK, Neveléstudományi Intézet, Romológia és Nevelésszociológia Tanszék 81

Arató Ferenc – Varga Aranka (2012) *Intézményfejlesztési útmutató a differenciált, IPR alapú fejlesztések megvalósításához. (A Guide to Institutional Development for Realizing ISE Based, Differentiated Institutional Developments.)* Közigazgatási és Igazságügyi Hivatal, Budapest.

Arató, Ferenc – Pintér, Csaba – Varga, Aranka (2008) *Az Országos Oktatási Integrációs Hálózat rendszerszerű működésének vizsgálata. Examination of the Systematical Processes of the National Educational Network for Inclusion.* Budapest: Research study

Kemény, István; Janky, Béla; Lengyel, Gabriella (2004) *A magyarországi cigányság 1971-2003. (Roma People in Hungary 1971-2003.)* Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó – MTA Etnikai-Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet

Kertesi, Gábor (2005) *A társadalom peremén – romák a munkaerő-piacon és az iskolában. (On the Edge of Society – Roma People in Labor Market and in Schools.)* Budapest: Osiris Kiadó

Kertesi, Gábor – Kézdi, Gábor (2008) Az oktatási szegregáció okai, következményei és ára. (Causes, Consequences and Price of Segregation in Education.) In Bernáth, Gábor (ed.) *Esélyegyenlőség – deszegregáció – integráló iskola. (Equity – De-segregation – Inclusive School.)* Budapest: Educatio KhT. 15-31

Kézdi, Gábor – Surányi, Éva (2008) *Egy sikeres iskolai integrációs program tapasztalatai. (Evidences of a Successful School Development Program for Integration.)* Budapest: Educatio KhT. 130

Lannert, Judit (2004) Hatékonyság, eredményesség, méltányosság. (Effectiveness, Efficiency and Equity.) *Új Pedagógiai Szemle*, 12, 3–15.

- Can you mention one or two 'best practices' from your country?

1. ISE model (2003-2013) and NENI services (2003-2005)
2. Urban desegregation program of Szeged, Hódmezővásárhely and Mohács (Hungarian cities) covering the whole local public education system.

COUNTRY NOTE OF LATVIA

Global Development Institute, Riga,
Liesma Ose

Statistics:

In 2012 there were 546 children from foreign background studying in Latvian schools out of which 140 children are from Russia, 26 from the USA, 10 from Thailand, 10 from Korea, 2 from Venezuela and 1 from China. During 1998 – 2012 there were 48 persons with refugee status in Latvia, 83 with alternative status. Number of minors- asylum seekers is not significant: 2008 – 16; 2009 – 18; 2010 – 14; 2011 – 50 2012 – 24. During 2008 – 2012 30 minors- asylum seekers have attended Latvian schools. Currently there are 16 minors with asylum seeker, refugee or alternative status.

- ✧ *What is the nature and the size of the cultural-ethnic segregation in education in your country?*

School segregation regarding ethnic composition of students *de jure* is history.

It was the case during Soviet era, when Latvia had 3 types of schools: Latvian, Russian and two - streams (mixed). Since Education Law 1998 any school in Latvia has the choice of design and implementation of diverse (one or several of 5, stated by article 38, Education Law) education programs, among them minority education programs. *De facto* schools, implementing minority education programs, taught bilingually (40% minority language, 60% Latvian) have majority of students with minority background. It is important to note, that number of those schools is constantly shrinking (by 10-12 schools per year), and now we have 93 such schools from 814 schools in total (data from 2013).

It should be emphasized that immigrant children are not discriminated in terms of choice of the school – there are no data that immigrant children would attend worse or marginalized schools, basically these children attend school of their choice if that school implements education programs for minority children. Those programs are available in 7 minority languages (Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, Roma, Estonian, Jewish). Still if parents want their child to attend school with Latvian language of instruction, implementing mainstream basic or secondary education program, it depends on each separate case whether the school is ready in terms of resources, has teacher assistants etc.

De facto schools that implement education programs for minority children are more prepared for their successful adaptation in Latvian society due to biculturalism and socio - culturally integrative pedagogical approaches of majority of teachers, working there (Ose, 2007).

In terms of secondary education attainment, in recent years there is no major difference in national tests between students in mainstream (Latvian language) schools and students of minority (bilingual) schools, where most second- and third-generation migrants study. The socio-economic levels of these populations are approximately the same, which may explain why there is no gap in school outcomes.

Higher education in Latvia is not free, and immigrant students - third country nationals- usually have to pay higher fees for tuition in Latvia's universities than citizens and non-citizens (a special legal status equal to citizenship in respect to residence, social and economic rights, but not in political rights¹). They are enrolled in English instruction classes and are segregated from mainstream students.

✧ *Is segregation or desegregation for that matter seen as a problem and/or as a sensitive issue? By educational professionals and/or policymakers (local, regional, national).*

There is a principal diversity of opinions between policy makers and implementers (MPs, MoES, municipal education boards, school administration) and education policy analysts as well as segment of social scientists, in some sense parents represented by parents' NGOs, as well. If first group, following Education Law *de jure* statement on non - segregated school system, but diversity of education programs implemented by schools , among them minority basic and secondary education programs, programs with elements of commercial or vocational training, with emphasis on arts, special education, etc., (Education Law, article 38) regards there is no segregation of schools whatsoever, the second groups, following *de facto* ethnic composition in schools , implementing minority education programs (more than 60 % ethnic minority pupils) , considers school system segregated.

Majority of children and youth with immigrant background have been enrolled in those schools.

If we look back in history of education reforms, 2001-2004, there was a debate on whether to leave schools systems, especially secondary schools, segregated (this opinion was voiced by NGOs and politicians- MPs struggling

¹The status of non-citizens is regulated by a special law passed in 1992: <http://www.humanrights.lv/doc/latlik/noncit.htm>. Newly arrived migrants and their children are not granted the status of non-citizens.

for education only in Russian for Russian pupils to secure education in mother tongue, and leave only few classes of Latvian language), or implement and mainstream bilingual education. In 2003-2004 it was very sensitive, till non violent actions, including hunger strike by NGO “Shtab for Defence of Russian schools”. Still bilingual education was de jure mainstreamed in secondary education since September, 2004.

▲ *What activities and policy measures are implemented to prevent and combat segregation? And to facilitate integration in education? What aims and targets are involved? Who are the actors (government, education, civil society – e.g. parents)?*

If we consider also the policies targeting second- and third- generation migrants in the Russian-speaking community, targeted policies for this group have been developed since 1995, when the National Programme for Latvian Language Training was created with support from UNDP. The Programme (since 2003 run by a separate government agency) included massive teacher training activities for teachers of Russian-language schools, improving both Latvian language proficiency and bilingual education skills. From 1998, Russian-language schools had to choose between several models of bilingual education. These models are implemented with support from the Latvian Language Agency until today. Since around 2005, also teachers of mainstream (Latvian-language) schools have begun to take part in bilingual education and intercultural education teacher training courses, funded by European Social Fund and government funds, however, their participation in these courses is relatively low (Golubeva, 2012).

Bilingual education. Since the late 1990s, Latvia has been shifting its education system from the Soviet model where Russian-speaking children studied only in Russian to the bilingual system, in which programmes for minority and migrant students offer about 50% instruction in mother tongue in primary and lower secondary school and 40% in upper secondary school. The rest of instruction is in Latvian. After the completion of bilingual education reform in 2004, the Ministry of Education commissioned several studies to see the impact of reform on the academic performance and language proficiency of students in bilingual schools, which have proved good results from 2009 onward. Also, an international comparative education studies since 2003 does not mention any significant difference in performance of students from bilingual and Latvian schools.

The principal element that distinguishes the Latvian system is the provision of mother tongue instruction in a bilingual education setting in formal education both in primary and secondary (including upper secondary) schools. Currently according to the Ministry of Education, part-time instruction in the mother tongue in formal school setting is available in 8 languages (including notably Latvian, Russian and Ukrainian, the mother tongues of most persons with migration background in Latvia). (Golubeva, 2012)

Targeted measures. Regulations No 174 and No 586 of the Cabinet of Ministers define how schools have to enrol asylum seekers and refugee children, because they are entitled to free access to primary and secondary education. There is special support for Latvian language training and cultural adaptation provided.

▲ *What do we know from empirical research about results of the activities / policies? Is there research that validates the aims and claims of desegregation?*

Education statistics is collected from schools via State Education Information System. The data collection method allows to analyse desegregated statistics on the performance of students in different schools, for example, to compare national test results of students in mainstream schools and in schools with bilingual education programmes (where most second- and third- generation immigrants study). However so far immigrant students are not monitored as a separate group, and no desegregated data on the education outcomes of all immigrant students (first-, second- and third-generation, also those, who study in mainstream schools) is available to policy makers.

Pedagogy. Regarding cultural adaptation and building open and friendly environment in schools for minority/immigrant children, there are a few doctoral dissertations in Pedagogy and Social Pedagogy, focused on team teaching effectiveness in bilingual and Latvian schools (Akopova, 2006) and on teachers' intercultural competences in both school settings (Ose, 2007). Both scientists agree, that multiple factors, including biculturalism, results of extensive training (part of government policies in 1999-2004) on bilingual and intercultural education have resulted in better, students' education needs cantered teaching strategies in bilingual, not in Latvian schools.

From the other hand doctoral dissertation (Silova, 2002)² have questioned the process of implementation of bilingual education in its early stage (1999-2002) and offers the concept of "Bilingual education theatre", meaning teaching in Russian only instead of bilingual education process due to 1) lack of teachers' Latvian language skills and 2) political opposition to government politics.

Desegregation since 2001 is being intensively studied by the Baltic Institute of Social Studies and research data have proved 1) slow and complicated process in between 2001nd 2004, accompanied by political resistance from Russian minority; 2) stabilization 2005-2008 3) slash back in bilingual teaching quality due to cut off budget resources during socio - economic crisis 2009-2011, 3) still good Latvian language test scores , as well as stable motivation to learn Latvian among pupils of bilingual schools.

² From symbols of occupation to symbols of multiculturalism: Re-conceptualizing minority education in post-Soviet Latvia Silova, Iveta. 281 pages; [Ph.D. dissertation]. New York: Columbia University; 2002.

- ✧ *What do we know from research about the implementation process of these policies? What are the pitfalls and dilemmas?*

New amendments to the Law on Education (March, 2010) changed the situation and children from newly arrived immigrant families with temporary residence permit could get their primary, general secondary and professional secondary education free of charge.

There are very good examples of experimental approaches to intercultural education with the financial support of Ministry of Culture. (*Living in Latvia* adaptation program for migrant families by Education Development centre 2011-2013).

Results of bilingual education show that increasingly more graduates of secondary schools, graduating from minority targeted education programs, have better knowledge of Latvian language in comparison with 2000-2004.

One of the major problems is lack of political will to implement intercultural education in all the levels of education system though Latvia have lots of benchmark practices, excellent creative study materials including comics, videos etc. Besides there are political document stating the necessity to do so, but lack of consensus in government regarding funding for mainstreaming intercultural education interferes with actual, research proved needs to do so.

- ✧ *Can you mention some key publications on the effects of segregation and desegregation policies in your country?*

I. Austers, M. Golubeva, M. Kovaļenko, I. Strobe. *Diversity Enters Latvian Schools. Integration of Minority Students in Schools with Latvian Language of Instruction*, PROVIDUS, 2006 (in Latvian). Daudzveidība ienāk latviešu skolās. Mazākumtautību bērnu integrācija latviešu skolu vidusskolas klasēs. <http://politika.lv/article/daudzveidiba-ienak-latviesu-skolas-mazakumtautibu-bernu-integracija-latviesu-skolu-vidusskolas-klases>

Baltic Institute of Social Sciences, *Comparison of National Test Results in Latvian Language and Minority(Bilingual) Schools*, Ministry of Education and Science, 2009 (in Latvian). http://izm.izm.gov.lv/upload_file/Registri_statistika/IzM-petijums-pareja-uz-vienotu-latv-val-eksamenu.pdf

Baltic Institute of Social Sciences, *Civic and linguistic attitudes of Secondary school pupils enrolled in minority education programmes, 2010* (in Latvian) Vidusskolēnu pilsoniskās un lingvistiskās attieksmes, apgūstot mazākumtautību izglītības programmas.

Baltic Institute of Social Sciences, Zepa, B., Šūpule, I. (eds.), *Immigrants in Latvia: opportunities and conditions for Inclusion* 2009, (in Latvian) „Imigranti Latvijā: iekļaušanās iespējas un nosacījumi”,

M. Golubeva, *Education Reforms and Access to Education: Reform Monitoring Report* (in Latvian) Izglītības reformas un izglītības pieejamība. <http://politika.lv/article/izglitibas-reformas-un-izglitibas-pieejamiba>

L. Ose, *Comparative analysis of teachers' pedagogical action in classes of Latvian and minority schools*, 2007, (in Latvian) Skolotāju pedagoģiskās darbības salīdzinoša analīze latviešu un mazākumtautību sākumskolu klasēs, University of Latvia, Riga.

From symbols of occupation to symbols of multiculturalism: Re-conceptualizing minority education in post-Soviet Latvia Silova, Iveta. 281 pages; [Ph.D. dissertation]. New York: Columbia University; 2002.

Golubeva, M., Powell, S. & Nedelcu, A. Separate schooling of minorities in Eastern and South Eastern Europe: Is there a way to overcome the negative effects of segregation? In J. Bakker, E. Denessen, D. Peters & G. Walraven (Eds.), (2011) *International perspectives on countering school segregation*, Antwerp - Appeldoorn: Garant Publishers

Golubeva, M., Austers, I. Alternative Civil Enculturation. Political Disenchantment and Civic Attitudes in Minority Schools in Estonia, Latvia, and Slovakia. *European Education*, Volume 42 Number 4, 2011

▲ *Can you mention one or two 'best practices' from your country?*

- **Bilingual education** (see above, page 3.)

Example on easy - friendly language acquisition: The online Latvian dictionary “e-Pupa” (by Latvian Language Agency) was created to enhance the use of online resources by pupils and teachers either learning or teaching the Latvian language. The online dictionary is available free of charge (users only need to register to acquire access). It is a unique, multifunctional and rich resource that includes etymologic, word formation, grammatical and lexical information, with rich materials about folklore and the use of words in different contexts. The dictionary helps pupils to become more interested in the learning process, enhances cognitive action and improves their sociocultural, linguistic and communication competences. <http://epupa.valoda.lv/>

- Intercultural activities. Another core element of Latvia's approach to the education of children with migration background is support for intercultural activities, especially in informal education setting –learning the elements of traditional cultures of minorities and migrants, state and municipal support for cultural activities in minority languages, especially folk song and dance activities.

- Example: Project by NGO “Workshop of Solutions” **COMPASS FOR LIVING IN LATVIA**. The project identified the needs of students – third country nationals. This information was then forwarded to the involved parties – universities, non-governmental organisations as well as policy makers and implementers. The project also enhanced the social inclusion of students as focus groups with students and university representatives discussed the use of student organisations, the services and the experience of the foreign student departments of universities, and cooperation possibilities. A friends’ group was established on Facebook where 53 participants actively take part in discussions and exchange information about living in Latvia. The project also provided information for students – third country nationals about their specific needs, rights and duties while living in Latvia. 38 students – third country nationals took part in the creation of the compass for living in Latvia (in Latvian, Russian and English), which is published in several websites of universities and non-governmental organisations.

COUNTRY NOTE OF LITHUANIA

Ona Čepulėnienė
Chief Officer of Lower and Upper
Secondary Education Division
Ministry of Education and Science

In Lithuania segregation in schools is not mentioned as a problem at all, because education is based on equal opportunities – „the educational system is socially fair, it ensures the implementation of person's rights, it guarantees the access to education for any person, the attainment of a general education level and a primary qualification, and creates conditions to improve the acquired qualification or gain a new qualification“ (Law on Education, art.5)

Sometimes the **schools of national minorities** in the education system of Lithuania **are considered as some sort of segregation**. But education of national minorities residing in the Republic of Lithuania constitutes an important and integral part of the education system. The principles of education of national minorities in Lithuania as a democratic state are enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, General Concept of Education in Lithuania and Law on Education. According to those laws, Lithuania guarantees national minorities a series of rights, including the right to obtain aid from the state to develop their culture and education, the right to have schooling in their native languages. Schools that instruct in the languages of national minorities are located in areas densely populated by substantial numbers of representatives of national minorities.

In the 2012/2013 school year in Lithuania there were 1111 schools with Lithuanian language of instruction, 55 schools with Polish, 32 with Russian, 1 with Byelorussian as well as 40 schools with different instruction languages (mixed schools). 1 Jew and 1 German school are running too, but the main language of instruction is Lithuanian. The vast majority – 346 359 of students were at schools with Lithuanian language of instruction (almost up to 93 per cent), with Russian as the language of instruction – 14825, with Polish – 12359. 177 students were in the only school with Byelorussian language of instruction. Polish schools tend to be the most mono-ethnic, when Russian schools traditionally from Soviet time are the most multinational.

Immigration (arrival of foreign nationals) is usually associated with problems of integration and segregation. However, most of immigrants in Lithuania are returning Lithuanian citizens. In recent years Lithuanian nationals accounted for 80 per cent of all arrivals. The immigration of foreign nationals to Lithuania remains very low with the annual average of 2000 people. Most foreigners come from Belarus, Russian Federation and Ukraine.

Statistics regarding the foreigners themselves in the school system of Lithuania show that in 2012-2013 school year 929 students were enrolling in primary, basic and secondary education (according to the Law on Education – „the State shall guarantee each citizen of the Republic of Lithuania, each alien who has the right of permanent or temporary residence in the Republic of Lithuania: 1) primary, basic and secondary education; 2) access to higher education study programmes or vocational training programmes that result in the acquisition of the first qualification.“ Art. 24)

Less of these students are new arrivals. They face a challenge to learn Lithuanian language at an adequate level while teachers also face their own challenge to help the foreign students integrate in the society and school community. Consequently the integration is the real problem in Lithuania for those, who came to Lithuania to start a new life in a new country.

The Netherlands: interventions to counteract school segregation and facilitate integration in education

State of the art paper for
the SIRIUS Thematic Workshop on '*Segregation and Integration in Education*',
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Introduction

The Netherlands has a history of school segregation with a religious-political tint. In line with a general system of 'pillarization' there were separate public, Catholic and Protestant schools, with all schools equally financed by the government. At the same time, there was segregation along socio-economic lines, both between schools and within schools. With the influx of migrants in the last forty years, ethnicity became part of school segregation. However, socio-ethnic educational segregation has only recently become important on the political agenda.

The centre-left cabinet that held office from February 2007 until February 2010 allowed cities to experiment with interventions to prevent and combat segregation and to facilitate dialogue and integration. In the years 2008-2011 twelve cities implemented pilot projects in primary education (for students aged 4 to 12). Most interventions are aimed at student application and acceptance by schools, information and advice for parents, and facilitating parent initiatives to realize mixed schools. A prominent goal in all those interventions is a school population that mirrors the neighbourhood population.

Unfortunately, the number of evaluation studies on Dutch desegregation measures is limited. However, there is an evaluation of the activities in the pilot cities.

¹ This paper is an updated and restructured version of Peters & Walraven, 2011; therefore I would like to thank Dorothee Peters for the re-use of parts of our 2011 text. I also would like to thank Joep Bakker for comments on an earlier version of this paper.

Dutch school boards (and schools) are relatively autonomous; local authorities have no power to enforce interventions to combat segregation. The famous ‘polder model’ of wheeling and dealing is still very much alive in the educational sector. The consent and willingness to cooperate of all actors involved is needed.

The Dutch discourse on school segregation was recently summarized as seeking a balance between freedom of choice and equity. Traditionally, freedom of education was favoured. The voices of equity rose during the 2007-2010 cabinet at the national level and in some instances at the local level that voice was holding on for a longer time. The two cabinets that held office from October 2010 onwards favoured freedom of choice, so the pendulum was swinging back. There are some cities that still implement policies aimed at student application and acceptance by schools; there are even cities that start with such policies (Amsterdam, The Hague and probably Leiden). Almost all of them, however, do no longer label the activities as to prevent segregation; they frame the activities as a means to create transparency for both parents and schools. In other words, the issue is being de-politicised.

We have been asked to answer some specific questions in our state of the art paper for the Thematic Workshop, and that is exactly what I intend to do in the following paragraphs. The paper is focused on primary education and includes all the minority groups in the Netherlands (Turkish, Moroccan, Surinam, Dutch Antilles, and so on).

1. What is the nature and the size of the cultural-ethnic segregation in education in your country?

1.1 The nature

In 2009 and 2010, the OECD reviewed the position of migrants in Dutch education. The research team concluded that Dutch primary school students with an immigrant background perform well in international comparisons. However, some reforms are needed, for example, with respect to the limitation of socio-ethnic school segregation and concentration in education (OECD, 2010).

Socio-ethnic school segregation has only recently been placed on the Dutch policy agenda. Ladd, Fiske, and Ruijs (2009) observed that the commitment to parental choice and school autonomy lead the Dutch to accept a ‘new form of segregation – based on levels of disadvantage rather than religion...’ (p. 10). But they also conclude that the segregation of disadvantaged pupils has

been a salient issue in The Netherlands for a number of years. Long term trends that help to explain this change are: the influx of low-skilled and poorly educated non-western immigrants; and the secularization of society related to a consumer mind-set in parents' school selection.

Socio-ethnic school segregation is partly a result of parents' freedom to choose a school for their children and the freedom of (especially religious) school boards to accept or reject students. According to Karsten, Roeleveld, Ledoux, Felix, and Elshof (2002), parents have different motives to choose a school, such as the distance between home and school, the school's education level, differentiation within classes, religion and identification with the school. Socio-ethnic school segregation is caused not only by 'white flight' and identification with the school; other relevant factors are spatial segregation and school marketing.

1.2 The seize

The socio-ethnic school segregation degree has been identified by Wolfgram (2009), using data from the Dutch system of additional funding from 2006. In 2006 the criteria for additional funding were parents' educational level and ethnic origin – hence socio-ethnic segregation.

Wolfgram (2009) compared the school populations with the neighbourhood populations in the 38 largest cities in The Netherlands. On average, the school population of 63% of the schools in these cities reflects the population of their neighbourhood rather well. 17% is 'too white' in comparison to the neighbourhood and 20% is 'too black'. The four largest cities in The Netherlands (The Hague, Utrecht, Amsterdam and Rotterdam) show a segregation degree of at least 40%. This means that less than 60% of the school population reflects the population of the neighbourhood. Wolfgram (2009) showed that the 'whiter' the residents of a neighbourhood are, the more schools reflect their neighbourhood composition. Therefore, cities with high numbers of immigrant inhabitants show a higher degree of segregation.

Comparing the populations of schools and neighbourhoods is a rather simple and weak criterion for segregation – especially since a blind eye is turned at 'white schools in white neighbourhoods' and 'black schools in black neighbourhoods'.

Ladd, Fiske, and Ruijs (2009) used a more complex criterion. They have investigated the level and trends over time in five measures of segregation aggregated across the four big cities, with the outcomes for each city weighted by the number of primary school pupils each year. Figure 1 show almost 80% of the disadvantaged pupils in these cities attend schools with over 50% of pupils from similar backgrounds; and about 60% of these pupils attend schools with over 70% of pupils like themselves. The isolation index is a measure of the extent to which disadvantaged

immigrant pupils are in schools with other pupils like themselves. The segregation index measures the extent to which schools are unbalanced.

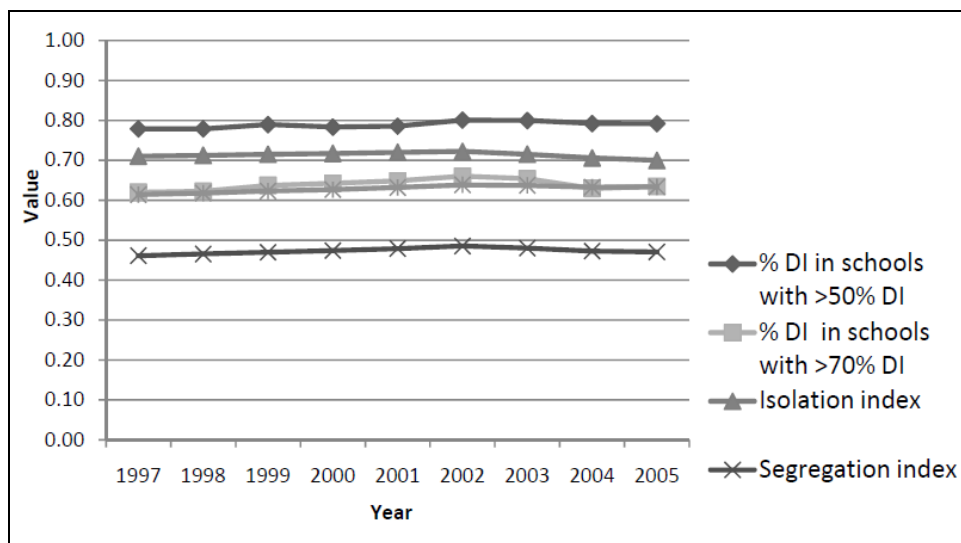


Figure 1: Five measures of segregation of disadvantaged immigrants (DI) vs. all other primary school student aggregated across the four big cities, 1997-2005 (Ladd, Fiske, & Ruijs, 2009)

Figure 1 shows, among other things, the segregation index aggregated for the four big cities. The index is split per city in Figure 2. Segregation is highest in The Hague and lowest in Amsterdam. Solely in Rotterdam the index has consistently been declining.

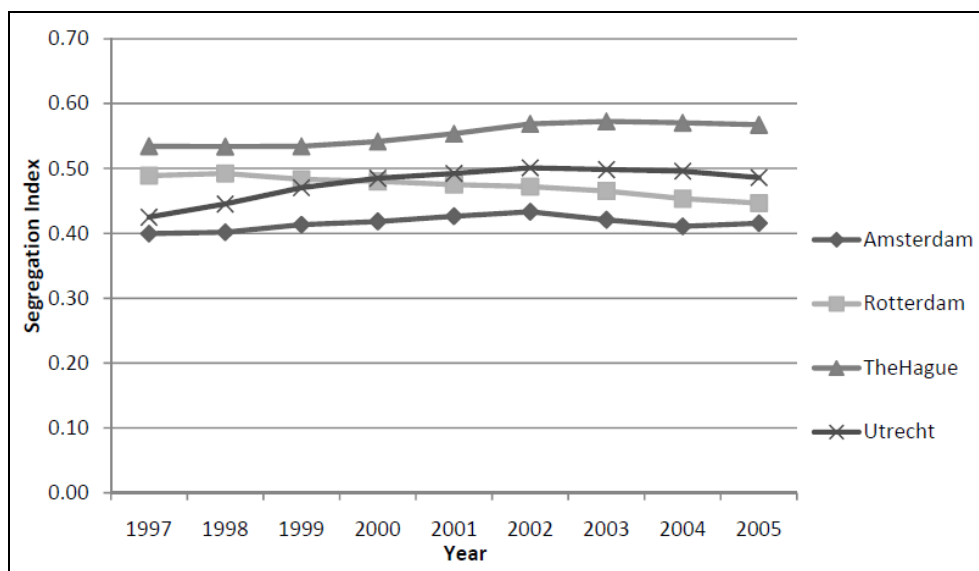


Figure 2: Trends in segregation index of disadvantaged immigrants (DI) vs. all other primary school students, by city, 1997-2005 (Ladd, Fiske, & Ruijs, 2009)

2. Is segregation or desegregation for that matter seen as a problem and/or as a sensitive issue? By educational professionals and/or policymakers (local, regional, national).

In the Netherlands (de)segregation is an issue that divides political parties and school boards. The usual way of dealing with this sensitive issue is to ignore it, because you cannot reach an agreement easily, while agreement is necessary in the Dutch ‘polder’ context.

2.1 National policymakers

Although the traditional distinction between left wing and right wing politics is blurred and has become inadequate in many policy areas, it is still relevant on the issue of segregation in education. Left wing politicians tend to think of it as a problem, right wing politicians tend to think it is not. In the Netherlands national government is always a coalition of political parties (because no party has a majority). Coalition parties need to come to an agreement and almost always segregation does not end up on the priority list.

The one exception was the 2007-2010 cabinet, a coalition of Christian democrats and social democrats. The coalition agreement stated that primary schools have to use fixed moments of registration as a measure to reduce socio-ethnic school segregation. The minister of education decided to fund a scheme for pilot projects to promote desegregation, and the testing of fixed registration was part of some of the pilots.

A new cabinet quickly returned to the usual attitude of ignoring segregation. Although the pilots were not finished and the process and results were not yet evaluated, the minister of education focused the policy on the quality of education and declared that would ‘benefit all children’. By defining the quality of education solely in terms of cognitive learning achievement, she hoped to neutralize the issue of segregation.

Other participants in the discussions used a broader definition of educational quality, however, including effects in the social-emotional domain; for instance, social skills such as being able to cooperate with different partners, solving problems together and learning to live together (as Delors, 1999 puts it). Those participants in the discussions state that mixed schools in general offer a better learning environment (especially for social skills) as compared to segregated schools. Mixed schools offer the best opportunities to develop bridging social capital. This position in the debate on educational quality has gained urgency with the rise of discussions on the concept of 21st century skills (e.g. Trilling and Fadel, 2009), that includes global awareness and local citizenship, learning and innovation skills, life and career skills, and ICT skills.

2.2 Local educational actors

The context for the local desegregation activities is characterized by the fact that all actors involved have a lot of freedom to manoeuvre and none of them has enough power to discipline the others. According to Ladd, Fiske, and Ruijs (2009)

‘no one group, including public officials, has the authority to force other stakeholders – whether they be parents or schools - to behave in a certain way. (...) Thus any efforts to reduce segregation will have to reflect the voluntary commitment of a substantial number of stakeholders for whom private interests in maintaining the status quo may well exceed the public benefit to them of reducing segregation’ (p. 32).

Although there is no national policy of interventions against socio-ethnic school segregation, the topic is part of a broader policy initiative. In 2006 the national government introduced a new policy line that prescribed the municipalities and the educational authorities or school boards a Local Education Agenda. Combating segregation and facilitating integration is one of the compulsory issues on that agenda. Municipalities and educational authorities have to make binding agreements on measures against socio-ethnic school segregation. However, only some cities comply with this legislation; approximately half of the largest 31 cities in the Netherlands (all with more than 100,000 inhabitants) have started a serious debate about segregation, and binding agreements are rare (Ledoux, Felix, & Elshof, 2009; Peters, Haest, & Walraven, 2007). In recent years, the number of complying cities decreased and binding agreements are even more exceptional (Ledoux and others, forthcoming).

3. What activities and policy measures are implemented to prevent and combat segregation and to facilitate integration in education? What aims and targets are involved? Who are the actors (government, education, civil society – e.g. parents)?

There are two types of interventions in the Netherlands: those that local government and school boards agree upon, and those that parents start. The latter are bottom-up citizen initiatives; the former are not really top-down, but are based on an agreement on interventions between policy actors as equals (the ‘polder model’). In both cases, the schools’ commitment is needed for implementation since most Dutch school boards represent various schools and individual ones are granted some autonomy. Without the cooperation of the school principal and his/her teaching staff, it is impossible to take action against segregation. To make things even more

complex, each school has a participation council (representing teachers and parents) and the majority also have a parents' council, and both councils have a different set of rules about rights of approval, advice and initiative. In short, the educational system is a participatory democratic system.

3.1 To combat segregation

At the local level there are three interventions to prevent and to counter socio-ethnic school segregation in the Netherlands: student application and acceptance by schools, information and advice for parents, and facilitating parent initiatives to realize mixed schools.

Another potential intervention would be to enact housing policies to achieve socio-ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. But the fact that one third of the schools fails to reflect the population of the neighbourhood is an indication that much more should be done. If going to school in your own neighbourhood is the starting point, then a mixed neighbourhood is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for mixed schools. You would still need policy measures to combat segregation.

Student application and acceptance by schools

In the Dutch situation of free choice for parents, the well-educated parents tend to get a better deal, because they apply to the school of their choice in a very early stage. Less-educated parents tend to wait until a short time before their child reaches school age.

Fixed moments of registration for all parents in a city creates a level playing field and allow all parents an equal chance to get their child in the school of their preference. That is why the 2007-2010 cabinet agreed on experiments with this policy measure.

Some cities went even further and developed a type of 'controlled choice' system. That was implemented in the cities of Deventer and Nijmegen. So far it is the most far-reaching intervention implemented in the Netherlands. In the USA controlled choice is perceived as an improvement (since as a general rule school districts assign children to schools). In The Netherlands, however, it is perceived as being worse than the legal situation of complete free choice (in theory). In reality, however, popular schools have waiting lists and many parents cannot get their children accepted at the school of their first choice. Unfortunately, there are no data on exactly how many parents get their first choice in the current situation (in other cities then Nijmegen and Deventer). What we do know, however, is that in both Deventer and in Nijmegen the system of controlled choice resulted in more than 95% of the students going to the school of their parents' first choice (Brink, Paulussen & Van Bergen, 2010). We also know

that each parent has now had an equal opportunity to realise his or her preference – so in terms of equality among parents and of equity at the community level the results are positive. The other side of the balance is that the freedom of choice is somewhat restricted. It is important to notice, the system of controlled choice corresponds fully with Dutch law. The main focus of the systems in Deventer and Nijmegen is: inviting parents to bring their kids to school in their own neighbourhood. As a result, you may find mixed schools in mixed neighbourhoods. However, this policy has no effect in homogeneous neighbourhoods and segregation there.

Information and advice for parents

Information for parents on schools is fragmented, e.g. because school boards and schools in most Dutch cities have agreed not to advertise their schools. So parents need to actively search for information, try to assess the quality of schools, visit schools and their websites, find reports of the educational inspectorate on the Internet, etcetera. That is quite a time consuming task that requires capabilities as well as social capital. So it is very helpful when someone facilitates the structuring of all the information. Usually that is the municipality. A website is built, brochures are made with all the neighbourhood schools presented in a similar way, and an information market is organized in which all schools have the opportunity to present themselves. Parents seem to appreciate this. The expectation is that presenting well-structured information will encourage parents to consider more schools than they otherwise would, and to potentially choose a school in their own neighbourhood. So far there is only anecdotal confirmation of this hypothesis.

One way to attract (middle class) parents who probably would not visit (specific) schools in their neighbourhood is for schools that are located in the same area to coordinate dates and times of school visits for new parents. One step further would be a ‘merry go round’ that allows a group of parents to visit several schools in a given neighbourhood in one morning. Usually the municipality coordinates this event, because they have the addresses of all the parents that are about to choose a school and can send them a personal invitation. The idea originated in Rotterdam, and now many cities have implemented this intervention.

How does it work? The day of the school tour starts with an informal meeting of the parents with a facilitator. The parents introduce themselves and talk about what they think is important to look at when visiting a school. They often get a checklist to fill out during the school visits. Parents say they feel more comfortable visiting these schools in a group. During the ride from

one school to another, the group can exchange views about what they have seen and heard. After the school visits, the group and the facilitator evaluate the morning and discuss school choice. Sometimes the outcome is that some of the parents want to start a parent initiative at one of the schools they visited. That is the intervention we analyse in the next paragraph.

Facilitating parent initiatives

An interesting intervention to counter segregation is a group of high-educated parents that apply to a school in their neighbourhood that indeed performs well but has a majority of disadvantaged students. By applying together they create a critical mass and avoid the risk that their child is one of the very few in a classroom with students from a different background.

In the last 15 years approximately 90 parent initiatives were started in the Netherlands. Some of those were successful in ‘mixing’ the school population, whereas others had failed and/or faded away. Some are still active, while others had only recently started. All initiatives consist of high-educated (‘white’) parents mixing a ‘black’ school. Since a comparable percentage of schools is too white, other types of parent initiatives are possible and necessary as well, in order to desegregate. Impulses to try and do this have been rare, however, and none of them have come to fruition.

Local authorities can facilitate parent initiatives, as the example of the city of Rotterdam might show. Some years ago the alderman responsible for education took an interest in parent initiatives and set a target that a specific number of classrooms in the lower grades should desegregate during his term in office. An information campaign was launched, flyers were distributed in cooperation with schools, a website was created where parents could ask questions and get help to meet other parents in their neighbourhood, and last but not least, educational civil servants went into neighbourhoods to help start initiatives. This was quite effective: in 2006 about half of the new parent initiatives in the Netherlands were in Rotterdam (Peters, Haest, & Walraven, 2007).

This is combatting segregation from the bottom up, one school at a time. Some sceptical observers would rather see changes on a larger scale and at a greater speed, however.

3.2 To facilitate integration

There is a distinction between segregation between schools and within schools; the same distinction is relevant for measures to facilitate integration and dialogue.

Within schools

Desegregation aims at mixed schools; and mixed schools are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for dialogue and integration within schools.

Only a mixed school allows for inter-ethnic contact, inter-cultural learning and grass-root multiculturalism (Muskens & Peters, 2009; Muskens, 2009). According to Allport's 'contact hypotheses' long-lasting contact should result in decreasing ethnic prejudices and should stimulate reciprocal ethnic appreciation (Allport, 1954).

However, desegregation does not lead to integration per se; additional activities are necessary. Here the role of teachers comes in. Denessen, Driessen, and Bakker (2010b) suggest that:

‘when indeed more positive effects can be identified in classrooms with culturally responsive teachers, education policy may not only be aimed at changing classroom composition, but should also include teacher backgrounds and interventions in order to let all students, low-status and minority students as well as high-status and non-minority students, profit from classroom diversity’ (p. 10).

Nevertheless, Verkuyt and Thijs (2002) found that the degree of racism in a classroom decreased when teachers reacted to incidents of racist victimization. Such teacher reactions are among the additional activities that are necessary to develop real integration after desegregation has been realised. Other activities include disclosure of inner feelings and motives, for example like the Challenge Day Program for schools or other sustainable activities that enable deeper contact in a safe context and strong learning environment.

Between schools

The policy measure here is stimulating and facilitating the twinning of schools from socio-economic homogenous neighbourhoods. If the neighbourhood does not allow for mixed schools, at least the students will get acquainted to students with other backgrounds in other ways. So pairs of schools (one ‘white’ and one ‘black’) organise exchange activities aimed at dialogue and integration. It turns out that it is very hard to organize activities that are meaningful and sustainable and that comply with all the conditions Allport (1954) and Pettigrew (1998) have formulated for the contact hypothesis.

4. What do we know from empirical research about results of the activities / policies? Is there research that validates the aims and claims of desegregation?

Consequences of choices

We know from empirically tested game theory, that well intended micro choices can lead to unintended macro consequences, e.g. when parents make their individual school choices, they inevitably lead to macro consequences in terms of segregation (Schelling, 1971). That is another reason why the balance between freedom of choice and equity is important.

Parents want the best school for their children, and rightly so. In The Netherlands parents can choose the school they think is best for their child. And most of the time that turns out to be a school dominated by parents ‘just like them’ (e.g. in terms of socio-economic status, life style and educational style). As a consequence, even in a neighbourhood with mixed housing and a mixed population, there tend to be both ‘black’ and ‘white’ schools. Thus, if you do not intervene in a system with freedom of school choice, segregation will continue. Note that this is (generally speaking) an unintended consequence of a process of free choice. For individual parents, school choice is like an assurance game: you avoid taking risks with your precious child. On the other hand, if you think segregation is an unwanted outcome at the level of the community, you need to intervene.

School results

Recently all the research on the effects of school composition on cognitive school results has been reviewed in two studies (Herweijer, 2011; Van Ewijk en Slegers, 2010). The conclusion of both meta-evaluations was, school composition has hardly any effect on academic school results like language and arithmetic.

What about results in the non-cognitive, social domain? Like learning to cope with differences, learning to cooperate, learning to live together, and in other words learning 21st century skills? The hypothesis that student at mixed schools have better chances to learn those social skills, was confirmed in recent research in the Netherlands (Stark, 2011; for the same conclusion regarding Flanders/Belgium, see Agirdag, 2011; for secondary education Braster and Dronkers, 2013). Both Stark and Agirdag underline the key role of teachers in the process of building interpersonal relationships and intercultural attitudes.

Effects of interventions

Unfortunately, the number of evaluation studies on desegregation measures in the Netherlands is limited. However, there is an evaluation of the activities in the pilot cities (Brink en Van Bergen, 2012). They start out by stating desegregation is a long-term process. So what might be expected when you evaluate pilots after two or four years? Only some smaller changes, in particular in the lower groups of primary education (because that is where the interventions are aiming at).

Student application and acceptance by schools. Three of the pilot cities introduced a system for student application and acceptance. Everywhere the system increased transparency for parents, schools and city government. In the two cities where the system was city-wide, more students went to school in their own neighbourhood. It is unclear, however, whether the system produced more mixed schools in mixed neighbourhoods.

Information and advice for parents. Parents appreciate information about schools (on a website, in flyers) from a 'neutral' source, like the city. School tours or 'merry go rounds' were organised in nine of the pilot cities, in seven a substantial amount of parents participated. The crucial factor seems to be, to get to high-educated parents in mixed neighbourhoods, because they tend to be open to information and visits to schools that were initially not on their list. Besides, it is sort of safer to visit a 'black' school in a group. In one pilot city school tours lead to two parent initiatives.

Parent initiatives. It makes a difference when a city stimulates and facilitates parent initiatives. Five pilot cities tried to do that, with mixed results.

5. What do we know from research about the implementation process of these policies? What are the pitfalls and dilemmas?

Policy implementation analysis is a field of expertise that has developed rapidly since the classic study of Wildavsky & Pressman (1973), with its beautiful title, *Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington are Dashed in Oakland; or, Why it's Amazing that Federal Programs Work at All*. We should take into account what there is to learn from the state of the art in this field in more general terms (like program integrity, monitoring and evaluation, et cetera).

Here I restrict myself, however, to the specific case of measures in the Netherlands and the evaluation of the pilots of Brink and Van Bergen (2012).

A major dilemma is the fact, that in the Netherlands no single actor has the power to force decisions, because all actors have a high degree of autonomy. In the end, therefore, desegregation depends on the political will of all actors involved. For that reason trying to de-politicise the issue is no sustainable option (e.g. just implementing fixed moments of registration does not address the problem of segregation). The good news is that the Local Educational Agenda offers a legal framework for political action. The opportunities of the framework could be used far more widely. When a city government wants to play an active role, it can stimulate and facilitate school boards and schools as well as parents.

A major pitfall is to think desegregation policies will show spectacular results within a short time. That pitfall adds to the dilemma about the actors and their political will: in politics short term results are most wanted, also in educational politics. The art of implementation in a political context requires that well-chosen photo opportunities are framed as a success, at least as a step in a longer process. And a long process it is. Desegregation is no goal in itself; it is a precondition for integration and dialogue in education. Mixed schools are important for learning to live together and for 21st century skills. Those types of skills are crucial in a time of growing ‘super-diversity’, a time with a growing number of big cities where everyone is a part of a minority (Vertovec, 2007). Super-diversity requires a new vision on integration. Crul (2013) offers such a vision, he sketches a scenario of empowerment and hope, building on the energy of emancipation of minority groups, and using education as a key to emancipation. That vision is inspirational for desegregation (and the SIRIUS network).

What recommendations can we offer, reflecting on the Dutch case? (Partly based on Brink and Van Bergen, 2012.)

- Create support among the actors and a broader public
- Appoint a coordinator who is an expert and can bring energy to the process
- Monitor facts and figures and use them to frame your successes
- Use facts and figures to choose carefully which interventions to implement where
- Be sensitive to the conditions implementation of every specific intervention requires
- Look for opportunities like a new block of houses in a neighbourhood or the planning of whole new neighbourhood; use the opportunities of the Local Educational Agenda; try to create opportunities

- Convince people that real changes regarding the issue of segregation take time, much time. And also convince everyone that a balance between freedom of school choice and equity is worth fighting for.

6. Can you mention some key publications on the effects of segregation and desegregation policies in your country?

6.1 In English

- Denessen, E., Driessen, G., & Bakker, J. (2010a). *Cognitive and non-cognitive effects of diversity in Dutch elementary schools*. Paper presented at AERA, Denver, USA.
- Denessen, E., Driessen, G., & Bakker, J. (2010b). School and classroom diversity effects on cognitive and non-cognitive student outcomes. *Journal of Education Research*, 4(2), 1-13.
- Ladd, H., Fiske, T., & Ruijs, N. (2009). *Parental choice in the Netherlands: growing concerns about segregation*.
- OECD (2010), *OECD Reviews of Migrant Education: Netherlands 2010*. OECD Publishing.
- Peters, D. & Walraven, G. (2011). The Netherlands: interventions to counteract school segregation. In J. Bakker, E. Denessen, D. Peters en G. Walraven (Eds.), *International Perspectives on Countering School Segregation* (pp. 131-151). Antwerpen/Apeldoorn: Garant.
- Stark, T.H. (2011). *Integration in Schools: a process perspective on students' interethnic attitudes and interpersonal relationships*. Dissertation University of Groningen.
- Verkuyten, M. (2008). Life Satisfaction Among Ethnic Minorities: The Role of Discrimination and Group Identification. *Social Indicators Research*, 89, 391-404.

6.2 In Dutch

See Peters & Walraven (2011) for an overview until 2011. More recent publications include:

- Bakker, J. (2012). *Cultureel-etnische segregatie in het onderwijs: achtergronden, oorzaken en waarom te bestrijden?* Amsterdam: Kenniscentrum Gemengde Scholen.
- Braster, S. & Dronkers, J. (2013). 'De positieve effecten van etnische verscheidenheid in de klas op schoolprestaties van leerlingen in een multi-etnische metropool.' *Sociologie* (9) 1: 3-29.
- Brink, M. & Van Bergen, C. (2012). *Tegengaan segregatie in het basisonderwijs: monitoring van de OCW-pilots, eindrapport*. Amsterdam: Regioplan.
- Herweijer, L. (2011), *Gemengd Leren*. Den Haag: SCP.
- Ledoux, G. et al. (forthcoming), *Bestrijding van segregatie in het onderwijs in gemeenten. Verkenning van lokaal beleid anno 2013*.

7. Can you mention one or two ‘best practices’ from your country?

When the local pilots started in 2008, there were some cities that stood out. Nijmegen and Deventer were already working on city-wide policies aiming at student application and acceptance by schools; and Rotterdam was active towards parents, especially with school tours and stimulating parent initiatives. In 2013 one might say The Hague is a ‘best practice’.

In the last five years the local government took a leading role, acting as the first among equals in the local educational field (with school boards and schools). Policy officials started with a long-term vision to approach the issue of segregation from different angles. They were looking for opportunities, creating chances to agree on specific measures with school boards, and inviting schools in specific circumstances to participate. The result is, the city has now reached full circle and is probably the only Dutch city actively implementing all types of measures mentioned earlier:

- Informing parents and organising school tours in well-chosen areas (with a socio-economic mixed population), stimulating and facilitating parent initiatives;
- Stimulating and facilitating the twinning of schools from socio-economic homogenous neighbourhoods.
- A policy for a city-wide fixed moment for registration, a policy to create a level playing field for all parents to get their child in schools of their first choice (without mentioning segregation).

Epilogue

In this paper we talked about socio-ethnic school segregation. The deadline for the paper was September 9, 2013. That week two reports confirmed how adequate ‘socio-ethnic’ really is.

- Ethnicity: on September 12, the Education Council recommended to reinstall ethnicity as a criterion for the educational priority policy, because it still is an important factor. (In 2006 ethnicity was cancelled as a criterion for extra budget for Dutch primary schools.)
- SES: on September 14, RTL News published a report on the test scores from the final year of all Dutch primary schools (the first national overview ever). The report confirmed educational level and wealth of parents are the best predictors for school results – the scores in wealthy neighbourhoods were higher.