

newsletter

ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATION AND DIVERGING PROSPECTS FOR URBAN YOUTH IN AN ENLARGED EUROPE

Welcome to the first Newsletter of a research program on *Ethnic Differences in Education and Diverging Prospects for Urban Youth in an Enlarged Europe* (EDUMIGROM). Launched in March 2008 and funded within the 7th Framework Programme of the European Commission, the initiative brings together ten leading universities and institutes from across Europe for a three-year comparative investigation in ethnically diverse communities with second-generation migrants and Roma. Since our inaugural event, we have made a great deal of progress. With this first Newsletter, we present some of our activities and accomplishments to date. We also introduce several members of the EDUMIGROM Consortium and offer a glimpse into the research currently underway.

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INTRODUCING EDUMIGROM

EDUMIGROM is a comparative project that brings together nine countries from among old and new member states of the European Union – the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Sweden, and the United Kingdom – to investigate how ethnic differences in education contribute to the diverging prospects for minority ethnic youth in urban settings. Through national and cross-country comparative analyses, EDU-MIGROM will provide pertinent, policy-relevant insights into how existing educational policies, practices, and experiences in markedly different welfare regimes can protect minority ethnic youth against marginalisation and eventual social exclusion.

The project emerged from the understanding that, despite great variations in economic development and welfare arrangements, recent developments seem to lead to similar consequences for certain groups of second-generation immigrants in many states in Western Europe and for Roma in Central and Eastern Europe. Though formally they are citizens with full rights in the respective states, people affiliated with these groups tend to experience intensive forms of involuntary separation, social exclusion, and second-class citizenship. Educational systems and schools, as crucial sites of social reproduction and differentiation, appear to play a significant role in these processes of 'minoritisation'.

EDUMIGROM offers a comprehensive framework for understanding these processes. The project explores the overt and covert mechanisms in socioeconomic, political, cultural, and gender relations that make ethnicity a substantive component of inequalities in social status and power. Applying a cross-country comparative perspective, EDUMIGROM investigates how schools operate in their roles of socialisation and knowledge distribution, and how they influence young people's identity formation. The project also explores how schools contribute to reducing, maintaining, or deepening inequalities in young people's access to the labour market, to further education and training, and to different domains of social, cultural, and political participation.

To analyse the dynamics of ethnic differences in education, the project involves multiple levels of analysis in each target country: macro-level studies on education and on ethnic relations; community-level fieldwork; school-level fieldwork; and investigations on a personal level. This multi-level, multi-faceted research provides rich datasets for intra- and cross-country comparative analyses and evidence-based policy-making.

The focus of this work is to reach a more robust understanding of how to sustain or re-establish inclusion in education in multiethnic urban communities, which will be of value to educators, school administrators, policy-makers, researchers, as well as to the innumerable diverse communities across Europe.

PROJECT UPDATE

Country Analyses of Education and Ethnic Relations

Since the formal launching of the EDUMIGROM project at Central European University in Budapest in April 2008, our research teams have completed the first substantial phase of the project. In 2008, after fine-tuning key concepts and the methodological framework of the project, partners prepared two sets of macro-level Background Reports per country.

The first set of studies, Education in Domestic Contexts, describes the functioning of individual educational systems, their financing, quality control, and mechanisms of differentiation inherent to their daily working, with a focus on the situation of ethnic minority youth in school-

ing. These reports also provide an overview of the country-specific educational policies aiming at the inclusion of ethnic minority youth.

The second set of reports, Ethnic Relations in Domestic Contexts, provides a general overview of the workings of inter-ethnic relations and the state of minority ethnic groups in each country. Exploring overt and covert forms of differentiation along ethnic lines, these reports introduce the broad context of mechanisms of 'othering', 'minoritisation' and/ or 'racialisation' and show how such processes often divert the workings of the welfare state to the detriment of minority ethnic groups. Research teams introduce prevailing minority rights regulations, issues representation and matters of ethnicity in the context of the welfare state in the individual domestic settings.

A total of 16 Background Reports have been produced, covering the respective areas in all the nine participating countries of the EDUMIGROM project. Not only do these reports provide ample information for the next steps of the project, but they are also definitively policy-oriented. They present substantial and detailed information on policies and policy outcomes related to the inclusion of minority ethnic youth on the one hand, segregation, semi-official ways of separation and forms of discrimination (in short, the lack and/or failures of policies of inclusion), on the other. These reports will be available to the public starting from spring 2009.

Based on the background country reports, three comparative studies are currently underway: on education, on interethnic

relations, and on educational policies for inclusion. The reports will be public by the end of April 2009.

Launching the Empirical Stage of Research

The EDUMIGROM project has launched its two-part empirical stage with a community focus: each country team will conduct research in one or two selected multiethnic communities. Surveys are currently underway with 14 to 16-year-old students and their teachers in selected schools. The surveys will provide eight country-level datasets by June 2009, with data on school experiences, school performance, the perception of interethnic relations within schools, social backgrounds, and the career aspirations and future goals of children attending ethnically mixed classes in urban schools. These surveys will build an eight-country dataset, to be used for in-depth comparative analysis.

Parallel to the survey phase, researchers will conduct extensive fieldwork for community studies in some of the selected schools. This part of the empirical research was launched in January 2009 with the elaboration of qualitative research tools by EDUMIGROM consortium partners. The fieldwork of the community research will take place in the spring and autumn of 2009. The qualitative data on schools community environments of everyday interethnic relations of urban youth will be obtained through local archival work, focus group discussions, classroom observations, and in-depth personal interviews. This part of the project will provide its initial outcomes in the first part of 2010.

Panel Discussion on Intersectionality as Methodology: Potentials and Challenges

As part of the EDUMIGROM project, the Center for Policy Studies, in cooperation with the Department of Gender Studies at Central European University (CEU), conducted a roundtable discussion on 30 October 2008 at CEU to explore the potentials and difficulties of using intersectionality as a methodology for research and policy analysis. Panelists included Dr. Eniko Magyari-Vincze of the Center for Gender Studies, Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania, Professor Susan Zimmermann of the Department of Gender Studies and Department of History at CEU, and Raluca Popa, PhD candidate in Comparative Gender Studies and a Junior Research Fellow with the Center for Policy Studies at CEU. The event was chaired by Professor Allaine Cerwonka, Head of the Department of Gender Studies at CEU. The roundtable was open to the public and attracted a large and engaged audience.

The mounting interest in the concept of intersectionality has led to a truly remarkable and growing body of academic work on the topic by scholars in a wide range of disciplines. However, comparatively little effort has been devoted to the issue of doing research with the concept of intersectionality, and even less to its application for political and policy strategies.

The roundtable offered an opportunity to share insights from the ongoing EDUMIGROM endeavour: through its complex research agenda, the project uses an intersectional approach in its investigation of differences in education in ethnically diverse communities.

EDUMIGROM Publishes its First Policy Brief on *Ethnic Differences in Compulsory Education*

This first policy brief of the EDU-MIGROM project explores the state of compulsory education in contemporary Europe, focusing on the mechanisms and processes by which children of certain socioeconomic groups are placed at risk within the existing structures and practices of some of Europe's educational systems. Composed by Julia Szalai (Hungary), with contributions from fellow researchers within the project David Kostlan (Slovakia), Eniko Magyari-Vincze (Romania), Radim Marada (Czech Republic), Frauke Miera (Germany), Bolette Moldenhawer (Denmark), Maria Nemenyi (Hungary), Claire Schiff (France), and Sarah Swann (UK), the brief exposes increasing signs of malfunction and worrying trends in schools in different European welfare states. It argues that sizeable groups of children are unable to receive even primary education, formally complete compulsory schooling without learning even the basics, leave school early or drop out prior to acquiring any formal degrees usable on the job market, or are diverted to schools or tracks that channel youths into low status and low paying jobs. Evidence shows that these phenomena are loaded with social and ethnic/racial implications: children of marginalised groups, and particularly of poor families of minority ethnic background, are the victims of apparent shortcomings in educational systems across Europe.

Szalai and contributors rely on background research and data collected in the nine countries of the EDUMIGROM project. The policy brief identifies four markedly different phases of compulsory education, which require different policy responses. By

identifying a set of key aspects of designing efficient interventions, the brief aims to initiate a European-level dialogue on principles and practices that may assist in (re)establishing children's unconditional and equal rights to meaningful education all across the continent.

This brief can be downloaded from the EDUMIGROM website: http://www.edumigrom.eu/

FEATURED PROJECT PARTNERS

In each Newsletter, we plan to feature partner institutions participating in EDUMIGROM. This issue introduces the project's research teams from Denmark, France, and the Czech Republic, as well as the coordinating team from Hungary.

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

http://english.mef.ku.dk/

From Denmark, the Division of Education within the Department of Media, Cognition and Communication at the University of Copenhagen (UCPH) brings a wealth of experience in education in multicultural contexts to EDUMI-GROM. With study programmes in education, film and media studies, philosophy, and rhetoric, the Department deals with conditions of human cognition and communication as they are expressed in different contexts and in different historical periods, and offers programmes at B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. levels.

The Department's Division of Education is concerned primarily with three main subject areas, which have attracted considerable at-

tention in recent years: upbringing, education, and teaching. The study programme draws on theoretical traditions in education, while responding to the need for interdisciplinary approaches that can contribute to a better understanding of emerging phenomena and problems in different contexts. It thus draws on educational history, related disciplines such as sociology and psychology, and a wide range of perspectives and empirical data and problems, and also allows students flexibility in designing individualised study programmes and areas of focus.

The UCPH team is led by Dr. Bolette Moldenhawer, a cultural sociologist, and an Associate Professor at the Division of Education. Her research has focused on transnational migration, ethnicity and identity constructions, minority and majority relations and sociology of education studies of processes of in- and exclusion in a multicultural and comparative perspective. Since 2002, she has led a Danish and Swedish interdisciplinary research programme, Integration and Migration in the Öresund Region (IMIO), which aims for a comparative analysis of the question and content of integration in its various forms. Dr. Moldenhawer is focusing on differentiation and integration in youth training and education in Sweden and Denmark, at structural, school, and classroom levels. She has specific expertise in studying Pakistani and Turkish migration and multicultural spaces in the Danish elementary school system.

Dr. Moldenhawer shares her role and responsibilities within the project with **Dr. Tina Kallehave**, Assistant Professor at the Division of Education, who focuses on migration and processes of recognition, transformation and alien-

ation. This EDUMIGROM team also benefits from the participation of **Dr. Jens Peter Thomsen**, an educational sociologist, who focuses on processes of differentiation (class, gender, ethnic) in higher education, using qualitative as well as quantitative methods.

University Victor Segalen Bordeaux 2, France

http://www.lapsac.u-bordeaux2. fr/

The Laboratory for the Analysis of Social Problems and Collective Action (LAPSAC), within the Sociology Department of the University Victor Segalen Bordeaux 2 (UVSB), France, is an innovative research centre recognised and financed by the French Ministry of Research. The Centre houses over twenty researchers and faculty members and more than 45 doctoral students, and is a member institution of two research networks: one focused on higher education and research, and the other centred on Haiti. The research experience and expertise of the Centre's members are multiple, ranging from ethnicity and inter-cultural relations, schooling and higher education, to social problems and urban issues, and create the opportunity for truly integrative research.

The UVSB team is led by Dr. Claire Schiff, an Associate Professor (Maître de Conferences) in the Sociology Department at the University of Bordeaux 2. Professor Schiff has studied anthropology and sociology in the United States and France, and has published on immigrant and minority youth. Her particular area of research interest concerns the adaptation processes of migrant youth entering France, their relationship to and differing experiences from second-generation

minority youth. Dr. Schiff works closely with other colleagues involved in various phases of the EDUMIGROM project: Maitena Armagnague (PhD student), Evelyne Barthou (post-doctoral researcher), Dr. Georges Felouzis (Professor), Barbara Fouget (PhD student), and Dr. Joelle Perroton (Associate Professor). Collectively, the team's areas of expertise include EU integration, civil society, higher education, education trajectories of migrant youth, and social and ethnic segregation in schools and society.

Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovak Republic

http://www.sociologia.sav.sk/

The Institute for Sociology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (IS SAS) is a pivotal domestic centre of academic research in sociology in the Slovak Republic. Its research programme focuses on social stratification and inequalities, civil society and citizenship, modernisation and democratisation processes, social identities, public discourse and perception of social change. The Institute's staff teach at a range of institutions of higher learning, including Comenius University in Bratislava, and participate actively in several international research projects, including an initiative within the European Commission's Fifth Framework Programme and the European Values Study programmes, cooperation with Chuo University in Tokyo, Japan, and acting as a coordinating centre for the UNESCO programme MOST.

The IS SAS team is led by **Dr. Zu-zana Kusa**, a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute and a lecturer at Comenius University (2007). Dr. Kusa has designed courses on qualitative research methods and poverty. An active member of the

academic community in the Slovak Republic, she has conducted extensive research on public discourse, social identities, social policy, and social cohesion, and works as a Slovak expert of the EU network of Independent Experts on Social Inclusion.

Dr. Kusa is supported by a core team of three researchers. Dr. David Kostlan, a sociologist, specialises in migration issues and ethnicity, including migration theory, European immigration policy and social exclusion of ethnic minorities. In addition to working as a Research Fellow at the Institute for Sociology, he teaches at the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences of Comenius University in Bratislava. Peter Dral, a fellow of the Institute, posesses degrees in Journalism and Nationalism Studies. He specialises on ethnicity and nationalism and has participated in research and teaching activities in projects on migration, minorities and multiculturalism. Jurina Rusnakova specialises in pedagogy, social work and Roma issues and currently teaches at the Institute of Roma Studies, at the Constantine the Philosopher University (UKF) in Nitra. In addition to academic work on Roma, she is deeply involved in practices and voluntary work supporting Roma children and empowering Roma minorities in Slovakia.

Central European University, Hungary

http://cps.ceu.hu/

The Center for Policy Studies (CPS) of Central European University (CEU), based in Budapest, serves as the coordinator for the EDUMIGROM project. CPS is dedicated to analysing public policy and conducting research and teaching programs. It is committed to developing indigenous poli-

cy capacities in the region and has established a masters program in public policy, mentors policy research fellowships and takes part in many comparative and applied research projects. Anti-discrimination and social equality are some of the major topics of the CPS research agenda.

Dr. Violetta Zentai, a cultural anthropologist and the Director of CPS since September 2003, is the CEU CPS team leader; she also serves as EDUMIGROM Consortium Director. Dr. Zentai is engaged in research focusing on gender and racial equality, welfare debates, post-socialist economic transformation, and democratic governance and decentralisation. She is also a visiting lecturer at CEU's Sociology and Social Anthropology Department and the Public Policy Department. Dr. Zentai has published widely on a range of policy-relevant issues, including gender equality policy, civil society development, and local government.

The Principal Researcher for the CEU CPS team, Dr. Julia Szalai, is a Research Fellow at CPS and a Senior Researcher at the Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Her research focuses on poverty/social exclusion, comparative history of social policy, class-, gender- and ethnic/racial determinants of participation in various forms of labour and schooling. She has experience in graduate and post-graduate teaching at renowned institutions in Hungary, the UK, and the US. Dr. Szalai has published extensively on issues of gender, ethnicity, Roma, poverty and welfare reforms, and other issues in English and Hungarian. Dr. Vera Messing is the Research Coordinator for CEU CPS and also serves as a Research Associate at the Institute of Sociology at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

She has over 10 years of experience in empirical research on ethnicity, minorities, social exclusion, media representation of vulnerable groups and ethnic conflicts. Her recent published works focus on child protection, Roma children in education, strategies of coping with poverty, the long-term exclusion from the labour market of Roma households, and governmental—and NGO-support programmes focusing on this population.

Coordination and overall management of the EDUMIGROM project is assisted by Lilla Jakobs, the Program Manager of the Center for Policy Studies at CEU.

SPOTLIGHT ON COMMUNITIES

The country teams have selected sites for conducting the bulk of their field research. In this issue, we introduce the communities that will be explored in the Czech Republic, the United Kingdom, and Hungary.

Czech Republic

The Czech research team selected two ethnic groups as research foci based on their relative size, as well as their different experiences with public institutions and school performance: Roma and Vietnamese. The team will focus on the education of these groups in two larger cities: 'Bergsdorf', in the northeast; and 'Tingltown', in the southeast.

Roma are the largest ethnic minority in the country, with a population that many estimate to be 250,000 (2.5% of the total population). Overall, the community faces numerous obstacles in terms of socio-cultural discrimi-

nation and stigmatisation, access to public services, and employment. Furthermore, Roma pupils tend to perform relatively poorly at school. As elsewhere, the Roma population is skewed toward younger age cohorts: estimates from 2005 suggest that 22% of the community is 6–15 years of age and thus, potentially, 6.3% of all schoolchildren. Yet, recent research estimates that only 7.3% of Roma youth enrolled in secondary education in 2005; a very small percentage completed school.

Vietnamese, meanwhile, are the third largest immigrant community (after Slovaks and Ukrainians) with a population of around 50,000. Since the first waves in the late 1970s and 1980s, Vietnamese have integrated into majority Czech society with few tangible tensions. Notably, with approximately 100,000 new immigrants arriving in 2007, the Czech Republic ranks third in the EU in terms of the number of new immigrants per capita. Vietnamese pupils, on average, perform exceptionally well at school.

While precise data and the geographical distribution of Roma and Vietnamese populations is lacking, it is widely known that both communities are concentrated in larger cities. Roma communities are large in traditional industrial areas, particularly in northern regions; much of the Vietnamese population is settled in cities and towns along the country's borders, especially in western areas. The team decided to focus on schools in two large Moravian cities, which in many respects resemble other cities of similar size and status in the country. The urban composition of 'TingItown' is quite centrifocal, with schools more or less evenly distributed across the town; 'Bergsdorf' is divided by industrial areas into several specific urban segments. The separation of Roma from non-Roma inhabitants is more pronounced in 'Bergsdorf' than in 'Tingltown'. That said, Roma communities in both cities are relegated to certain areas of town, and concentrated in economically-depressed, post-industrial neighbourhoods. Vietnamese communities tend to be less territorially concentrated.

The United Kingdom

EDUMIGROM consortium members from the University of Leeds have chosen to focus on ethnic relations and education in a diverse, mid-sized city in Yorkshire, England.

While there is evidence that children from certain minority ethnic backgrounds are doing well in schools in the UK, there have been concerns for some time about the wide achievement gaps of children from certain minority ethnic groups. Recent data confirms the disparity of achievement between pupils of different ethnic groups, which, in turn, relates to pupils' inability to find employment and exclusion from society at large. For this study, the research team from the University of Leeds chose to focus on three groups, which represent a particular set of challenges: sizeable Black Caribbean (including mixed White and Black Caribbean) and Pakistani (including mixed white and Pakistani) communities, as well as the significantly smaller Gypsy/Roma and Traveller communities.

To investigate educational attainment gaps of these groups by ethnicity, the UK research team selected three schools with different socio-economic compositions – one more advantaged school, and two inner city schools – in a city of stark social and economic contrasts. Narrowing their focus,

the researchers will concentrate on pupils in the penultimate year of compulsory schooling in the UK, as this is a significant period in young people's outcomes: previous research has shown pupils at this level to be the most vulnerable to dropping out from education.

Located in the North of England, the city's once-robust industrial sector has undergone a process of de-industrialisation over the last two decades, as globalisation has required a transformation in its economy and demography. While districts of the city are among the wealthiest in the UK outside of London, a third of its electoral wards rank among the most deprived. Roughly speaking, areas of high deprivation are territorially concentrated in the northern and eastern areas of the city, which are marked by old housing estates, while the affluent live in the suburbs in south western areas. The city also has relatively few private schools, and so the tension at the heart of education is played out almost entirely within the state sector. In terms of student performance, figures have lagged behind the rest of the country, with the worst-performing secondary schools situated in the north east of the city.

Hungary

The Hungarian research team will focus on the largest, most visible, and arguably most marginalised and stigmatised ethnic minority group in Hungary: the Roma. While Roma comprise approximately 7% of the total population, due to demographical trends – namely, relatively high fertility rates among Roma compared to low rates among ethnic Hungarians – the proportion of Roma within the school-age group is well over 10%. While a growing

amount of attention is paid to their social inclusion, as a group, Roma face numerous forms of exclusion and discrimination as they come into contact with institutions that are dominated by the majority population, manifesting in their limited access to quality education, employment, healthcare, housing, and political power.

In terms of the education of Roma children, numerous troubling trends are discernible: poor performance; emotional and social difficulties due to biased treatment of teachers and schoolmates: school and intra-school segregation; high drop-out rates in secondary education; and others. These trends correlate positively with the low socio-economic status of Roma; they are also a consequence of the education system, which fails to meet the needs of multicultural student bodies. Furthermore, public education acutely reflects dimensions of regional and local inequalities in Hungary: Roma communities are scattered throughout Hungary, but their proportion is significantly higher than average in certain areas. Settlements in these areas tend to face severe socio-economic problems, most lack formal employment opportunities altogether, they have poor infrastructure and very limited public services.

The Hungarian team chose to focus on schools in two mid-sized towns located some 200 kilometres from Budapest – one in the north western and one in the south western region of Hungary – in which Roma constitute about 10–12% of the local population. In both towns, the Roma population is ethnically heterogeneous, composed of Romungro, Vlach and Boyash Gypsies. Both towns are undergoing a period of economic decline, which permeates many

facets of community life – including access to quality education and other areas of public service delivery. Like many villages and towns in Hungary, these towns are struggling with rural-urban migration, unemployment, and socio-economic segregation.

When looking at educational attainment, the Hungarian team decided to focus on the eighth grade of elementary school education (age: 14-15). Attendance peaks at this level: it is the highest level of education many Roma attain despite the fact that schooling is compulsory until the age of 18. At the selected research sites, it is estimated that Roma pupils comprise around 20% of the entire student body. In addition to schools in the two towns, the research team will also investigate poorly funded, under-resourced, and segregated schools in surrounding villages.

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