



Divided Education, Divided Citizens?

A comparative study of civil enculturation in separate schools

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Introduction

This is the analytical report on the results of the international comparative study ‘Divided Education, Divided Citizens?’ (DEDC) conducted by the Network of Education Policy Centres in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Estonia, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Latvia, Romania, Slovakia and Tajikistan. The goal of the study was to assess the impact that the practice of separate schooling has on the civic attitudes of students attending separate schools with majority and minority language of instruction.

The study was conducted in 2008 and 2009 and included three stages: a preliminary analysis of state policies and practices regarding separate schools for ethnic/ linguistic groups, interviews with policy makers and focus groups with teachers and students and a questionnaire survey. A representative survey of teachers and students was conducted in schools in 6 countries (Estonia, Latvia, Slovakia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan), and a representative survey of students only was conducted in Kosovo.¹

This is the first international study of such scale, comparing the effect of separate schooling of ethnic majority and minority on civil enculturation of both groups.

Problem Definition

This study attempts to assess the impact that the practice of separate schooling has on the civil enculturation of students belonging to different ethnic/ linguistic groups, by comparing their attitudes towards a number of issues normally included in the concept of democratic citizenship (e.g. the right of citizens to participate in policy processes and governance, the right to protest, gender equality, equality between citizens of different ethnic groups).

This is the first international study of such scale, comparing the conditions of civil enculturation in separate schools for ethnic majority and minority. Civil enculturation is a wider concept than citizenship education and includes the factors that are not part of the official curriculum, such as the school culture and the general attitudes shared by teachers, students and parents in a given society (Schiffauer, Baumann, Kastroyano and Vertovec, 2004). Such attitudes (e.g. attitude towards gender equality, attitude towards acceptable forms of political behavior), while not making up part of curriculum, nevertheless shape the students’ civic identity.

Separate schooling of students from different ethnic, linguistic and religious communities is common practice in state school systems in many countries. Not only does the choice of school depend often on the student's ethnicity, faith, or mother tongue, but also different curriculum for students of different ethnic, religious and linguistic groups is manifest in some cases. For the purposes of this study, only cases of separate schooling of ‘traditional’ ethnic groups, excluding Roma, were considered – the groups in question being commonly described as either ‘majority’ (e.g. Slovaks in Slovakia) or ‘minority’ (e.g. Uigurs in Kazakhstan). In one case, groups in question are constituent peoples (Bosniaks and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina) – however, in numerical terms the Croats are a minority, therefore, they were referred to as ‘minority’.

Second issue addressed by this study is the prospect of overcoming strong segregation tendencies in national education systems of countries in question.

School desegregation is a topic commonly treated in education policy studies dealing with racial issues at school in the US and ‘old’ EU member states (Paulle, 2005; Stave, 1995). Such studies have mostly dealt with schools that have become segregated through voluntary self-selection processes (white middle-class parents preferring to educate their children separately from students of colour and from immigrant communities). The main argument for de-segregation in that case has been the need to create a more equitable educational environment that would ensure better chances for children of underprivileged communities. Another argument against ethnic segregation in schools has emerged more recently: in countries where no separate schools for ethnic minorities have existed historically, e.g., in the United Kingdom, the emergence of separate (sometimes faith-based) schooling for minorities has been described as ‘self-

¹ For technical reasons, only the data on Tajik majority students was valid for Tajikistan, which reduced our ability to include Tajikistan in the set of comparative data on majority and minority attitudes.

segregation', and there have been warnings concerning the detrimental effect of segregated schooling on common civic culture (Cantle, 2005).

In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, there is not always a difference in social status or income between the majority and minority groups that are educated separately. In Central and Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Central Asia (as well as in the Caucasus, and some other regions not covered by this study), the existence of separate schools for different ethnic groups is either a heritage from the days of larger, multinational empires or a result of a settlement reached with the involvement of the international community after a violent interethnic conflict (the case of Bosnia in our study). In most cases school choice is a voluntary process supported by the parents, while the local government and the state provide the infrastructure for separate schooling, sometimes even maintaining a separate curriculum for minority students. Only in the case of Kosovo, among the countries included in this study, is the separate education of Serbian students maintained effectively under the auspices of another state – Serbia.

Nevertheless, there are visible and invisible barriers between schools for different ethnic groups, and this study was initiated with the hypothesis that in many cases, ethnic and political divisions in society are reproduced rather than healed through a separate schooling system. The barriers to a common, inclusive civil culture are symbolic and one can find them mapped in history textbooks, school buildings with separate doors for ethnically separated classes and in students' and teachers' attitudes towards the 'others'. While the instances of voluntary self-segregation cannot be treated in the same way as ethnic segregation imposed by school authorities against the will of students and their parents, it does constitute a limitation to the positive recognition of diversity in the school environment². This study proceeded from the ethical premise that while the desire for a school that would ensure the preservation of minority identity is to be respected, there is a greater need for policy makers and practitioners to be aware of the ethnic divides reproduced by the separate schooling system, and to seek measures to create a more open educational environment in all schools – an environment that would welcome students from different groups and would prepare all students for life in multicultural societies.

Examples of successful practices of diversity recognition in a mixed classroom can be found, for the most part, in countries already implementing special policies to insure racial and ethnic equality. Thus, in the UK, special measures are taken by both policy-makers and schools to assert diversity as a positive factor in the school environment, taking for granted that schools should serve multicultural communities. This does not lead to immediate factual equality in academic attainment (Warren and Gilborn, 2002), or, indeed, to immediate equality of social chances – however, teachers believe that multicultural environment, along with an emphasis on equality among students and anti-discrimination measures, is the only way to ensure education adequate to the needs of life in a multicultural society (Schiffauer, Baumann, Kastroyano and Vertovec, 2004: 65).

Positive recognition of diversity in national education systems is required by a number of international agreements (Batelaan and Coomans, 1995). The Council of Europe recommendations regarding the recognition of diversity in education insist on the school as a space where democratic co-existence with representatives of other cultures is practiced and learned. Proceeding from the Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) concept, a citizen is 'a person co-existing in a society'. (O'Shea, 2003). According to the Council of Europe Recommendation Rec (2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship, "In order to fulfil the general aims of education for democratic citizenship, the following actions are needed: (...) paying particular attention to the acquisition of the attitudes necessary for life in multicultural societies... To that end, it would be appropriate to implement educational approaches and teaching methods which aim at learning to live together in a democratic society, and at combating aggressive nationalism, racism and intolerance and eliminate violence and extremist thinking and behaviour."

² One of the arguments used recently by parents of Roma students seeking recourse at the European Court of Human Rights was that the students had to study "in a racially segregated environment and hence denied the benefits of a multi-cultural education" (Oršus et al, 2004, IV.7).

EDC “emphasises individual experience and the search for practices designed to promote the development of communities committed to genuine relationships. It concerns the individual and her/his relations with others, the construction of personal and collective identities, the conditions of living together”. Viewed from the EDC perspective the experience of co-existing together while recognizing every person’s individual and cultural rights is crucial for the future of democratic societies (O’Shea, 2003).

In other words, the Council of Europe recommendations concerning education recognise that schools should not pre-programme future generations of citizens to lead segregated lives, constrained by the arbitrarily defined boundaries of ethnic communities.

The recognition of cultural diversity and the insistence on political equality and non-discrimination are at the basis of the policy approach known as diversity mainstreaming. Diversity mainstreaming is a systematic approach to public services integrating recognition of diversity as a positive factor in society in the work of government and municipal institutions (including schools), and transforming the nature of service delivery accordingly. It has been argued that one of the basic preconditions for applying diversity mainstreaming principles to a national school system in a multi-ethnic society is the system’s movement towards overcoming the segregation of schools (Golubeva, 2006).

Analytical Model of the Study

This study assessed the prospects of de-segregation of the school systems in respective countries on the basis of Amir and Sharan’s theoretical model (Amir and Sharan, 1984) that was adapted to the case in hand. The model is based on four sets of variables that are essential for understanding the perspectives of school desegregation in a given society. These are 1) structural variables, 2) variables of role behaviour, 3) variables relating to goals and values and 4) affective variables. The schools’ legal status, their funding conditions and public perception of the system of separate schooling of majority and minority students are viewed as structural variables for the purposes of the present study. Teacher-student relation models and linkages between language and social status and power relations in society constitute variables of role behaviour. Variables related to goals and values include the perceptions of the country’s history by both groups, their projections about the future (whether it seen as a common or separate project politically and culturally) and perceptions of citizenship (civil culture elements) among each group.

The basic premise for this study is that in the first three sets of variables (structural variables, variables of role behaviour, variables relating to goals and values) similar indicators among minority and majority schools (e.g. Hungarian and Slovak schools in Hungary, Estonian and Russian schools in Estonia) would point at conditions favourable to de-segregation in the future, while divergent indicators (e.g. radically different perceptions of citizenship, language status and group relations) would suggest obstacles to de-segregation in the foreseeable future. Affective variables, on the other hand, indicate the attitude towards the prospect of de-segregation as such among teachers and students of two groups in each country. If the attitude towards the prospect of de-segregation among one of the groups (majority or minority) is strongly negative, this would reduce the likelihood of successful de-segregation in the near future (even if other variables are relatively favourable).

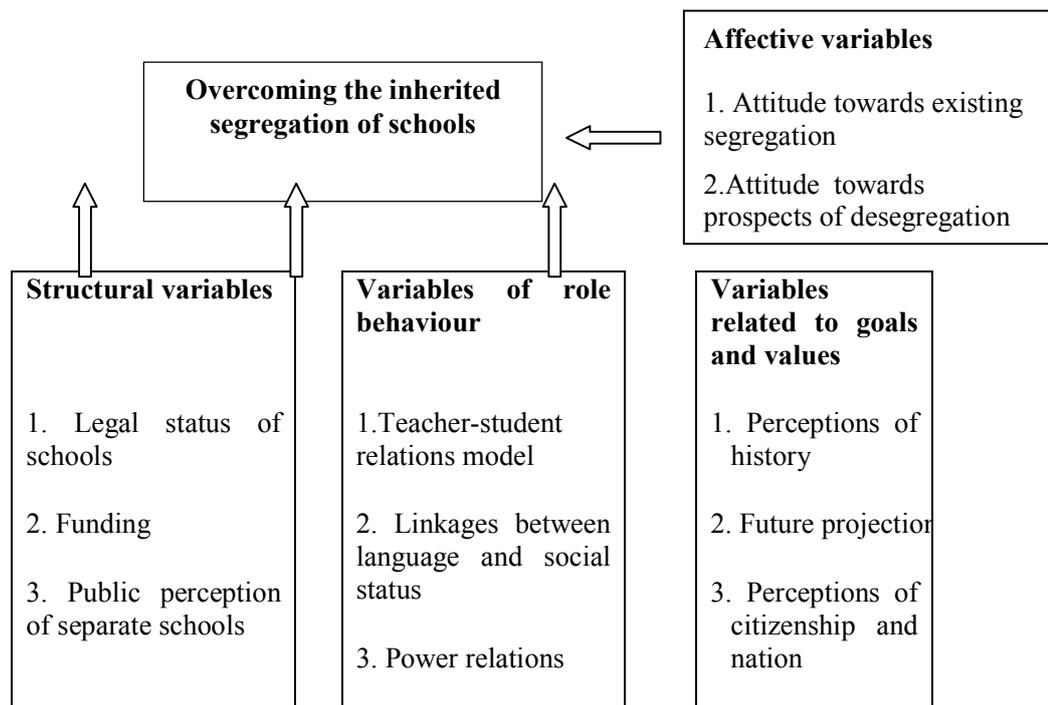


Figure 1. Model of Overcoming Segregation of Schools

Summary of Findings

1. Equal schools for equal citizens? Legal status and hidden structural inequalities of separate schools

In most of the countries included in this study, with the exception of Kosovo, minority schools enjoy an equal legal status with the schools for ethnic majority students. Sometimes there are special regulations allowing minority schools to receive higher per-student funding than in the mainstream schools (e.g. Slovakia).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, ‘two schools under one roof’ is a phenomenon which appeared after the war on the initiative of the international community (Hromadzic, 2008). These are pairs of schools which are physically joined but in which two different curricula are taught; each school has its own principal, and usually separate rooms and administration. Formally there are two schools in one school building, which was one school before the 1992-5 war. While a relatively low percentage of schools in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and none in the Republika Srpska, are of this type, the level of interethnic tension is more extreme in these kinds of schools than in other schools in the country. They highlight in extreme form some of the ethnic prejudices and lack of mutual trust in the education system in the country.

In Kosovo, where Serbian schools teach students according to the Serbian national curriculum, an assessment of structural inequalities is more difficult to make, but it would seem that the main negative factor is the strict ethnic separation itself, with the results of civil enculturation widely diverging in areas such as gender equality and orientation towards civic participation (see respective segments of the study below).

In Estonia, Latvia, Slovakia and Romania, there is a unified curriculum for majority and minority schools and the schools with minority language of instruction do not suffer from any systemic funding disadvantages. On the contrary, at least in the case of Latvia, more funding has been channelled recently into minority schools in order to improve their students’ knowledge of majority language. This, however, did not necessarily result in a sense of

equality among minority students and teachers. The reform of minority education, reducing the number of hours of instruction in Russian to 40%, provoked massive protests in Latvia in 2004. Subsequent, more gradual measures to reduce the instruction in Russian in minority schools in Estonia were also perceived unfavourably by many teachers and students. As the data on orientation towards civic participation (below) shows, both teachers and students in minority schools in Estonia and Latvia feel politically much less empowered than their peers in majority schools.

In the two Central Asian countries included in this study, the unified curriculum and formal equality of status between majority and minority schools sometimes coexists with deep structural inequalities that put minority students at a systematic disadvantage. Thus, in Kazakhstan, centralized exams for school leavers are organized only in Kazakh and in Russian, implying that students from Uzbek and Uyghur schools have to take the exams in a different school (often travelling a great distance to attend) and take them in a language other than the language of instruction in their own school. This presents a serious obstacle to their enrolment in higher education institutions, for which the results of centralized exams are a basic pre-requisite.

In Tajikistan, since the mainstream education in Tajik is supposed to be of a better quality, the tendency is for Uzbek families to send their sons to Tajik schools, while the daughters, whose education is considered less important, go to Uzbek schools. This creates a **gender inequality** within minority group students. For boys, Uzbek parents explain higher preference for majority schools by better career chances, as majority schools are seen to provide easier access to a university education:

My little brother goes to the Tajik school, but when I asked my parents why they sent him there, they answered that general education is enough for girls. For boys' to go further, it is better to know Tajik language well

(Uzbek school, Tajikistan).

2. Equal students for equal schools? Language, status and power relations in society in the mirror of ethnically segregated schools.

Students' answers to questions about political equality and participation of minorities in political life suggest significant levels of latent ethnic distrust and asymmetric power relations in societies in question.

1. The attitude of majority school students towards political participation of minorities is not overwhelmingly inclusive and egalitarian. A substantial part of majority students are not supportive of political equality between the groups, as their answer to the question about minority representatives in government demonstrates:

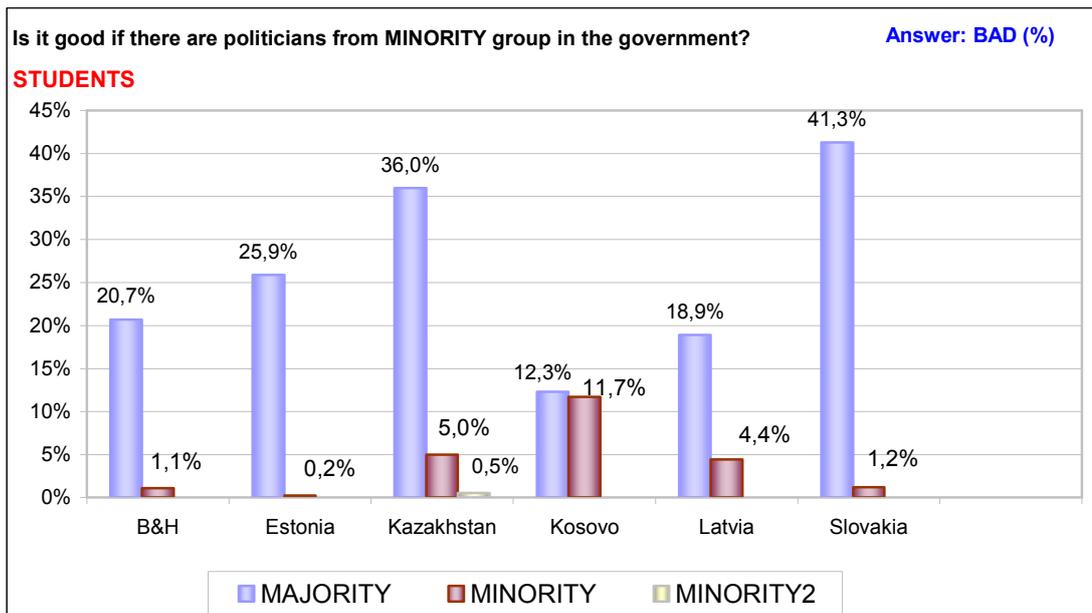


Figure 2.1 Lack of approval for minority representation in the government

There seems to be no apparent connection between this distrust of majority students for minority politicians and recent conflicts in the country: students in the ethnic majority schools in Slovakia, Kazakhstan and Estonia are more hostile towards minority politicians than students in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where a military conflict took place within living memory.

Focus groups with majority students confirm that there is, indeed, an element of patronising or even hostile attitude towards the larger ethnic minorities, especially those, whose ethnic group had once dominated the empires in which the current majority lived in a minority status. In focus groups, majority students in Romania and Slovakia have expressed distrust towards the Hungarian minority, and students in Estonian and Latvian schools in the Baltic States have expressed a similar distrust of the Russians as a group. Sometimes an “inherited” or historic hostility towards the minority group was explicitly related to the imperial past:

“We learn that we were oppressed by Hungarians during the age of the Hungarian/Habsburg monarchy. It means we were oppressed by Hungarians, who are a national minority in Slovakia today. And I think they want to oppress us again.” (student, Slovak school, Slovakia).

“If they were ok, I wouldn’t mind it. But if they started to shout that Hungary is the better country or if they pitted their attitudes against our attitudes, it would be a problem” (student, Slovak school, Slovakia).

In several focus groups, majority students claimed that it is right if persons belonging to the minority are seldom mentioned within the official curriculum, because of the dubious role the minority played in the history of the country. Thus, Romanian school students commented about the Hungarian minority’s presence in the History books:

„I don’t know if they have done something for the History of Romania. I don’t know if there is something like this in the textbook.” or: *“They did nothing related to our history. If they did, they would have deserved to be there. Or maybe they did something, but that was not important.”* (student, Romanian school, Romania).

Another reason mentioned why there should be ‘less’ about minorities in the curriculum was simply a refusal to accept that they, too, make up the political community of the country:

‘There should be less about them. It is the history of Latvia, this means, it is the history of Latvians.’ (student, Latvian school, Latvia).

Majority students are sometimes convinced that the minority in their country are enjoying too much influence politically. On the whole, majority students tend to agree more often with the statement that minorities have too much political influence in their society. This is especially the case with Albanian majority in Kosovo (more than 30%) and Slovak majority in Slovakia (more than 40%). At the same time, at the normative level, the majority of both minority and majority students tend to agree that the opinions of ALL ethnic groups should be taken into consideration when making important political decisions.

2. Focus groups in minority schools reveal that minority students and teachers sometimes perceive the career chances and participation opportunities of their groups as unequal compared to those of ethnic majority.

This is, in particular, the case with Russian-speaking minority school students in the Baltic States:

‘A part of Russians are not citizens – they pay the taxes, but have no rights, and it is unfair.’ (student, Russian school, Latvia).

‘Higher positions are usually taken by Estonians, as some kind of barrier exists between Estonians and non-Estonians. Perhaps there is distrust towards us and that is why there are Estonians on leading positions.’ (student, Russian school, Estonia)

The results of teachers’ survey (below) suggest that this sense of unfairness in relations between minority and majority groups may be strengthened by the teachers. History curriculum is one of the areas of greater contestation, and minority teachers tend to perceive it as unfair towards their group. Thus, specifically in Estonia and Latvia, teachers working in Russian minority schools tend to distrust the official history curriculum, believing that it is unfair towards the Russians: only 12% of teachers in ‘Russian’ schools in Estonia and 5% of their colleagues in Latvia agree with the statement ‘The representation of minority (translated as ‘Russian speakers’) and majority (translated as ‘Estonians’ or ‘Latvians’) in History textbooks we use at school is balanced and fair’.

3. Students and teachers in majority and minority schools see the social status of minority language differently. While there is a virtual consensus in most cases that the knowledge of the majority language is important for a successful career, minority students tend to attach a greater value to the knowledge of their own (minority) language for a successful professional career.

Survey data and focus groups show that minority school students attach a high value to the social/ economic potential of their language, a phenomenon that may have something to do with the fact that in all cases (including also the Uyghur schools in Kazakhstan) the language or the minority happens to be the language of a former powerful state or empire. The data shows that the perceived significance of own language among minority students is very high even in the countries where education reforms have recently diminished the use of that language in education (Estonia, Latvia).

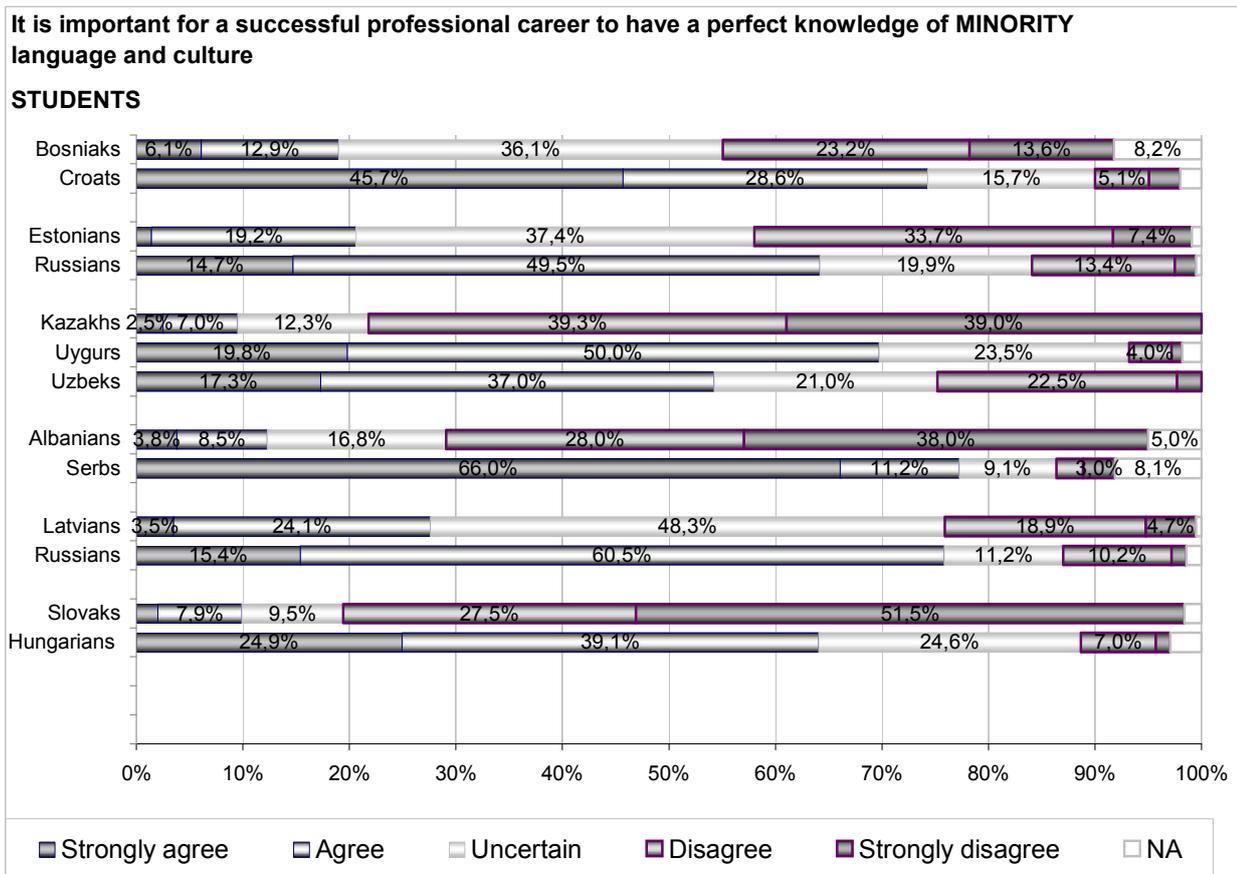


Figure 2.2 Students' view of the importance of knowledge of minority language for professional career

Sometimes minority students see the majority as disadvantaged by their lack of knowledge of the minority language:

'Latvians know only Latvian, English and maybe German. They do not want to study Russian. But if you want to find a good job, you have to know many languages, including Russian.'
 (Russian school student, Latvia)

Majority students tend to be much more sceptical about the need for minority language in order to have a successful career in their country.

3. Divergent Civic Attitudes, Common Future: Civil Enculturation in Majority and Minority Schools

The data provided by the DEDC survey reveals some significant differences between majority and minority schools in terms of civil enculturation. Without attempting to cover all the differences between the attitudes of majority and minority school students towards issues of civic participation, gender equality and non-discrimination and the differences in their views concerning the history of the countries they live in, the following is a summary of the most obvious tendencies of divergence and convergence related to civic goals and values.

3.1 Orientation towards civic participation: the minority estrangement pattern

According to the well-known typology proposed in the 1960s by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, political cultures can be roughly subdivided into three ideal types – parochial, subject and participant, with most societies exhibiting some sort of combination between two types. While parochial attitudes are more characteristic of pre-modern societies, subject attitudes are more characteristic of centralized, bureaucratic and sometimes even authoritarian political systems, and consist in concentrating on the 'output' of the political system, such as good government

services for the citizens, and ignoring the role of the citizens in the ‘input’ phases of the political process. Participant attitudes combine high expectations regarding ‘input’ and ‘output’: participant-type citizens are interested in participating in the political process and influencing decisions, while they also expect good performance from the government (Almond and Verba, 1998).

In order to evaluate the types of civic attitudes developed by the students in majority and minority schools, the DEDC questionnaires included questions consisting of statements testing the students’ subject and participant attitudes.

For participant attitudes, the students’ normative orientation towards participatory democratic citizenship was measured by the statement ‘If the government accepts an unfair law, it is right to protest against it’. No significant differences between majority and minority school students in each country were revealed by the reactions to this statement, with the Tajik students in Tajikistan being the only group where the mean was below 3,5 (with 1 meaning ‘strongly disagree’ and 5 meaning ‘strongly agree’). However, when it comes to the actual sense of civic empowerment, the data shows that minority students in most cases tend to feel less empowered than majority students. The exception is Slovakia: indeed, students in Hungarian schools are even slightly more convinced in the effectiveness of their participation than students in Slovak schools.

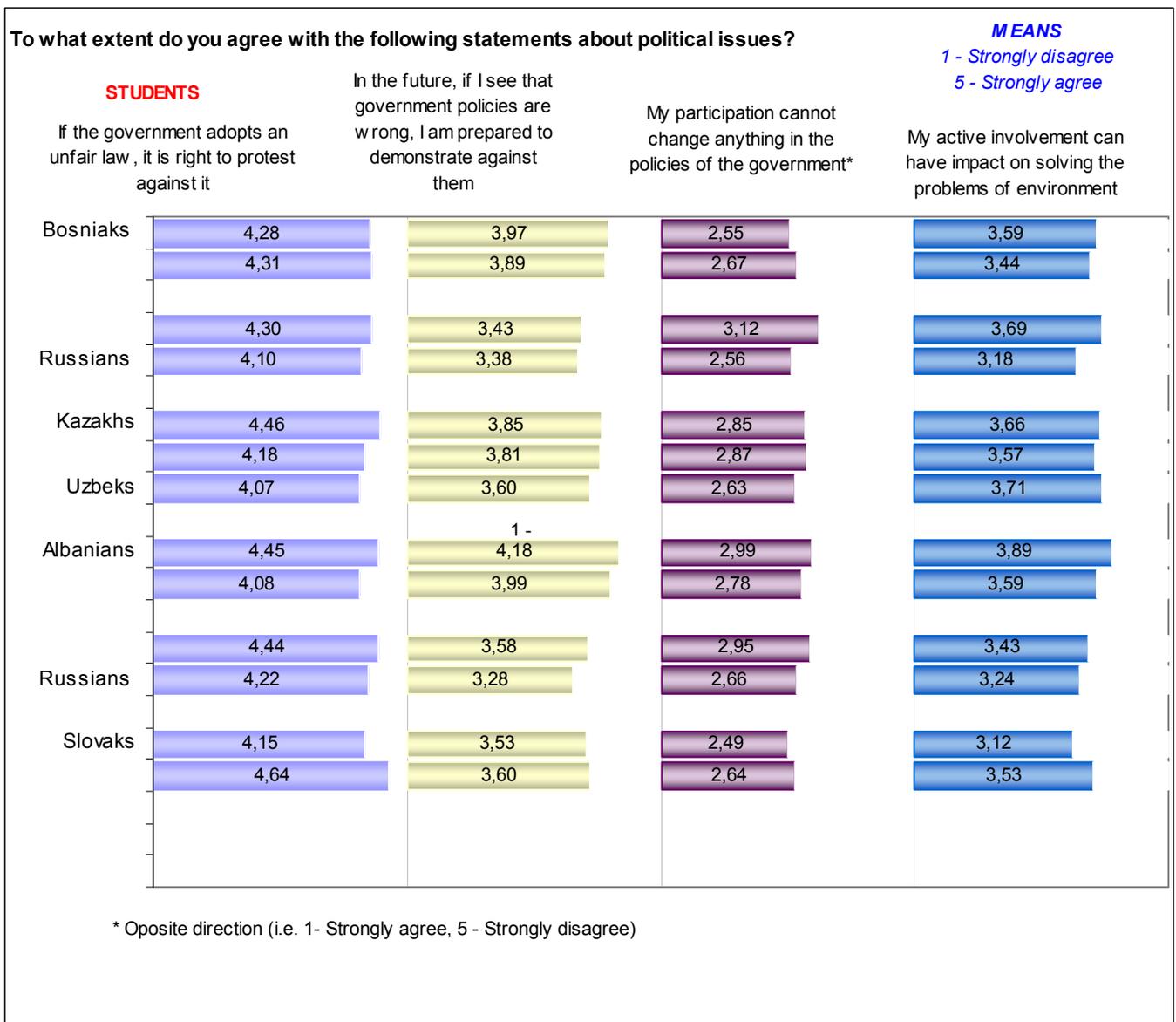


Figure 3.1 Participant orientations

The difference is particularly pronounced in Estonia: while Estonian school students feel the most empowered of all groups included in this study (they believe in the effectiveness of their participation more than other groups included in the study), Russian school students in Estonia feel much less empowered. The sense of lack of empowerment (disenfranchisement) is also greater among Russian minority school students in Latvia and Serbian minority school students in Kosovo (see above figure 3.1).

In the cases of Estonia and Latvia, the students' sense of disenfranchisement (powerlessness to influence political life of the country) is similar to the teachers' attitude: as the table (below) shows, also teachers in minority schools in Latvia and Estonia feel much less politically empowered than their colleagues in majority schools, while their normative orientation towards participation and protest is approximately the same (see answer to the statement on political protest).

Table 1 Percentage of teachers and students agreeing with the following statements in majority and minority schools in the Baltic states.

Statement	'Russian school', Estonia		'Estonian' school		'Russian' school Latvia		'Latvian' school	
	T	S	T	S	T	S	T	S
If the government accepts an unfair law, it is right to protest against it	75	76.6	91.7	89.1	85.7	83.2	85.8	87.8
My participation cannot change anything in government policies	65	51.8	30	28	50.8	50.5	29.5	32

in %

T- Teachers

S- Students

Nevertheless, there is no direct causality between minority school teachers' lack of trust in effective participation in Latvia and Estonia and similar lack of trust in own participation among the minority school students in the same countries. The teachers' answer to the statement 'My participation cannot change anything in the policies of the government' does not predict the students' reaction to the same statement in countries for which data allowing separate analysis at a group level based on school status within the country is available (Estonia, Latvia, Slovakia, Bosnia and Herzegovina). This implies that other factors, possibly those lying outside the school, influence minority teachers' and students' skepticism about the use of civic participation.

Table 2 Teachers' sensitivity to the presence of ethnic stereotypes positively predicts students' belief in legitimacy of political protest (majority schools, EE, LV, SK, B&H)

Coefficients^a

Model		Un-standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	,900	,114		7,878	,000
	Teachers - You have noticed overt or covert presence of ethnic stereotypes in textbooks and lessons	,172	,046	,411	3,772	,000

a. Dependent Variable: Students - If the government adopts an unfair law, it is right to protest against it

For the subject attitudes, the principle of strong 'output' expectations was taken to the extreme in one of the statements, proposing a paternalistic formula: "The state takes care of the people and we should be grateful to it." This statement coincides to a great extent with the dominant discourse of Soviet ideology, and the extent to which students of each respective group tended to agree with it can reflect the extent towards which the 'old' paradigm of citizen-state relations influenced their civil enculturation.

It can be concluded, on the basis of survey data, that on the whole a large part of the students in the countries included in the survey still tend to agree with the paternalistic role of the state, with majority students tending to accept it more than minority students (See Appendix 2, Figure 3.4). This reliance on the state can be interpreted as an excess of conformism, which may not be good for the countries' democratic development, as some studies show that there is a direct correlation between the citizens' readiness to challenge political authorities and a society's human development potential (Inglehart and Welzel, 2006, 135-145). In Bosnia, Estonia, Kosovo, Latvia and Slovakia, minority students are more sceptical about the paternalistic role of the state than majority students, with the difference particularly pronounced in Estonia, Kosovo, Latvia and Slovakia.

The differences between majority and minority in regard to paternalistic subject attitudes are unpronounced in the 2 Central Asian countries, where the acceptance of the paternalistic state role is particularly high (a large majority of all students in Kazakhstan and Tajikistan tend to agree that "The state takes care of the people and we should be grateful to it.") This tendency is particularly obvious in Tajikistan, where almost all students agreed with the above statement. Students in Tajikistan are also the least convinced among all students in countries covered by this study that their actions can influence government policies (see above, Figure 3.1). This implies that in Tajikistan, the civil enculturation of students still imparts the subject type of political culture to the younger generations of citizens.

Disagreement with the above statement can denote both a lack of trust in the state as such and a refusal to accept the specifically paternalistic view of the state. In the cases when minority students 1) feel more disenfranchised than their peers in majority schools and 2) show less trust in the state (Russian school students in Estonia and Latvia, Serb school students in Kosovo), one can speak of a certain minority estrangement pattern. At least in the case of the two Baltic States, survey data proves that the sense of estrangement from the state is shared by teachers and students; both believing that the political system and the official curriculum are unfair towards their group. Thus, about 50% of teachers in 'Russian' schools in Estonia and 37% of teachers in 'Russian' schools in Latvia disagree with the statement that 'Official policies concerning non-discrimination are implemented in everyday school life'. Among majority school teachers in the same countries, the percentage of those who disagree with this statement is significantly lower.

3.2 Attitude towards gender equality

Another significant aspect of civil enculturation included in the study was the students' attitude towards gender equality. A battery of four questions was developed for the purposes of this study, resulting in a Gender Equality Index (GEI), reflecting the answers to all four questions. The questions concerned education, equal career chances, political and business leadership roles for women and men. Each question could be answered on a scale from one to five points.

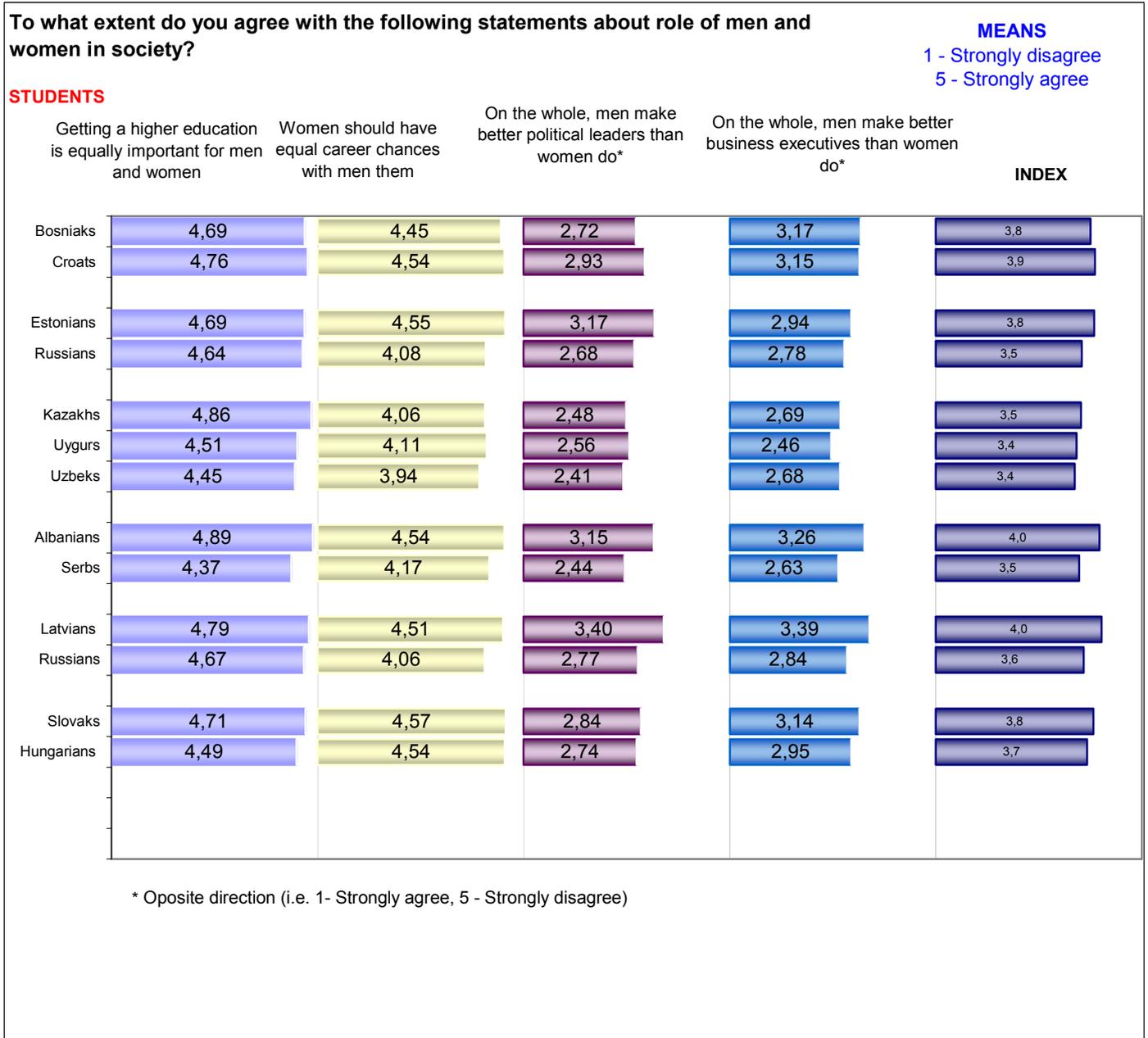


Figure 3.2 Students' gender equality index

The results show that unlike attitudes related to civic participation and subject attitudes, the students' Gender Equality Index does not differ substantially between majority and minority schools within each country, however, in Estonia,

Latvia and Kosovo the difference is more than 0.3 points on a five-point scale, which suggests that support for gender equality is less strong among students in Russian and Serb schools. The only case when the difference between majority's and minority's GEI constituted 0.5 points was Kosovo, with Albanian school students showing more endorsement of gender equality than the students in Serb schools. On the other hand, the students in Serb schools showed insignificantly more support for the equality of sexual minorities.

There is no strong pattern of minority and majority difference in replies to the question concerning equal rights for homosexual people. With the exception of Serb school students in Kosovo and Hungarian school students in Slovakia, less than half of students in all groups included in the study approve equality for sexual minorities.

The Gender Equality Index was significantly lower in the two Central Asian countries (with the Tajik school students, not included in the chart below, scoring 3.2 points as compared to 4.0 points among the highest scoring groups – Latvian students in Latvia and Albanian students in Kosovo).

4. The demand for separate schooling among minority students and teachers

There is a remarkable unanimity among minority students and teachers that separate schools for ethnic/ linguistic minority are necessary and desirable. The extent to which this attitude is shared can be seen by the high percentage of minority students and teachers who answer that the existence of separate schools for majority and minority is 'very good' rather than simply 'good':

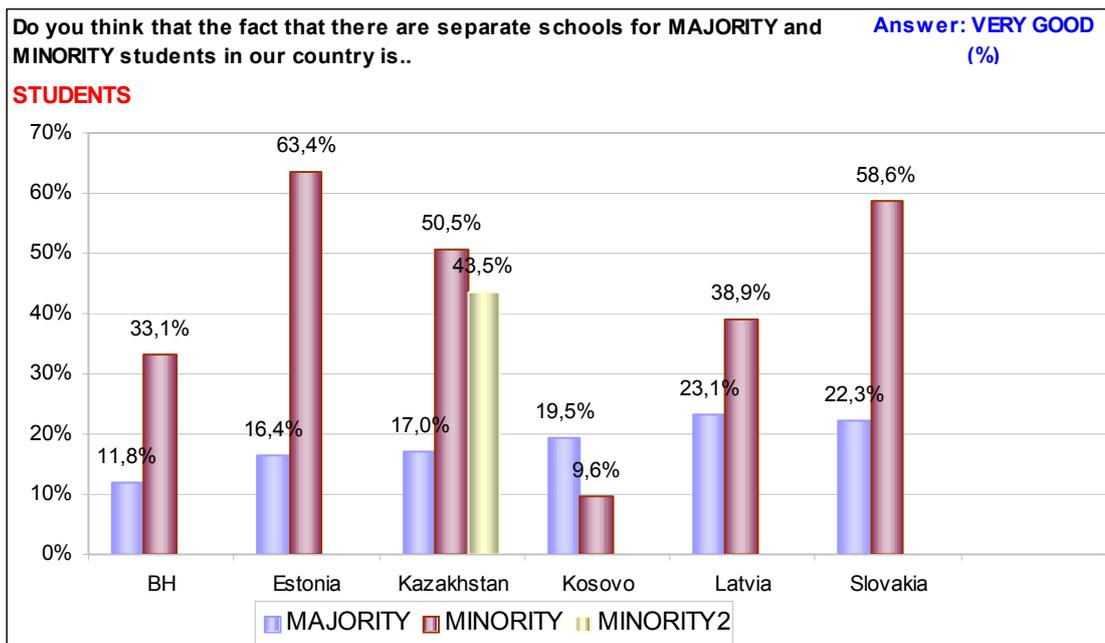


Figure 4.1 Percentage of students saying that the existence of separate schools for majority and minority is VERY GOOD.

In order to see which factors influence the preference for segregated schooling, and whether there is a strong link between students' preference for segregation and the school they attend, the research group conducted rigorous statistical analysis of the students' questionnaire data from 4 of the 7 countries from which student questionnaires were available: Bosnia, Estonia, Latvia and Slovakia. Data was weighted to equalize sample in each country.

The multifactor analysis shows that the single factor that explains about 34% variance in students' preference for segregated schooling is the school average support for segregation: the more supportive of separate schooling is the

student population of a school, the more likely it is that individual students in that school will support segregation (see below, Figure 4.2).

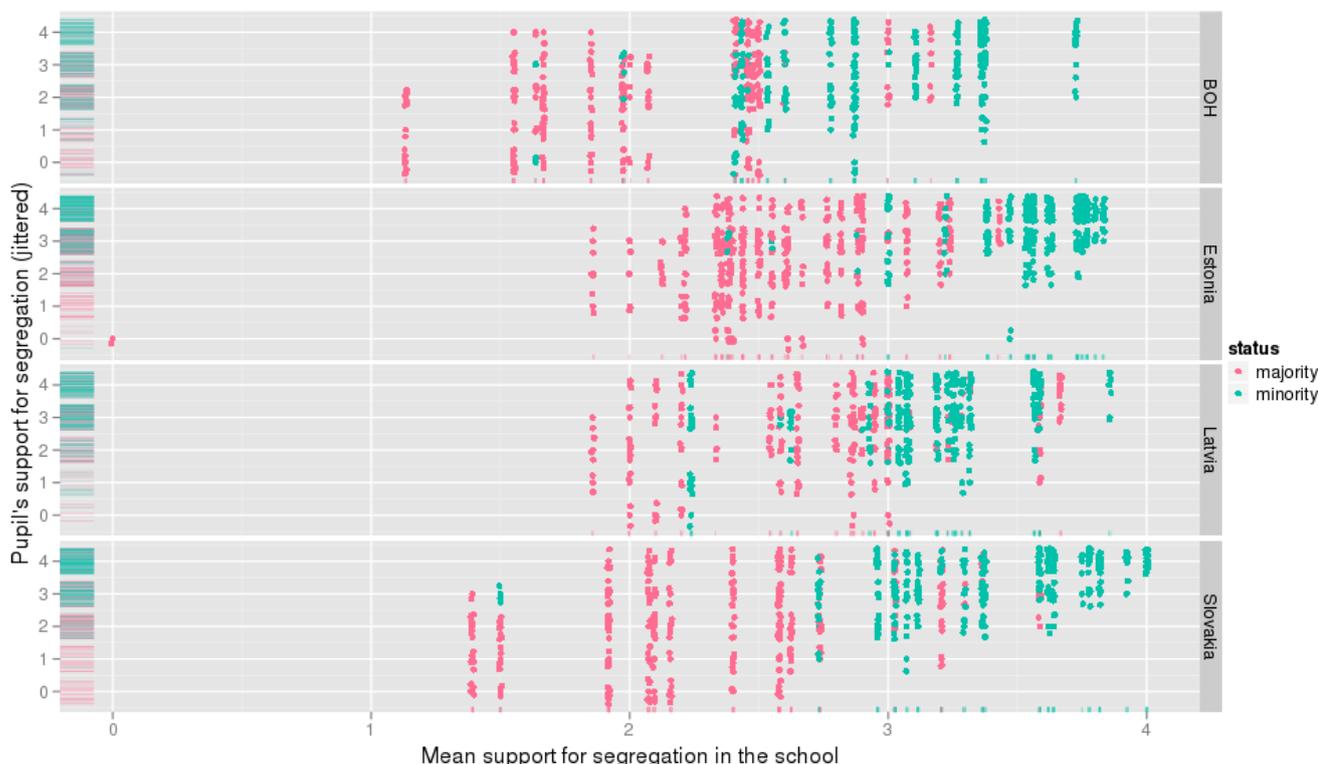


Figure 4.2 The influences of the school mean (average support for segregation in a school) on individual students’ support for segregation.

This implies that school culture and the internal institutional climate within a school has major influence on the students’ support for separate schooling.

Focus group results demonstrate that students rationalize their support for separate schooling in a number of ways, most of which have something to do with majority-minority power relations and with identity politics in the country. Some students perceive minority schools as a way to preserve their identity:

“if it wasn’t like this, we would have to learn Bosnian”
(student, Croat school, B&H)

Another reason occasionally given in focus groups to justify the need to study in a separate school for ethnic minority is the fear of estrangement and lack of acceptance on behalf of the students of majority group:

Attitude of Estonians towards Russians is not that good, they kind of dislike us. In Estonian school we would have felt ourselves as ‘others’ (student, ‘Russian’ school, Estonia)

On the whole, minority students are more sceptical regarding the potential of joint schooling to lead to greater trust between the groups and they more often than majority students agree that if minority students went to majority schools, the result would be a loss of their cultural identity (see Figure 4.6 in Appendix 2).

This attitude is to a larger extent shared by minority school teachers (see below, figure 4.3). The absolute majority of Hungarian school teachers in Slovakia and Russian school teachers in Estonia and Latvia are convinced that if minority students went to majority schools, they would lose their cultural identity (Figure 4.7 in Appendix 2).

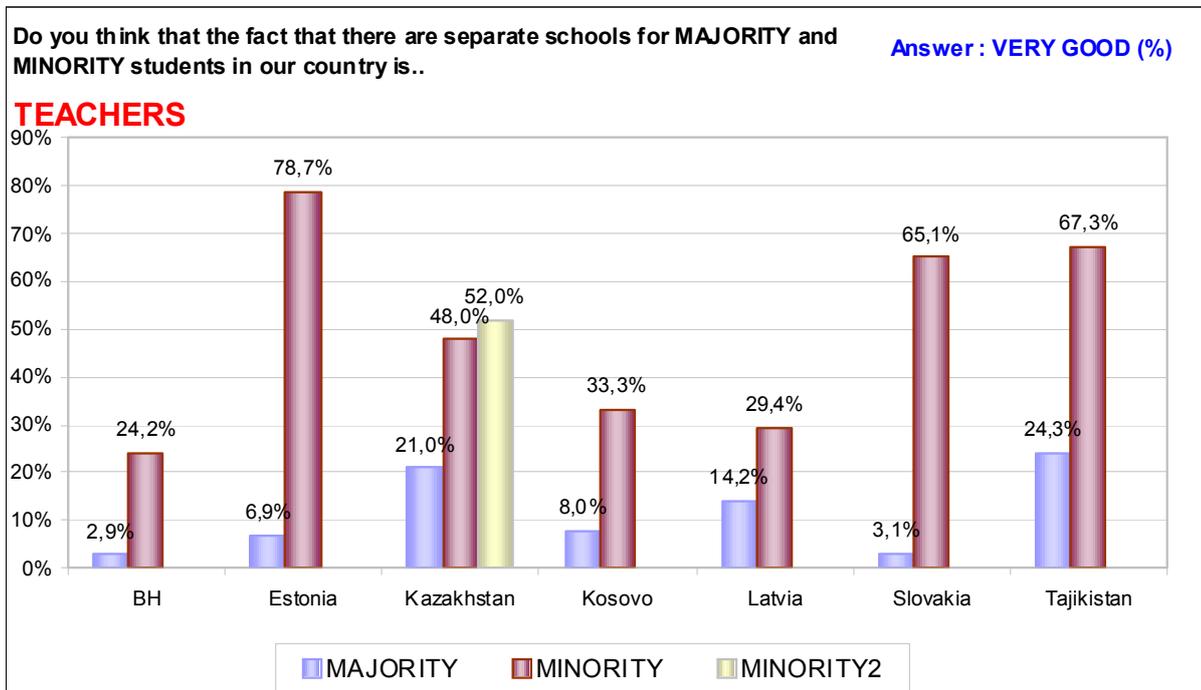


Figure 4.3 Percentage of teachers saying that the existence of separate schools for majority and minority is VERY GOOD.

Teachers and students in minority schools are less convinced than their peers in majority schools that joint schooling would lead to a more unified civic identity. Moreover, for minority school teachers and students a more unified civic identity in the country is a much less valuable asset than for majority school teachers and students (Figure 4.4):

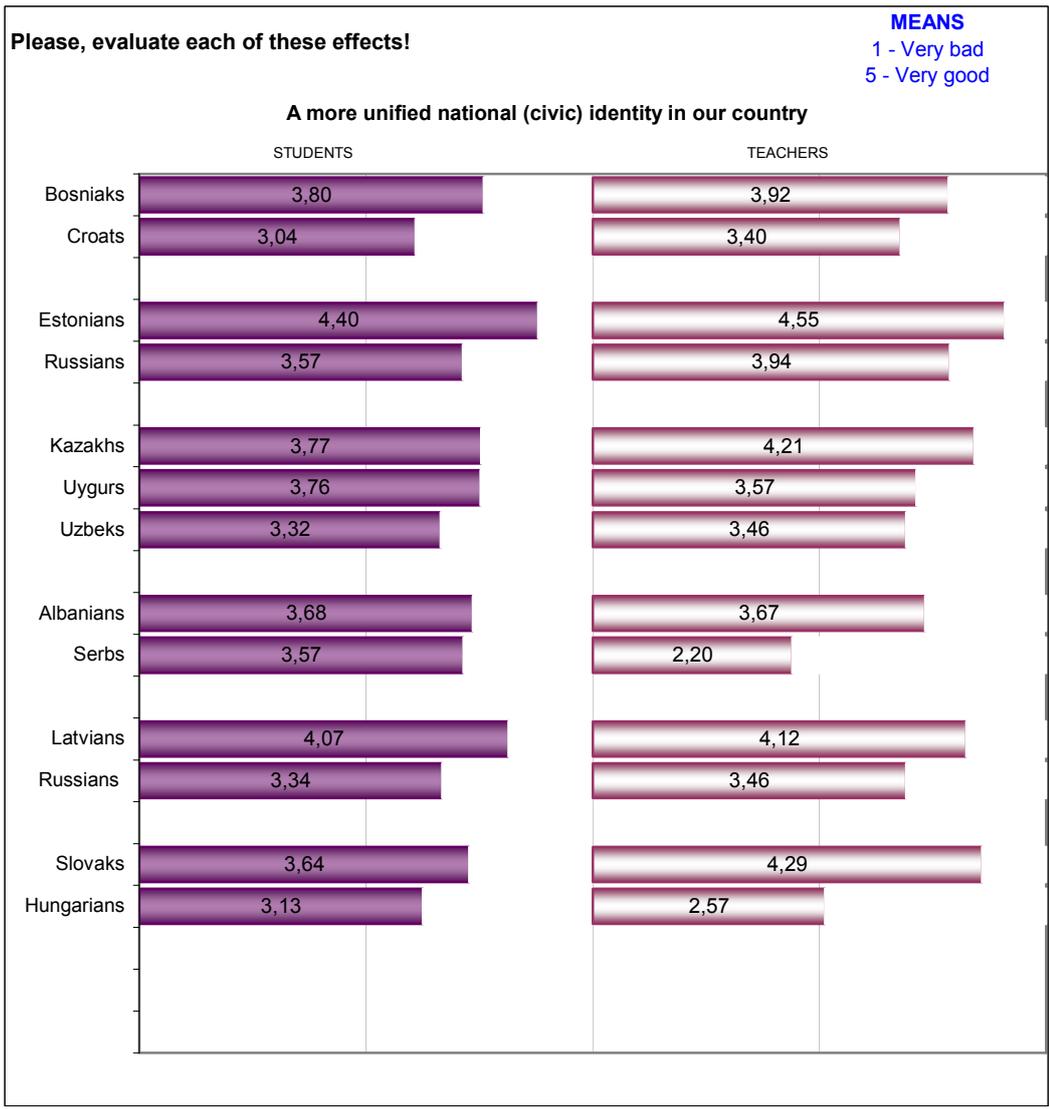


Figure 4.4 The value of a unified civic identity in the students' and teacher's eyes.

Despite these factors, on the whole it would be wrong to say that minority students are the ones who are always less prepared to study together with the students from majority group. While in Bosnia and Estonia majority students show more readiness to study together, in Kosovo, Latvia, Slovakia and Tajikistan, minority students are more open towards the possibility of studying together with the students from the other major ethnic group, and in Kazakhstan Uyghur students are by far more open to such a perspective than Kazakh majority (Figure 4.5).

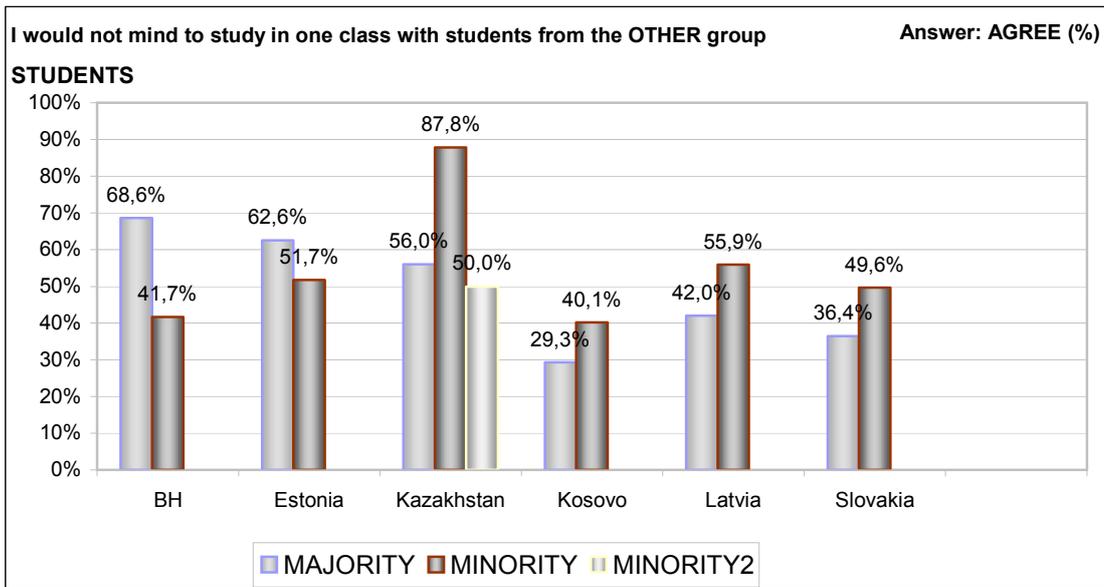


Figure 4.5 Students' readiness to study in one class with students from the other group.

This data suggests that there is a need to assess the situation of each country very carefully before next steps towards overcoming the divide between schools for different ethnicities can be made (if at all).

5. Hidden curriculum?

In all countries covered by the survey, minority teachers feel dissatisfaction with the way major ethnic groups are represented in the textbooks and official curricula (in Estonia, Latvia and Slovakia, more than 50% feel that way).

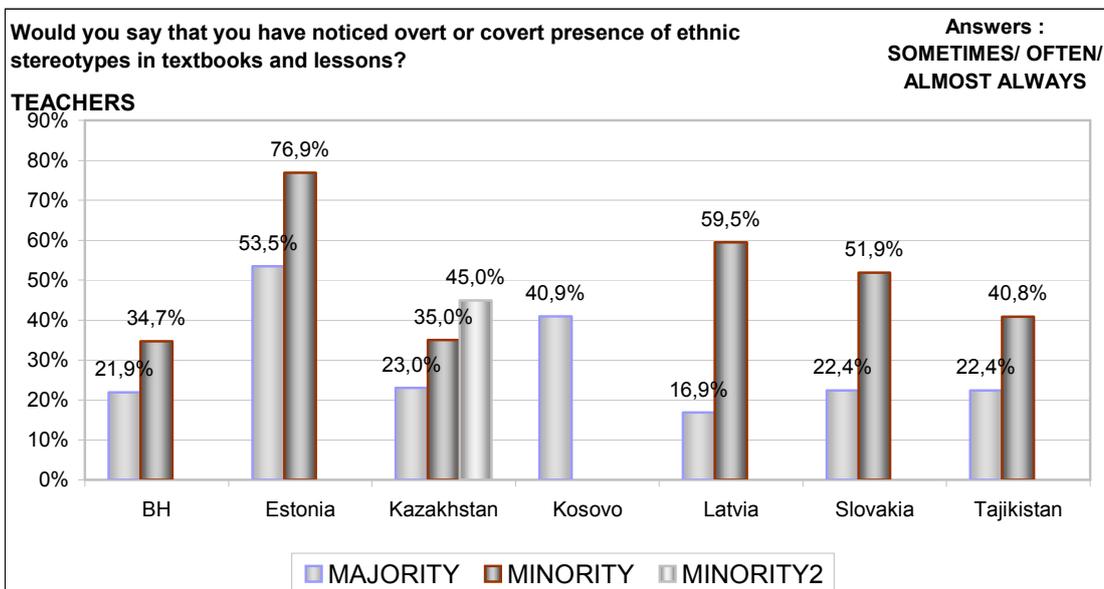


Figure 5.1 Teachers' opinions regarding the presence of ethnic stereotypes in textbooks and curriculum: percentage of those who confirm the presence of stereotypes.

The teachers react to this perceived unfairness either by attempting to ‘correct’ the message of the official curriculum by voicing their own opinion, or by using additional materials that present an alternative view which they consider more fair towards their group. Students’ replies show that history teachers, for one, are often prepared to change the message channelled through the official curriculum:

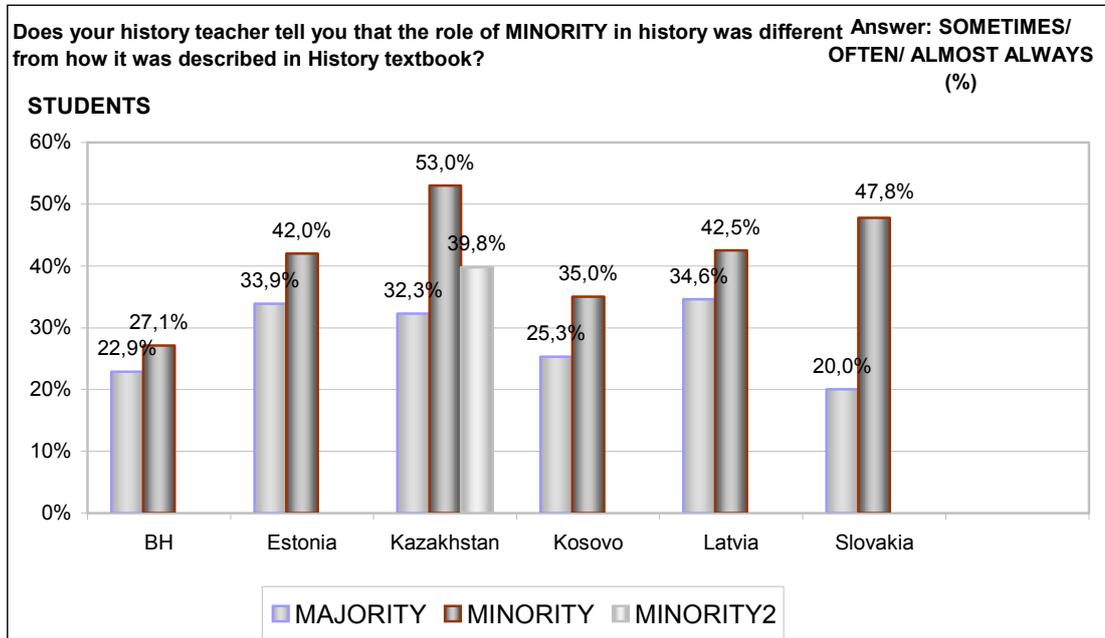


Figure 5.2 Percentage of students who have encountered history teachers providing a different interpretation of the role of minority in history.

The perception that history curricula do not serve the needs of minority groups was reflected in focus groups discussions in minority schools:

We don't even study history of our own ethnicity in elective courses, so we have to learn it ourselves (Uygur School, Kazakhstan)

At the same time, students in majority schools at times see history curriculum as a source of legitimacy for limiting the role of minority in today’s politics:

We learn that we were oppressed by the Hungarians during the age of the Hungarian/Habsburg monarchy. It means we were oppressed by Hungarians, who are a national minority in Slovakia today. And I think they want to oppress again (Slovak School, Slovakia)

History curriculum is a battlefield of political ideologies in the best of times, and in the eyes of minority school teachers in the countries covered by this study it is apparently a losing battle. While approximately the same percent of students in majority and minority schools in each country believes that history curriculum is fair towards both majority and minority groups (see Figure 5.5, Appendix 2), teachers’ opinions tend to be more polarized. In all but one country where teachers’ survey was conducted in minority schools, it turned out that minority teachers more often than majority teachers tend to believe that the representation of minority group in history textbooks is unfair (see Figure 5.3 below). In Estonia, Latvia and Slovakia predominantly minority school teachers are dissatisfied with the representation of ethnic groups in history textbooks, whereas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, neither majority (Bosniak) nor minority (Croat) school teachers perceive the history textbooks as fair. This shows that the history curriculum has a significant ethnically polarizing potential in these countries.

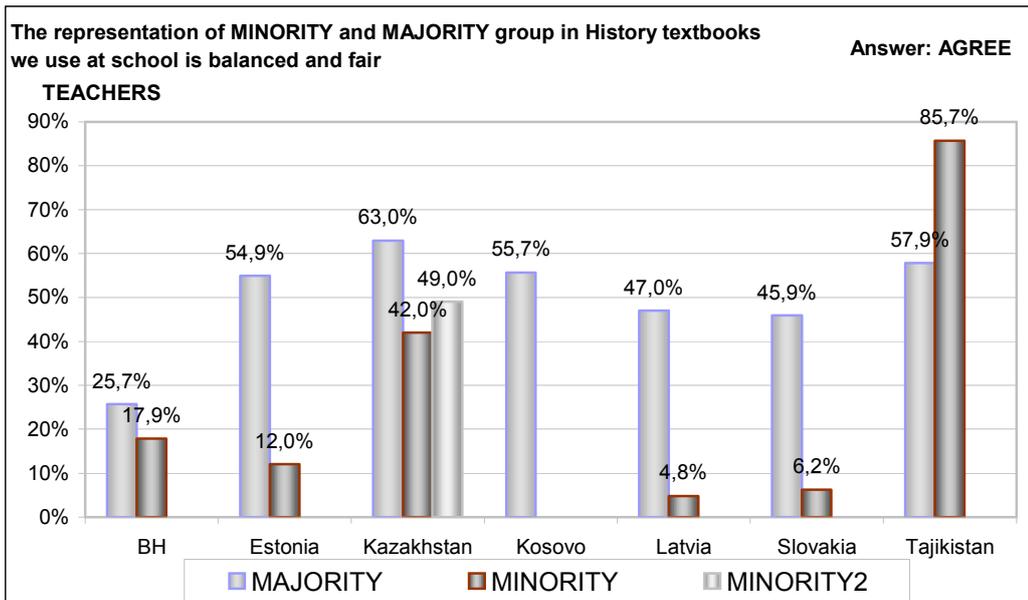


Figure 5.3 Percentage of teachers agreeing that the representation of minority and majority in history textbooks is balanced and fair.

A way to ‘correct’ the official message for teachers in minority schools is to use alternative materials when teaching. In almost all of the countries covered by the study, minority school teachers tend to use textbooks from other countries more often than their colleagues in majority schools. While these results will probably alarm nationalist politicians in these countries, it has to be noted that also the general percentage of teachers using foreign textbooks in these countries is very high (see below), and not in all cases the use of textbooks published elsewhere necessarily signifies the presence of a hidden curriculum.

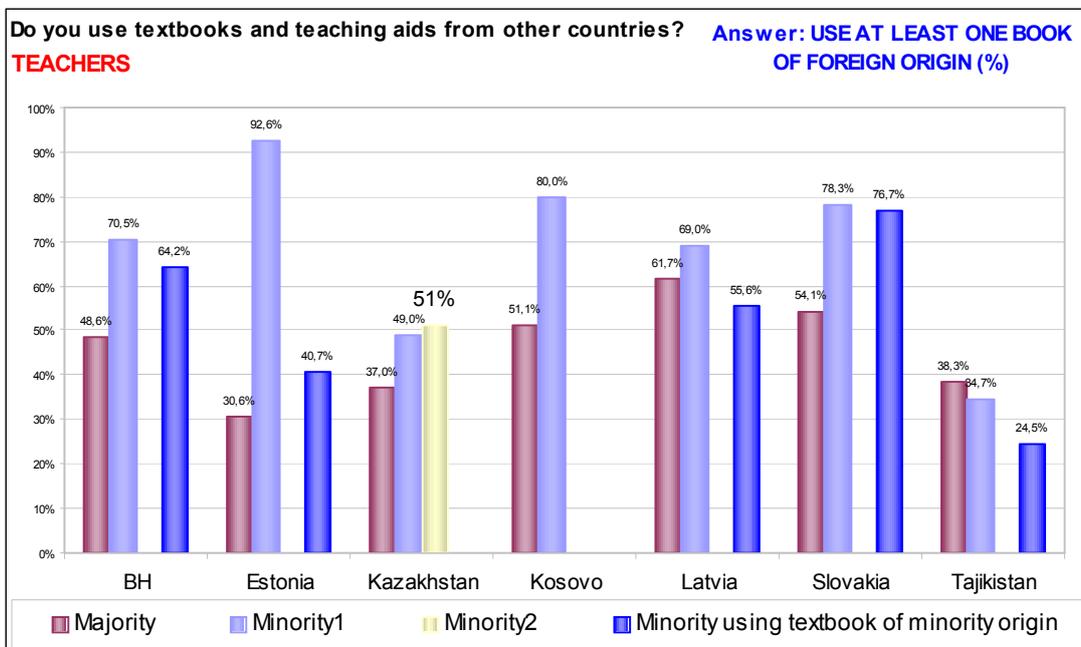


Figure 5.4 Percentage of teachers using textbooks from other countries, including countries of minority’s ethnic origin.

While part of the cases when foreign textbooks are used can be explained by the needs of foreign language classes, the data (Figure 5.4 below) demonstrates that between 25 and 77% of teachers in minority schools tend to use textbooks from the country of their ethnic origin (there was no survey of Serb school teachers in Kosovo, but interviews with experts in Kosovo suggest that most of them use textbooks from Serbia). More than half of teachers in minority schools covered by the study in Slovakia, Latvia and B&H (Croatian schools) use textbooks from the country of ethnic origin (Hungary, Russia and Croatia respectively), with 40% of Russian school teachers in Estonia doing the same. These are the countries where focus groups with students reveal distrust between ethnic groups and where teachers of minority schools see the preservation of ethnic identity as significant goal of their schools. While this situation is politically very delicate (not all countries officially allow the use of textbooks unapproved by the Ministry of Education), this is an important symptom of the distrust towards majority-shaped curriculum in minority schools.

Conclusions

Not all education systems where separate schools for different ethnic and linguistic communities are maintained demonstrate the same extent of separation between different types of schools on policy level. Curricular differences for students of different ethnic and linguistic groups are manifest in only some cases. E.g. in Bosnia and Herzegovina ethnic segregation is embedded not only in the separation of students of different ethnicities in different schools, but also in the different curricula for these groups, and in Kosovo Serbian schools follow the national curriculum of Serbia. In other countries included in this study, there is no curricular divide between future citizens of different ethnicities, but the choice of school is still strongly conditioned on the student's native language – e.g. in the case of Latvia, where it is possible to study in Latvian or in bilingual schools that historically taught students from Russian-speaking families in Russian.

Even in the case of common curriculum, separate schooling of majority and minority students, combined with the elements of distrust and power relations between the ethnic groups in society, produces systematically different civic attitudes. The study shows that there are significant differences between the civic attitudes of minority and majority students in the same country, and the data of teachers' survey shows that at least in some cases skepticism about effectiveness of own political participation is shared by minority school teachers and students.

The education system itself is often structured around the political and ideological elements which define the way major ethnic groups in a country look at their own role and the role of the others in politics and society. In many cases the very questioning of the existing structure of ethnic/linguistic separation of students is viewed as politically dangerous. Raising the issue of separate schooling and its impact on political socialization was viewed as a potentially subversive political action by representatives of public administrations in some countries where the survey was conducted. The resistance, on behalf of government officials, to an independent inquiry into the students' and teachers' attitudes towards the realities of separate schooling is in itself a sign that issues of identity politics in education are closely intertwined with power relations between ethnic groups.

On the basis of the data presented above, the following conclusions can be made:

- 1. In all of the countries covered by the survey, a substantial percentage of teachers and students in minority schools perceive elements of ethnic prejudice in the curriculum.** Minority school teachers much more often than majority school teachers feel dissatisfaction with the way major ethnic groups are represented in the textbooks and official curricula (in Estonia, Latvia and Slovakia, more than 50% teachers in minority schools feel that way). History curriculum, in particular, is a battlefield of ethnic political claims. Teachers' and students' surveys show that the history curriculum has a tremendous ethnically polarizing potential in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Estonia, Latvia and Slovakia, where the trust of minority school teachers in its fairness is particularly low.
- 2. In some countries, the minority estrangement phenomenon means that students in minority schools feel less politically empowered and less protected by the state than their peers in majority schools.** The sense of political inequality is particularly strong among minority school students in teachers in Estonia and Latvia, who feel politically much less empowered than their peers in majority schools.
- 3. While students' civic attitudes differ considerably between majority and minority groups and between the countries, there is a tendency for a large part of the students in all countries included in the survey to agree with the paternalistic role of the state.** Majority students as a rule are more ready to endorse a paternalistic view of the state than minority students. The level of state conformism is particularly high in the two Central Asian countries included in the study.
4. There is no significant difference of outlooks on gender equality between students of majority and minority schools in half of the countries included in the quantitative study, **but students in Russian schools in Estonia and Latvia and students in Serb schools in Kosovo show significantly less support for gender equality than their peers in majority schools in the same country.** There is significantly less endorsement of gender equality in business and politics among the students in Tajikistan and Kazakhstan, where stereotypical judgments about the limited capacity of women as political and business leaders are endorsed more often.

5. In many cases the idea of joint schooling of students from different ethnic groups meets with resistance of minority teachers on grounds of the need to preserve a separate cultural identity. There is a general consensus among teachers in minority schools in all countries covered by the study that the existence of separate schools for minorities is a profoundly positive phenomenon. The endorsement of separate schooling is particularly strong in countries where minority school teachers are convinced about the domination ethnic stereotypes in the curriculum: the absolute majority of Hungarian school teachers in Slovakia and Russian school teachers in Estonia and Latvia are convinced that if minority students went to majority schools, they would lose their cultural identity.

6. Minority students sometimes expressed concerns about the attitude of the majority towards their group, and majority students often expressed suspicions of divergent or even hostile goals and interests of the minority. At the same time, **in 4 out of 7 countries where the survey was conducted, 50 or more % of minority school students expressed readiness to study in one class with representatives of the majority, and in 4 countries at least 50% of majority students expressed readiness to study together with representatives of the minority.** Despite differing outlooks on history and different attitudes towards the state and one's own participation, there is a more than 50% consensus on readiness to study together in Estonia.

7. The presence of a hidden curriculum in minority schools was confirmed both by students' and teachers' surveys. This concerns particularly two areas: history teaching and the use of textbooks. Students in minority schools more often than students in majority schools confirm that their teachers express a different view on the role of minority in history from the view endorsed by the official curriculum. Teachers in minority schools tend to use textbooks from other countries more often than teachers in majority schools, and in significant number of cases these are textbooks from the country of minority's ethnic origin. The use of textbooks from the country of minority's historic origin is particularly high where minority teachers are strongly convinced that the official curriculum is unfair towards their group: in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Estonia, Latvia and Slovakia.

The results of this study show that when the ethnically divided school system mirrors an ethnic division in society which is either asymmetric in terms of power relations (Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia), or recovering from a violent conflict (B&H, Kosovo), minority teachers and students see the reinforcement of their ethnic identity as a priority in education, to be rated above civic participation in a political community which does not give them a sense of empowerment.

It would be fair to say, on the basis of the above data, that some pre-conditions for gradual overcoming of segregation in the national school system exist in the countries included in this study. Students in their majority believe that ethnicity is not the most helpful way to group people. Minority students agree, for the most part, that the knowledge of majority language of their country would be a good factor for their professional career. At least 50% of minority students in 5 countries and at least 50% of majority students in 4 countries would not mind to study together with the other group.

At the same time, in many cases the idea of joint schooling of students from different ethnic groups meets with resistance of minority teachers and students on the grounds of the need to preserve a separate cultural identity. This implies that any moves towards overcoming the barriers between schools for main ethnic groups can take place only via gradual removal of symbolic barriers towards greater trust among the teachers and students of majority and minority groups. Such barriers may be of a political rather than cultural nature, as some results of this study demonstrate.

The perceived unfairness of official curricula towards minority groups should be a more serious concern for education policy makers. While it is desirable that schools should produce more convergent models of civil enculturation to enable their students to live and participate successfully together in a democratic society, exerting unilateral pressure to make minority school teach according to a more 'correct' version of politics and history asserted by the majority and by the state is both dangerous and fruitless. Such attempts can lead to alienation of minority students and teachers – as the example of minority schools in the Baltic States demonstrates. Policy makers in Bosnia, Kosovo, Slovakia and Romania can seek a different way to overcome ethnic barriers in education.

Where the existence of separate schools for ethnic minorities is seen by minority teachers and students as a refuge from asymmetrical power relations in society, administrative solutions to the problem of divided schools will be of no avail. A deeper change of the schools' culture, directed towards a more democratic and open educational environment, should be accompanied by a critical re-examination of the ways in which respective states teach their young citizens about participation and living together with the others in a democratic society.

Recommendations

1. For the Council of Europe Directorate General of Education, Culture and Heritage, Youth and Sport (DG IV)

The realities of civil enculturation of future citizens in ethnically separate schools in 5 Council of Europe member states and 3 neighbouring states included in this study differ vastly from the principles espoused by the Council of Europe in its policies on Education for Democratic Citizenship.

The study reveals that there is a pervasive sense of unfairness of the official curriculum and resentment of power relations reflected in it among minority school teachers and students in some member states. In view of its responsibility for EDC/HRE, the Directorate General is in a unique position to alert national policy makers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Estonia, Latvia and Slovakia to the manifested tendencies of ethnic distrust between majority and minority school students, and lack of civic empowerment among minority students and teachers.

1. In view of the alarming tendencies revealed by this study and in line with the Programme of Activities 2006-2009 on EDC/HRE, it would be appropriate for Directorate General of Education, Culture and Heritage, Youth and Sport **to undertake special monitoring of implementation of EDC/HRE principles in schools in the following member states: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Estonia, Latvia, Slovakia and Romania.**

2. EDC emphasizes that the existence of inequalities within or between societies obstructs effective citizenship. The Directorate general can work with member states **to adopt special measures to promote practices emphasising equality and interethnic trust at the level of education policy development and implementation:**

2.1. Teachers in minority schools in the above countries complain of ethnic prejudices in the curriculum. History curriculum in particular is viewed as polarizing and promoting only the opinion of ethnic majority. According to the EDC principles, **curriculum development** includes a willingness to engage in creating learning frameworks that meet the needs of learners. There is an urgent need to address the issue of ethnic prejudices in the national curriculum and **to urge the member states to adopt a more open and democratic approach to curriculum development (including history curriculum development) in line with EDC recommendations.** Ways of involving minority students and teachers in curriculum development should be identified with the help of NGOs, local communities and teachers' associations.

2.2. Democratic school governance, adopted in practice, could reduce the sense of lack of empowerment among students and teachers and could create conditions for a more open educational environment that would not be hostile to other groups. Joint learning activities for students and teachers of ethnic majority and minority schools can help to overcome the current sense of distrust between the groups. **There is a need to promote joint learning activities centred about democratic school governance for teachers and students of majority and minority schools.**

2. For European Commission Directorate General for Education and Culture

After the 2001 White Paper on Youth, the Member States have agreed on the following common objectives to increase participation of youth:

- Increase young people's participation in the civic life of their community
- increase young people's participation in the system of representative democracy
- provide greater support for various forms of learning to participate.

The present study demonstrates a serious deficit in the empowerment of youth belonging to ethnic/ linguistic minorities in schools in several EU member states, particularly in Estonia and Latvia. This deficit is expressed through lower trust in democratic participation among the students of schools implementing minority education programs. In order to address this deficit and to increase the trust in participation in civic life among the students of schools implementing minority programs, DG Education and Culture can do the following:

1. Commission a study on the impact of segregation on youth participation, to include schools for national minorities as well as schools where the majority of students are of migration background;

2. Assist the Member States in developing special measures to target the lack of civic empowerment in schools attended primarily by ethnic/ linguistic minority students and/ or by students with migration background.

3. For the national/ cantonal Ministries of Education and Local Educational Authorities

The study shows that the existing divergence of civic attitudes between teachers and students in majority and minority schools is to a great extent linked to the sense of disenfranchisement and distrust. Minority school teachers and students in particular are vulnerable to a sense of unfairness and ethnic prejudices in official curriculum. Rather than impose the values and sense of historical justice espoused by the ethnic majority through official curriculum, curriculum development should be turned into a joint collaborative process, taking into account the opinions of different groups in society and embodying democratic principles.

1. Many minority school teachers in almost all countries included in this study believe that the official curriculum is unfair towards their group and contains ethnic prejudices. **In countries with a unified national curriculum, to facilitate interethnic trust and democratic attitudes within the school system and in society, it is necessary to review official curricula dealing with the issues of interethnic relations, particularly history curricula, and to include minority school teachers and students into the process of collaborative curriculum development.** In countries with separate curricula for different ethnic community schools, it is essential to foster informal consultations and collaboration between teachers and students of different ethnic/ linguistic groups when developing curricula for each group.

2. The sense of distrust among students of majority and minority groups, revealed by this study, can be overcome by **increasing the number and size of exchange programmes and other joint activities between majority and minority schools.** Recommendations developed by the Council of Europe Ad Hoc Committee of Experts on Education for Democratic Citizenship and other tools and best practices available internationally can be used to develop the methodology of such exchange programmes and joint activities. The Ministries of Education can provide funding and other support for such joint activities, with Local Educational Authorities and schools as implementing partners.

3. Lack of sense of political empowerment among many minority and majority school teachers and students demonstrates a deficit of democratic attitudes in society. There is a need to enhance the teachers' and students' support for and engagement in democratic forms of co-existence. **In order to enhance democratic practices in schools, it is necessary for national MoEs to adopt the Council of Europe EDC experts' recommendations on Democratic School Governance as an integral part of citizenship education and to embed these principles in national civics curricula.**

4. In Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, students in minority schools face unequal chances to continue education after school. In Tajikistan, covert gender inequality implies that boys are sent to majority schools in order to enable them later to join Universities and to study in Tajik. In Kazakhstan the fact that centralised examinations are only in Kazakh and Russian, means that the students of minority schools have to travel far to take their exam in an unfamiliar environment and in a language different from that of their previous education. **There is a need for policy makers in Tajikistan and Kazakhstan to address these issues and to remove covert obstacles to equal chances of entering higher education for all ethnic groups and both genders.**

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Appendix 1

Note on statistics and methodology

Focus groups

Some of the country teams have conducted focus groups with members of a segregated group to gain more insight into the issues they face in terms of civic enculturation. Country teams were advised on the content and protocol for conducting these focus groups by the Research Committee, which also drafted the survey questionnaires.

Topics of the focus groups included themes on:

1. spatial and symbolic segregation
2. perception of the effect segregation has on their future ability to engage in civic activities and influence political life in their country.

Student and teacher survey

Following the focus groups, a qualitative survey was conducted by the Network of Education Policy Centres in Bosnia, Estonia, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Latvia, Slovakia and Tajikistan. The survey covered a representative sample of ninth form (15 YO) students in majority and minority schools and their teachers. In the case of Kosovo, since very few teachers of Serb schools filled out the questionnaires, the data on Serb school teachers is not representative.

STUDENT SAMPLE:

COUNTRY	Language of Instruction	N
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bosnian	280
	Croatian	350
Estonia	Estonian	433
	Russian	402
Kazakhstan	Kazakh	400
	Uygur	400
	Uzbek	400
Kosovo	Albanian	400
	Serbian	197
Latvia	Latvian	402
	Russian	501
Slovakia	Slovak	305
	Hungarian	345
Tajikistan	Tajik	380
	Uzbek	180

TEACHER SAMPLE

COUNTRY	Language of Instruction	N
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bosnian	105
	Croatian	95
Estonia	Estonian	144
	Russian	108
Kazakhstan	Kazakh	100
	Uyгур	100
	Uzbek	100
Kosovo	Albanian	88
	Serbian	6
Latvia	Latvian	183
	Russian	126
Slovakia	Slovak	98
	Hungarian	129
Tajikistan	Tajik	107
	Uzbek	49

Appendix 2

Supplementary charts

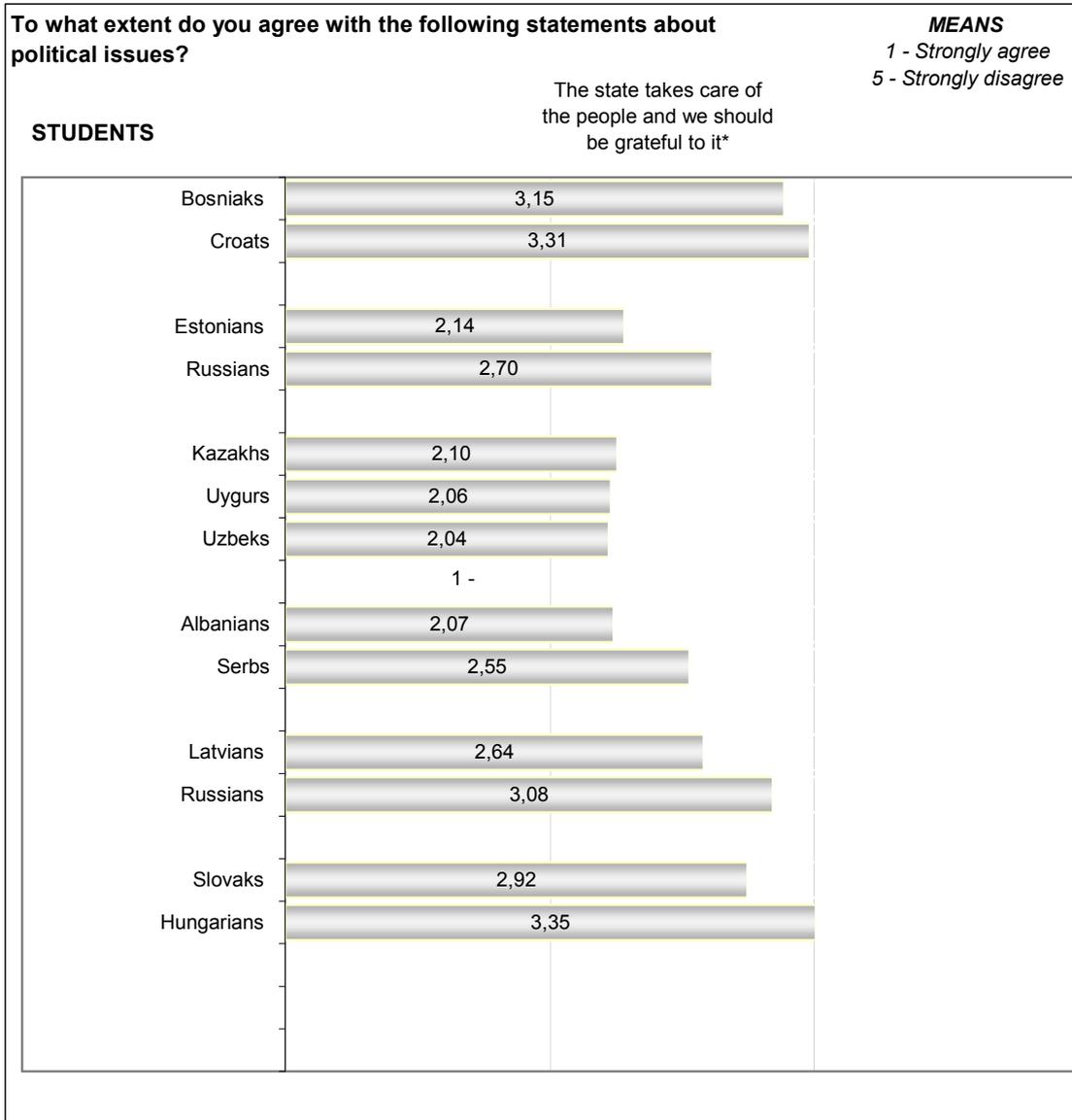


Figure3.2 *Acceptance of the paternalistic role of the state among students of majority and minority schools (mean, where 1= maximum acceptance and 5=maximum rejection).*

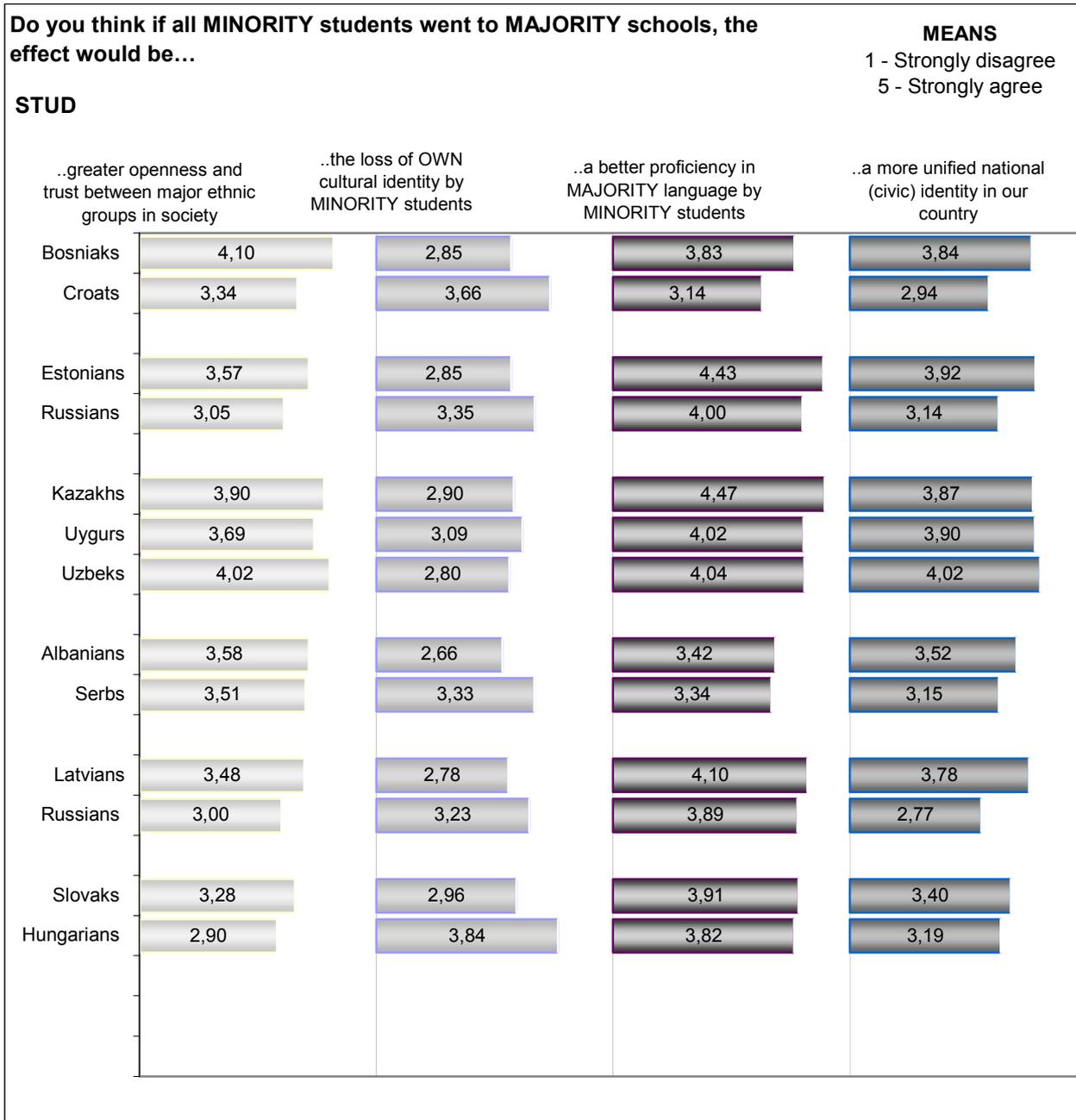


Figure 4.6 Students' opinions concerning the possible outcomes of joint schooling for majority and minority.

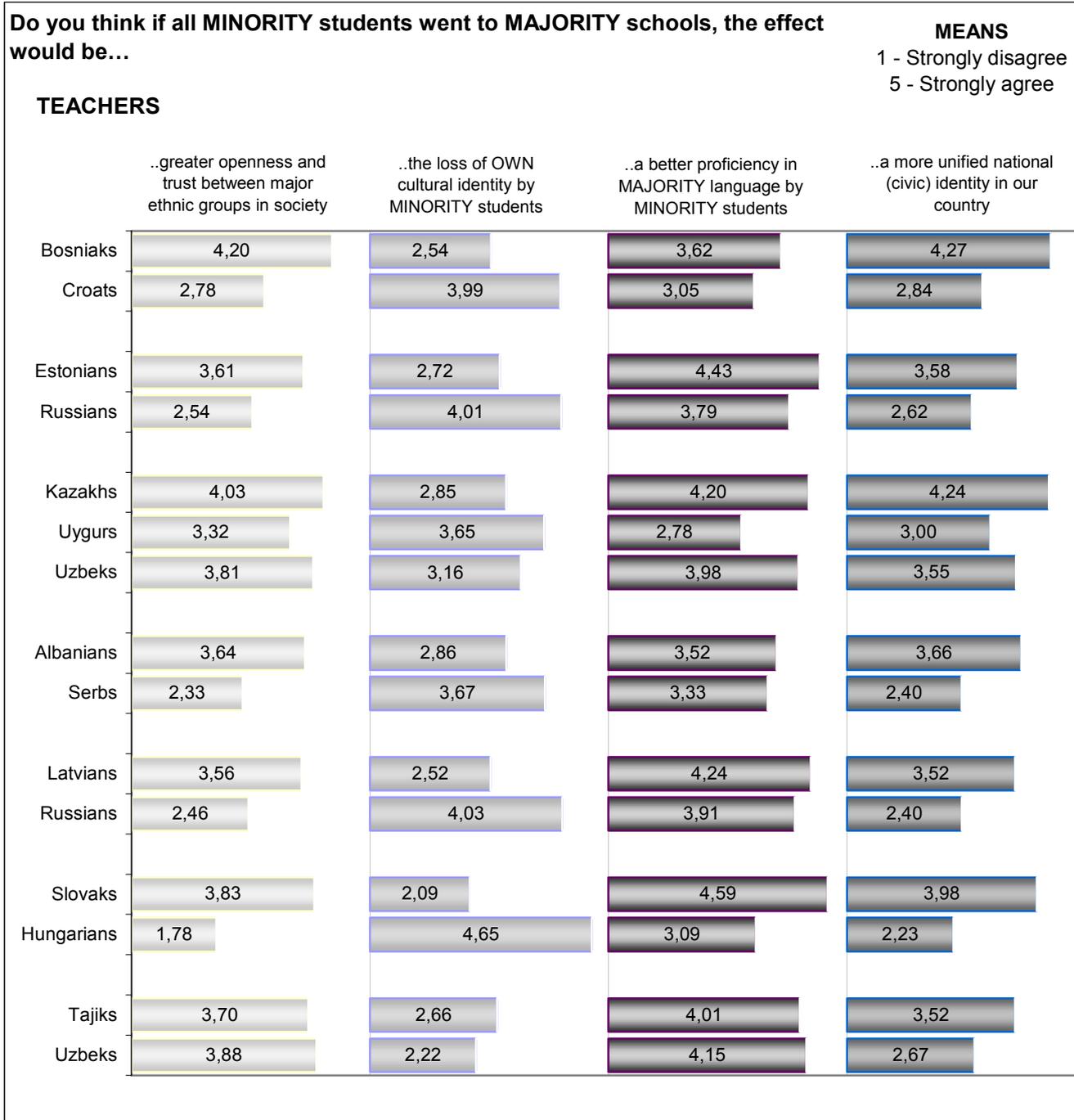


Figure 4.7 Teachers' opinions concerning the possible outcomes of joint schooling for majority and minority

The representation of MINORITY and MAJORITY group in History textbooks we use at school is balanced and fair Answer: AGREE (%)

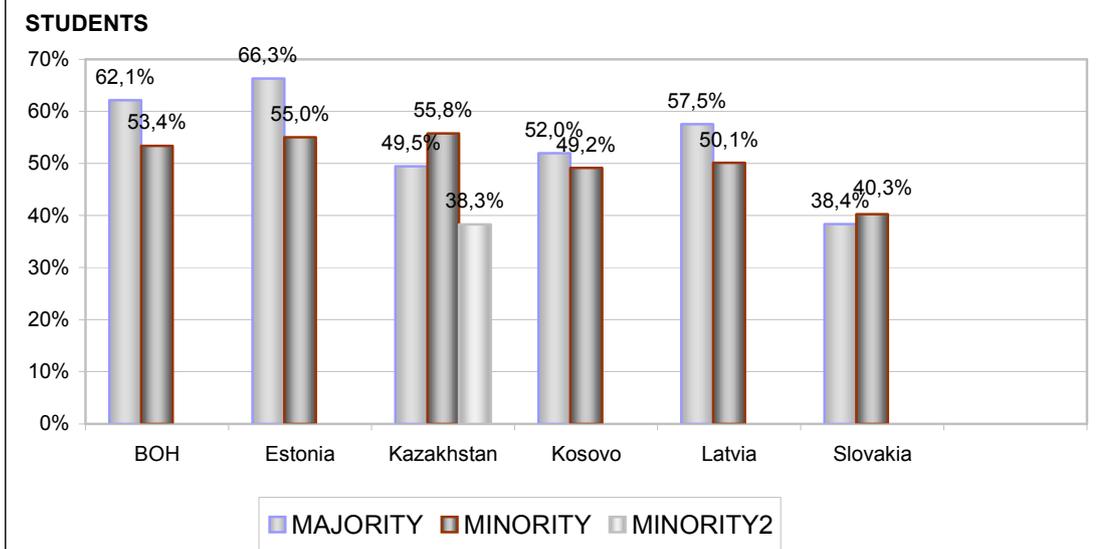


Figure 5.5 Students' perceptions of the fairness/ unfairness of history curriculum