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# Trends in social and ethnic inequity in the three Belgian Communities 

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## Belgium is among the OECD countries with a low equity



## In Belgium, large differences in performance between immigrant and non-immigrant students

Figure 1.7.5 - Differences in science performance, by immigrant background
Score-point difference in science between immigrant and non-immigrant students, before and after accounting for socio-economic status


## Belgium, a small country with different contexts and educational systems

Three communities:

- 3 cultural contexts
- 3 educational systems



## Social Equity

- The social determinism is the strength of the relationship between the student performance and their socioeconomic background

|  | Scie score adjusted by ESCS | Scie score diff. for one-unit increase of ESCS | \% variance in Scie perf. explained by ESCS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| French-sp. Com. | 484 | 46 | 20\% |
| Flemish Com. | 505 | 48 | 18\% |
| German-sp. Com. | 500 | 25 | 6\% |
| OECD | 494 | 38 | 13\% |

Source: PISA 2015

## Immigrant population - pISA 2015



Social and ethnic (in)equity in the whole country
versus

Social and ethnic (in)equity in the different communities

## Interests of the study

- International level:

A case study that illustrates the importance to consider the different national contexts in the analyses

- National level:

Apprehend the scholar inequalities that affect the students with an immigrant background in the different contexts of the communities.

## Theoretical framework

Two mechanisms act together to produce inequalities between native and immigrant students (Felouzis and al., 2015):
$\square$ Cultural discontinuity: cultural background of immigrant families that is distant from the school expectations
$\square$ Systemic discrimination: grouping students according to their abilities tend to segregate students with immigrant background $\rightarrow$ composition effect that impacts the quality of teaching and learning
All the authors recognize the impact of both sources but disagree regarding the magnitude of each of them.

## Theoretical framework (II)

- In the OECD reports, Belgium is often grouped with France as countries where immigrant students are highly discriminated.
- In France, the cultural discontinuity has for a long time been given as the main factor explaining the low performances of students with immigrant background (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1964; Lahire, 2008)
- But in 2015, Felouzis and al hypothesized that the cultural gap is not able to explain the increase of ethnic inequities this last ten years.
- In Belgium - as a whole - Monseur and Baye (2016) showed that the influence of socio-economic status on performance is not equivalent for students with and without immigrant background


## Research questions

How are acting the social and ethnic discriminations in the different contexts of the Belgian Communities ?
I. What are the characteristics of the immigrant population and what changes are observed over time?
2. What's the impact of the cross-border students on the reported performances of immigrant students?
3. To what extent is changing over years the gap of achievement between the native and non-native students?
4. What are the impacts of the immigrant background and the social status on the students' achievement?
5. To what extent do the ethnic inequalities result from systemic discrimination or cultural discontinuities?

- Data sources : PISA 2003 to 2015 databases


## French-speaking Community: overview

|  | Native students |  |  | Students with an immigrant background |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2003 | 2009 | 2015 | 2003 | 2009 | 2015 |
| Part in total population | 81.7\% | 77.9\% | 77.8\% | 18.3\% | 22.1\% | 22.2\% |
| Have repeated a grade | 34.6\% | 42.3\% | 42.7\% | 54.6\% | 56.8\% | 55.8\% |
| Vocational program | 39.1\% | 34.0\% | 27.9\% | 52.1\% | 41.9\% | 20.8\% |
| Social status of parents <br> (zHISEI) | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.02 | -0.10 | -0.09 | -0.08 |
| Education level of parents: ISCED 5 | 64.4\% | 69.9\% | 72.1\% | 44.7\% | 53.2\% | 59.1\% |

## Flemish Community: overview

|  | Native students |  |  | Students with an immigrant background |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2003 | 2009 | 2015 | 2003 | 2009 | 2015 |
| Part in total population | 93.2\% | 91.0\% | 86.0\% | 6.8\% | 9.0\% | 14.0\% |
| $\int \begin{aligned} & \text { Have repeated } \\ & \text { a grade } \end{aligned}$ | 22.0\% | 23.1\% | 20.5\% | 49.7\% | 54.5\% | 45.3\% |
| Vocational program | 49.6\% | 56.0\% | 51.3\% | 59.6\% | 59.5\% | 58.1\% |
| Social status of parents <br> (zHISEI) | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | -0.15 | -0.13 | -0.12 |
| Education level of parents: ISCED 5 | 55.9\% | 58.8\% | 68.6\% | 36.7\% | 46.5\% | 55.4\% |

## German-speaking Community: overview

|  | Native students |  |  | Students with immigrant <br> background |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2003 | $\mathbf{2 0 0 9}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 1 5}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 3}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 9}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 1 5}$ |
| Part in total <br> population | $82.3 \%$ | $79.0 \%$ | $78.2 \%$ | $17.7 \%$ | $21.0 \%$ | $21.8 \%$ |
| Have repeated <br> a grade | $27.8 \%$ | $29.2 \%$ | $27.7 \%$ | $47.9 \%$ | $49.9 \%$ | $40.7 \%$ |
| Vocational <br> program | $41.2 \%$ | $30.7 \%$ | $36.5 \%$ | $47.6 \%$ | $36.9 \%$ | $23.3 \%$ |
| Social status of <br> parents <br> (zHISEI) | 0.02 | 0.01 | -0.01 | -0.06 | -0.03 | 0.06 |
| Education level <br> of parents: <br> ISCED 5 | $49.9 \%$ | $54.8 \%$ | $60.2 \%$ | $56.7 \%$ | $63.5 \%$ | $76.7 \%$ |

## Ethnic segregation in schools

- Index of ethnic segregation (Monseur and Baye, 2016) :

Percentage of students - with and without an immigrant background that should be moved to reach the balance in the distribution of immigrant students in each school

|  | French-sp <br> Community | Flemish <br> Community | German-sp <br> Community |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2003 | $14 \%$ | $7 \%$ | $/ *$ |
| 2009 | $16 \%$ | $10 \%$ | $/$ |
| 2015 | $16 \%$ | $13 \%$ | $/$ |

*Too few schools

- Ethnic segregation is more important in the French-speaking Community but is rather stable over years
- In the Flemish Community, the ethnic segregation is greatly growing

Differences between immigrant and non-immigrant students in science performance - PISA 2015


## Cross-border students in Belgium

Netherlands


## Cross-border students in Belgium -pisa 2015

|  | French-sp Com. | Flemish Com. | German-sp Com. |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cross-border students | $2.1 \%_{(0.73)}$ | $2.0 \%_{(0.48)}$ | $10.0 \%_{(1.60)}$ |
| «Real » first generation <br> immigrants | $8.8 \%_{(0.99)}$ | $4.8 \%_{(0.45)}$ | $9.1 \%_{(1.44)}$ |
| Second Generation <br> Immigrants | $11.3 \%_{(0.95)}$ | $7.2 \%_{(0.74)}$ | $2.7 \%_{(0.94)}$ |
| Native Students | $77.8 \%_{(1.72)}$ | $86.0 \%_{(0.99)}$ | $78.2 \%_{(2.06)}$ |

- In the German speaking Community, more than $50 \%$ of the firstgeneration immigrant students - as defined in PISA - are students who cross the frontier each day.
- They are $30 \%$ of the first-generation in the Flemish part and $20 \%$ in the French part


## Trends on differences



## Social Determinism and immigration background

I. Analyses of means: linear regressions and socioeconomic gradient
2. Analyses of variance

Interaction between socio-economic status and immigrant background - Linear regression

Flemish Community


## Interaction effect - Flemish Community



PISA 2015 - Adjusted for cross-border students


Interaction between socio-economic status and immigrant background - Linear regression French-speaking Community


## Interaction effect - French-sp Community





## Ethnic Determinism?

Percentage of variance explained by ESCS and by immigration

|  | Unique effect of <br> ESCS | Unique effect of <br> Immigration <br> background | Combined effect <br> of ESCS and <br> Immigration |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Flemish Community | $14.4 \%$ | $3.5 \%$ | $3.2 \%$ |
| French-sp Community | $18.0 \%$ | $1.2 \%$ | $2.8 \%$ |

Science - PISA 2015

- A larger part of variance is explained by the socio-economic status
- The unique effect of immigration background explains a very low percentage of variation in performance
- Unique effect of immigration + combined effect is higher in the Flemish Community
$\rightarrow$ No Ethnic Determinism


## Discussion: Ethnic inequalities, a result of systemic discrimination or cultural discontinuity "only"?

Empirical hypotheses only because of the descriptive nature of the analyzes

- In both communities, the education level of parents is increasing in a larger proportion for the students with an immigrant background than for the native students .
- If the cultural discontinuity is important for explaining the lower performance of the immigrant students, their achievement should increase. This is observed in the French-speaking Community but not in the Flemish Community.
- The interactions between the education level of parents and the immigration background has been tested and are mostly non-significant in both communities
- The immigrant and native students benefit similarly of a higher inherited cultural capital.This supports the effect of the cultural discontinuity.


## Discussion: Ethnic inequalities, a result of systemic discrimination or cultural discontinuity "only"?

- The French-speaking Community has an old experience with leading a large immigrant population of students. The immigrant population is still growing but slowly. The segregation in schools is substantial but stable.
- In this "stabilized" context, it seems that the social determinism tends to act in a more similar way for the immigrant students, mainly once the education level of parents is recovered.
- The Flemish Community is less familiar with the management of schools hosting immigrant students. Moreover, the immigrant families are also "fresh" to decode the school system.
" In this "moving" context, systemic discrimination is a better hypothesis to explain why immigrant students do not benefit from their social status to the same extent than native students.

Thank you for your attention!

