Diversity Barometer – Education for the French Community

Executive summary

The increasing diversity of our contemporary society poses considerable challenges for actors involved in schools. The importance of these challenges is only heightened by the fact that discrimination towards the populations concerned based on the various discrimination criteria (particularly ethnic origin, social origin, sexual orientation, disability and gender) is prohibited by law. Yet, in Belgium, the populations of LGBT students, students from poorer social backgrounds or of foreign origin and students with disabilities are the subject of multiple inequalities and processes of exclusion in the school sector. Inequalities based on gender also remain present in schools. Despite the many efforts that have been made, the Belgian school system has so far been unable to reduce these inequalities.

Objectives

The primary objective of the Diversity Barometer - Education is to examine all of the factors that may have a direct or indirect effect on creating inequality in Belgian schools at the different levels of education (preschool, primary school in secondary school) in order to produce a scientific instrument enabling them to be measured. The aim of this instrument would be to obtain concrete recommendations in order to equip the various actors in education to reduce inequality at school and to contribute to supporting a policy of equal opportunity throughout the entire education system. The added value of the Barometer is found particularly in its scale and its integrated approach: this tool offers a framework that articulates multiple methodologies and levels of analysis intended to offer both a summary of the issues and to identify the limits of current research on equal opportunity and inequality within the school system.

This report describes the Diversity Barometer - Education for the French Community. The studies on which this report is based were carried out by researchers at Germe (Université libre de Bruxelles) in collaboration with two groups of researchers, one attached to the Research Institute for Work and Society (HIVA-KUL), and the other at the Research Centre for Diversity and Learning (Ghent University). These two research teams developed the Diversity Barometer - Education within the Flemish Community. The three research teams collaborated for over a year to develop shared scientific tools that would enable them to assess the diversity and inequality at schools in the educational systems within the French Community and the Flemish Community. Certain adaptations were necessary to take into account the specific nature of these two contexts.

Purpose of the research and angles of approach

The Diversity Barometer is focused on five criteria which are protected by law in Belgium and the government decrees on antidiscrimination issued at the level of the Communities: (1) ethnic origin (2) disability, (3) sexual orientation and (4) social background, (5) and gender (which is approached here as a cross-category dimension). We shall provide a brief definition of these five criteria based on the anti-discrimination regulations, as we have understood them for the purposes of this research.

Ethnic origin here is the general criteria that refers to various so-called 'racial' criteria which legally encompasses nationality, national or ethnic origin, presumed race and skin colour. In this study, this has also been understood as including criteria related to religious or philosophical convictions.

The concept of disability refers to certain individual limitations, whether they be physical, mental, intellectual or sensory, which are lasting and for which various non-adapted contexts may create obstacles for these persons to fully and effectively participate in society.

Social background refers to the economic position of a person, family or group within a hierarchical social structure.

The notion of sexual orientation refers to heterosexuality, homosexuality and bisexuality. Within the context of the Diversity Barometer - Education, the focus is the sexuality of LGBT people at school in general, as confronted with norms and gender stereotypes that encourage heteronormativity and hinder or stigmatise the expression of sexuality by LGBT people.

Gender will be examined principally from a transversal point of view, in terms of combinations with the other criteria.

The use of these discrimination grounds varies in the different parts of this report. In the first part, which consists of a survey of the literature, this use is intended to highlight the way that these criteria are understood within the existing studies and documents. They are handled principally from a sociological point of view and in light of the educational context in the French Community, taking into account the political, legal and social initiatives for each protected criterion. For the rest of this report, the use of the terms depends on the way in which the questions of diversity have been formulated and processed in the other two parts which will be described below.

The Diversity Barometer - Education approaches the questions of diversity within the educational system of the French Community from multiple perspectives: based on **the question of inequality**, according to the **process of direct and indirect forms of discrimination** which contribute to generating or reinforcing these inequalities and finally, based on the management of diversity within the schools.

By inequality at school, here we mean the disparity in the positions within the school system between the different groups of students. These disparities in the positions are created and/or reinforced by the functioning and organisation of the school system and lead to unequal opportunities between the groups of students. Considered here are: inequalities concerning the students' social background, gender, sexual orientation, disability and finally, the ethnic origin of students. For the inequalities concerning ethnic origin, the term used is 'ethno-racial inequalities' in order to cover all of the markers such as skin colour, origin, nationality, religion and language that are associated within a given society with an ethnic and/or racial category which may become a vector for inequalities. The ethno-racial stratification refers to the effect of unequal distribution mechanisms for economic, social, political and symbolic resources between individuals and/or groups according to certain markers, which are associated in a given society with an ethnic and/or racial categorisation[1].

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[1] Safi 2013.

Discrimination is understood here as a process that covers the collectively reduced rights or a differentiated individual treatment based on prejudice concerning one of the protected criteria[2]. In the framework of this study, we differentiate between direct and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination consists in a distinction that results in a person being treated in a less favourable manner than another person in a comparable situation, without any other justification being possible. Indirect discrimination refers to all of the measures that are apparently neutral (regulation, organisational culture, …) which have the effect of creating a disadvantage for people who present one of the discrimination grounds. Here, indirect discrimination can also be a matter of the unconscious behaviour of the actors coming into play, such as stereotypes or prejudice, which lead to a less favourable treatment for groups of students affected by the protected criteria under analysis here.

Literature review: diversity and inequality in education in the French Community

The first part of the report presents a survey of the knowledge concerning issues of diversity and inequality in education in the French Community at the various levels of the mandatory education system (primary and secondary).

Firstly, the analysis of the literature reveals the extent to which political, legal and social initiatives towards the groups of students concerned by the criteria social background, ethnic origin and disability have to do with a school system in which a social mix is not self-evident. However, progress has been made recently towards better integrating a social mix at school, in the case of students who come from disadvantaged backgrounds in socio-economic terms and students with disabilities. Measures and initiatives have also been taken concerning promotion of diversity of the languages and cultures that are present. In the case of the protected criteria of gender and sexual orientation, a promising program, EVRAS, has been ongoing within the educational system for nearly a decade, and we set out to determine the effects of this, as stereotypes in terms of gender and sexual orientation persist.

Secondly, the current knowledge highlights the highly unequal pathway followed by groups of students from less advantaged social backgrounds, as well as students of foreign origin and those with disabilities. Starting from the preschool level, each of these three groups experiences segregative processes which have a cumulative impact on their school careers. The gender dimension has received less attention in research into the school careers in the French Community. The highly gendered choice of programme of studies in education suggests that gender stereotypes persist.

This data was provided by various research centres, despite the limitations in terms of measurement. The review report emphasises the limitations of the administrative databases in terms of the variables available for each of the protected criteria. In order to measure social background, it would be desirable to gather and use individual data based on variables that would attempt to more directly document the social background of the students, such as, for example, the diploma held by the mother, as is the case in the Flemish Community. In order to measure ethnic origin, there has been a neutralisation of ethnic markers in the policies for providing support to disadvantaged schools, including in the measures and criteria for allocation. This trend extends to the regulatory policies on the free choice of schools as nationality and all other ethnic dimensions are not included in the criteria for priority enrolments. In fact, the effects associated with ethnic origin on the school careers, performance and experiences at school for young people form grounds for renewing the

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[2] Maclet 2012.

debate, at least at the level of the indicators in order to better be able to track the evolution over time of the students' careers, beyond the criterion of nationality. Finally, the choice of programme of study would appear to be an important point in the crystallisation of gender inequality, and it would be useful if the administrative databases made available to the researchers would provide information on this variable for secondary education designed to lead to higher education (*l'enseignement secondaire de transition*) and vocational schools (*l'enseignement secondaire de qualification).*

Thirdly, the survey focused on factors and dimensions that could explain this unequal participation and stresses the most decisive causes, specifically those related to the organisation and structures of the education system in the French Community. The 'competitive marketplace of schools' (the '*quasi-marché scolaire')*, the system of early orientation in a waterfall structure and, consequently, the composition of types, forms and school institutions sustains and reinforces social, ethno-racial and disability related inequalities. Our analysis of the literature highlights the functioning of the school system as a competitive marketplace of schools and its effects in terms of creating hierarchical and competitive situations among the schools. Certain empirical studies underscore that this functioning as a competitive marketplace has a decisive impact on the management of the diversity of the students. We have chosen to explore this aspect in greater depth in part 2 of the report, which seeks to assess the management of the diversity of students at the level of schools. The positions of the school institutions within the hierarchy of schools forms an outstanding terrain for investigation and analysis of the qualitative data that has been collected on diversity management by the school institutions.

The third part of the survey also analyses the existing data per protected criterion on the attitudes of the various actors at school, both on the side of the institutional actors and the parents and students. The literature survey revealed the prevalence of certain stereotypes and prejudices among the institutional actors at schools, as well as their highly contrasting attitudes towards their populations, according to social background, ethnic origin and gender. However, much remains unknown with regard to the way in which the actors within the schools position themselves towards their students when these three factors are allowed to interact. This is what we shall analyse in the third part of the report that is focused on the process of orienting students.

Managing diversity at school: the policies, practices and capacities of the school institutions with regard to diversity

The Diversity Barometer - Education seeks to map the way that diversity is managed by primary and secondary schools. On account of the freedom of education, which legally grants tremendous freedom of action in the way diversity is managed within school institutions, it is truly necessary to analyse the management at this level.

This analysis focuses on three dimensions: the policies, practices and means for managing diversity in schools. Firstly, it explores the policies implemented by schools in order to manage diversity in general and the diversity of the school target groups according to the various protected criteria under analysis, which are social background, ethnic origin, disability, sexual orientation and gender (the latter being studied transversely). The concept of 'policies' that we apply here is different from the initiatives and legal, political and social frameworks of the French Community that we have discussed in the literature review. Here, rather it is the policies applied by schools, as defined and established by the school directors at the level of the school institutions. We demonstrate the extent to which these policies are shaped by the functioning of the school system as a competitive marketplace of schools, which contributes to generating a hierarchically structured, competitive and segregative situation between schools. Secondly, by 'practices regarding diversity' we identify both formal and informal practices that are implemented for the day-to-day management of a diverse population of students. We are particularly interested in classroom practices. These are practices related to diversity that form part of the framework of the pedagogical and didactic goals of the school but also practices that encourage cohabitation within the school in a context of diversity. Thirdly, with regard to the means and capacities of schools in the area of diversity, we focus on the way the institutional actors at school assess the school context in which they work.

The study of diversity management in schools was carried out by means of a mixed methodological approach (qualitative and quantitative) involving three phases of data collection:

(1) an exploratory qualitative phase in order to target and refine the formulation of hypotheses and lines of questioning for the quantitative phase;

(2) a quantitative phase based on a questionnaire within a representative sampling of schools for primary and secondary education;

(3) a qualitative phase aimed at a more in-depth analysis of the results obtained during the previous two phases. We shall present this for each of these parts, in turn. In this summary, we shall present the methodology and the key results for each of the phases.

The chief results of the survey on diversity management in schools in the French Community are as follows.

At the primary and secondary level, the proportion of respondents who strongly agreed with the statements affirming that their school applies a policy on diversity is particularly high, and this applies for the majority of the protected criteria under analysis (with the exception of the protected criterion of ethnic origin for which this is less the case). However, it should be pointed out that in secondary education, the opinions differ between the teachers and the directors on certain items concerning the policy and means with regard to diversity. In fact, the teachers were relatively less inclined to support certain statements than the directors, with regard to the diversity policy. A tendency to respond positively, or even very positively was also found among the teachers at the primary and secondary levels when questioned on their diversity practices in the classroom or on

their comfort level with discussing sensitive subjects, with the exception of the protected criterion of sexual orientation, for which the respondents were less affirmative.

It is also worthwhile to highlight the difference in terms of complaints procedure between the primary and secondary school level. There were relatively few respondents in primary schools reporting that such a procedure would be used, compared to in secondary schools.

For the protected criterion of sexual orientation, we found that, in primary education, there was an effect in terms of the school network. In the subsidised free schools mainly organised by an organisation affiliated to the Catholic church (*enseignement libre confessionnel*) at the primary level, there was relatively less agreement with statements concerning a policy on diversity in the area of sexual orientation. This effect according to the network was not found in secondary education. In addition, also in terms of sexual orientation, we found that the responses of the actors, including of teachers particularly, were less affirmative regarding statements on concrete measures such as documents provided to parents (communication to all types of families, including families with same-sex parents).

With regard to the protected criterion of social background, the aspects of the data and analysis identified in the literature review and in the experts' seminar indicated that the diversity management applied depended on the position of the schools within the hierarchy of schools. Earlier research on the structuring of the educational field and competitive and hierarchical situations between secondary school institutions measures the position of schools based on their socio-economic index (SEI), as well as according to their structure in terms of channels (*Transition/Transition* [more academic] and *Qualification/Qualification* [vocational]). Following these analyses, we arrived at the hypothesis that diversity management was influenced by the SEI of the schools and/or their structure and/or the proportion of students of foreign nationality. In primary education, we found effects of SEI strata. For example, there is relatively less of an equal opportunity policy in schools with a high SEI than in schools with a low SEI. In secondary education, there is a compositional effect, specifically that, the more non-Belgians in the staff, the more effort that is made to find out about the socio-economic situation of the students.

With regard to diversity management in terms of disability, we found that the statements were less affirmed when they had to do with concrete measures such as reasonable accommodations. In secondary schools, teachers were relatively less likely than directors to support statements concerning teaching students with disabilities and/or reasonable accommodations. We also found an effect of SEI strata and structures at the level of secondary education. The actors in the schools with low SEI were relatively less likely to support statements affirming the existence of measures in their schools for diversity management in terms of disability. The teachers for vocational schools were relatively less positive about statements concerning the education of students with disabilities in their schools.

For the criterion of ethnic origin, both in primary and secondary schools, the respondents were highly positive regarding the ban on visible religious symbols in school. Both in primary and secondary school, we observed an effect between the different networks and SEI strata: there are relatively few bans in the free public (essentially Catholic) schools and relatively few bans in schools with a higher SEI. In linguistic matters, the respondents are strict regarding the use of French in their schools, whether in class or during school breaks. However, a compositional effect and SEI strata come into play. The degree of strictness rises relatively when the proportion of students of foreign nationality is larger. There is relatively less importance given to the use of French at school by multilingual students in the more advantaged schools. At both the primary and secondary school levels, respondents appear to make little use of translations, interpreters, or the diverse language skills of the staff in the contact with non-French-speaking parents. In both primary and secondary

schools, there is a compositional effect (in terms of population of foreign nationality) which tends to indicate that more measures are taken for linguistic diversity when the foreign population is larger.

In terms of interactions with parents of foreign origin, in primary schools, we found compositional effects which tend to indicate that the respondents from schools with a larger ratio of foreign students are more favourable to this type of interaction. With regard to secondary schools, there is a structural effect whereby there is a more positive view of interactions with parents from an immigration background in vocational schools.

With regard to gender, a compositional effect was rarely observed. However, it should be noted that the more boys there are in the school, the less teachers tend to agree with measures for increased coeducation in terms of gender.

With regard to managing diversity, our review of the literature highlighted the analysis of certain surveys in the field demonstrating that the competitive marketplace of schools had an impact on the management of diversity by schools, specifically with regard to the social background and ethnic origin. This was also repeatedly emphasised in the qualitative phases of the research. The positions of the school institutions within the hierarchy of schools formed a particularly useful angle from which to investigate and analyse the data collected on diversity management in schools. At the primary and secondary level, we measured the effects of the SEI strata and the composition of schools (in terms of the proportion of students of foreign nationality). At the level of secondary education, we also measured the effects of structure. These analyses enable us to emphasise that the management of diversity by institutional actors at school is partially determined by the position of the schools within the hierarchal and competitive situations which are created through the functioning of our educational system. This analysis indicates that not all the schools are dealing with the same target group and that some of them specialise in the management of specific populations. The application of a study combining the qualitative and quantitative approach indicates that those schools occupying more disadvantaged positions within the competitive marketplace of schools respond to the specific needs of their target groups, specifically students of foreign origin and students with a disadvantaged social background.

The survey of the literature indicated that no studies have been made on the issues of the competitive marketplace of schools in terms of the positioning of the schools towards students with disabilities, and LGBT students. In the area of disability, we were able to demonstrate that in secondary schools, the actors and schools which hold more disadvantaged positions within the competitive marketplace of schools are relatively less favourable in terms of statements about reasonable accommodations and integration of students with disabilities. Such results would tend to support the hypothesis that schools that are already inclined to specialise in the management of groups of students concerned by protected criteria aside from disability feel less in a position to meet the needs of this type of target audience.

With regard to gender, a qualitative study also indicated the effects of the competitive marketplace of schools for this criterion[3], showing that certain institutions are specialised in coeducation, even developing a policy for the emancipation of girls. In our analyses, we observed that there is less support for social mix in terms of gender among teachers when the proportion of boys is large within the school. The more boys there are, the less the respondents indicated they agreed with statements promoting coeducation in terms of gender. However, on this subject, certain questions remain unanswered: to what extent do certain schools freely choose to favour one group rather than another, or parity between the two groups? Should one conclude that there is a compositional effect in terms of gender, or rather a deliberate choice on the part of the school?

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[3] Lenel 2011.

While the quantitative research emphasised the effects of the structures, this does not fully enable the tensions felt by the educational staff regarding diversity management to be taken into account. The qualitative phases carried out highlighted the extent to which the diversity practices are much more 'fluid' than can be indicated by answers to a questionnaire and suggest that the institutional actors are not the reflection of the structures, but are also individuals who 'improvise' with regard to diversity. Qualitative studies would therefore be useful in order to perform a more in-depth analysis of the arrangements and local situation in terms of diversity management[4].

We conclude by re-emphasising the difficulty of investigating questions of diversity at school in the French Community. These difficulties primarily have to do with the fact that 'diversity' or 'coeducation' is far from self-evident in French-speaking Belgium. The fact that diversity management tends to be for the most part segregative, as well as the functioning of the educational field as a competitive marketplace of schools, means that a subject of this type is no simple matter. There therefore needs to be awareness raising, so that the reforms in terms of more inclusive measures will be accepted and implemented by the actors at schools, including both the educational staff and the parents.

Orientation in secondary education: policies, practices and justification for the orientation

In a third part, this Diversity Barometer - Education will provide a more in-depth exploration of the orientation of students, particularly in order to better understand how students from weaker socio-economic backgrounds and students of foreign origin are oriented towards different educational tracks. Although the Pact for Educational Excellence (*Pacte pour un Enseignement d'excellence*) is intended to reduce this by creating a common programme of studies for all students up until the age of 15, in the years to come[5], secondary education in Belgium remains characterised by a system of early tracking with a 'waterfall' structure, ranging from types of schools that are more academic (programmes designed to lead to higher education, the '*enseignement de transition'*), to types of schools that are more trade-oriented (vocational schools, the *enseignement de qualification*). The orientation is therefore a point at which the inequalities in the French Community are crystallised. The third part of this report examines the orientation process at the level of secondary education. This part consists of two phases spread over time.

Initially, the policies and practices for orientation applied by secondary educational institutions were studied. The analysis of the policies and practices for orientation applied by different schools centres chiefly around their policies for awarding certificates. We thus performed an in-depth analysis of databases of administrative data and we applied and constructed various indicators to measure the differences between the schools with regard to certification policies.

Then, in order to analyse the orientation policies and practices applied by schools, a survey was conducted within the same sample group of secondary education institutions selected for the survey on diversity management.

In order to carry out the global analysis of the policy for awarding certificates within the education system of the French Community, we used the database of administrative data of the French Community on 'Certificates' which records the number and type of certificate issued for each secondary school institution. We carried out bivariate analyses to assess the weight of different variables on the proportion of 'AOA' A-certificates (passing certificate), 'AOB' B-certificates (passing

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[4] On this subject, see Verhoeven, particularly Verhoeven 2011.
[5] http://www.pactedexcellence.be

certificate with restrictions) and 'AOC' C-certificates (meaning that the student has failed to pass the year and will have to repeat the year) at the end of the fourth and sixth years of secondary school per secondary school institution within the standard school system. Subsequently, we performed multivariate regression analyses. These different analyses aimed to shed light on the factors influencing the allocation of the three types of certificates in secondary schools in the French Community. We selected and established a series of variables[6] in order to attempt to explain the proportion of AOA, AOB, AOC certificates per secondary school institution. The variables selected were: the school network (the two main networks being the 'free public' - essentially Catholic - network and the state-administered, nondenominational network); the programmes of study; the size of the institution; the evolution of the size of the school; the ratio between the number of students in years three and four and in years one and two of secondary school, and the ratio between the number of students in years five and six and years three and four; the proportion of students lagging behind in the normal progression of school years; the evolution of the proportion of students lagging behind in the normal progression of school years; the proportion of students from areas with a high SEI (1st quintile, 20% highest) at the school; the evolution of the proportion of students from areas with a high SEI (comparison 2013-2014 in relation to 2006-2007); the proportion of female students; the rate of diversity based on nationalities present at the school (Herfindahl index) and the evolution of the diversity based on the Herfindahl index (comparison 2013-2014 in relation to 2006-2007).

Based on these various indicators, we were able to perform analyses that allowed us to identify certain factors that influence the policy of awarding certificates applied by educational institutions in the French Community. We thus demonstrated that there is an effect in terms of the network variable. In the State schools administered at the provincial level, fewer AOB certificates were issued than in the other networks. On the other hand, the schools from the 'free public' (Catholic) network have a greater tendency, as compared to the other networks, to award AOB certificates. Relatively fewer AOB certificates are awarded in schools that offer only vocational programmes, all other factors being equal. Another clear effect is that of the position of the school in the competitive situation between the schools that occurs on account of attrition practices: schools that experience a significant reduction in the number of students in the fifth and six years of secondary education in relation to the third and fourth years are more likely to award AOB certificates. Finally, all other factors being equal, when there is a significant reduction of the proportion of students from the most advantaged backgrounds at a school, the rate of awarding AOB certificates is higher.

With regard to the awarding of AOC certificates: (1) the proportion of students from a more advantaged social background tends to reduce the proportion of AOC certificates, all other factors being equal; (2) on the other hand, the proportion of students lagging behind the normal progression of school years tends to increase the number of AOC certificates: the more students with delays, the more AOC certificates are awarded; (3) the type of network also has an effect: the fewest AOC certificates are granted in the independent and 'free public' schools; (4) the programmes of study offered also has an effect: there are relatively few AOC certificates in vocational schools as opposed to schools designed to lead to higher education; (5) although we have not been able to establish such a link in the case of AOB certificates, an increase in the rate of diversity according to the Herfindahl index (the school year 2013-2014 compared to the year 2006-2007), all other factors being equal, is associated with a higher rate of AOC certificates being awarded. The ratio between the third and fourth years and the first and second years also has an effect on the rate of awarding AOC certificates. Schools with a greater influx of students in the third and fourth years award more AOC certificates. The same is seen with regard to the ratio between the fifth and sixth years and the third and fourth years. Schools with a greater influx of students in the fifth and six years award more AOC certificates.

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[6] For additional details on the construction of these different variables, please see the technical reports.

The results of the multivariate regression analyses for the AOA certificates (passing) logically confirm a series of trends observed for the AOB certificates (passing with restrictions) and for the AOC certificates (failed). The programme of study that is offered has a clear effect: fewer AOA certificates are issued in the programmes of study designed to lead to higher education than in the vocational programmes or in schools in which both programmes of study are offered. The network also has effects, fewer AOA certificates are awarded in the State-administered network. The size of the school has a significant effect. The larger the size of the school, the fewer AOA certificates are awarded. In schools in which the proportion of students from the most advantaged backgrounds is high, more AOA certificates are issued as well. Moreover, the schools that experienced an increase in students from the most advantaged backgrounds between 2006 and 2013 award more AOA certificates. In schools with a larger proportion of students with a delay in the school-year progression, fewer AOA certificates are awarded. In schools in which the diversity in terms of nationality is significant, fewer AOA certificates are awarded. The ratio between the third and fourth years and the first and second years also has an effect on the awarding of AOA certificates. Schools with a larger influx of students in the third and fourth years issue more AOA certificates. There is also an impact seen in the ratio between the fifth and six years and the third and fourth years (schools with an influx of students award more AOA certificates). Naturally, what we are observing here is the expression of processes of selection and attrition.

In a second phase, we analysed the policies on evaluation, remediation and orientation applied by schools, as well as the practices for deliberation applied by the teachers adjudicating in committee (the *'conseils de classes'*). Our hypothesis was that these were related to the socio-economic characteristics of the students and therefore to the SEI strata of the schools, but also related to the structure of the schools and their size (number of students in the school). We therefore carried out a series of multivariate analyses to measure the effects of the SEI strata, the size and the structures. We also took into account the composition effect in terms of the proportion of students for a nationality, the effect of the region and the effect of the network.

We also found effects of social desirability. Among the respondents, there was a strong tendency to agree with statements emphasising the most objective criteria and the most academic criteria in terms of evaluation, remediation and orientation. Conversely, there was less agreement with positions regarding statements emphasising decision making on the basis of reasoning specific to the school institutions, such as a marketplace-based approach or associated with the reputation of the school. However, we found effects of the structures and composition in terms of the policies on remediation; and effects of the structure in terms of deliberation practices. With regard to remediation policies, in vocational schools, greater use is made of assigning extra work during the summer holiday. In schools with a high proportion of non-Belgians, there appears to be a particularly proactive stance towards students with difficulties. With regard to deliberations, there are also effects in terms of structure. In vocational schools, there is a greater likelihood that supporting the reputation of the school influences decisions taken by the teachers adjudicating as a committee.

In a second phase, this part of this report studies the differences between the teachers in terms of awarding AOA, AOB, or AOC certificates. More specifically, we studied the way different actors in schools motivate their practices. There are many unknowns regarding the different reasons underlying the practices of orienting students in school, particularly with regard to the way in which the protected criteria of ethnic origin, social background and gender interact and influence the process of awarding AOA, AOB, or AOC certificates by teachers adjudicating as a committee in secondary schools. We conclude our analysis of orientation and diversity with a consideration of these effects of interaction between the various protected criteria of gender, social background and ethnic origin in the context of teachers adjudicating as a committee. Based on experiments using the technique of vignettes, we attempted to explore how social background, ethnic origin and gender

interact and influence the justifications applied by teachers in the process of the orientation of students. To analyse the significance of the reasoning justifying the decisions taken by the teachers adjudicating as a committee according to gender, social or ethnic background of the student described in the different vignettes, we performed a series of variance analyses.

Our analyses demonstrated numerous effects related to social background, ethnic origin and gender, as well as certain effects of their interaction. Thus, with regard to students with a more advantaged social background, teachers rely on reasoning that expresses their high academic expectations and their demands. Conversely, towards students from a more disadvantaged social background, they tend to use justifications for reorientation that expressed their less positive images of the family environment of the students. These results are in line with the literature that shows that the images held by teachers have to do with the social group, which can have an unfavourable effect towards students from disadvantaged social backgrounds: their prejudices can lead teachers to fail to give support or remediation to students from disadvantaged backgrounds, as they imagine that the students' families will not be able to successfully support their attempts to help[7].

Our analyses also highlighted the effects related to ethnic origin. Thus, teachers justified their awarding of AOA certificates according to the family environment for students of Belgian origin, which is not the case when the students are of foreign origin. Teachers tend to use more arguments on the grounds of personal choice for students of foreign origin, than for students of Belgian origin. In vocational schools, they also justify reorienting students of foreign origin with arguments related to preserving the reputation of the school.

Our analyses highlighted effects of gender that are also in line with the literature. Towards students from less advantaged social backgrounds, teachers in vocational schools are more inclined to use arguments on the grounds of personal choice for boys.

Finally, our analyses also revealed effects of interaction. Teachers justify having students repeat a year on the basis of arguments that expressed their desire to keep the students in the school, if they are students from more advantaged social backgrounds and particularly if they are students of foreign origin.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we would like to emphasise the difficulties in investigating questions of diversity and orientation at school according to the criteria of the antidiscrimination laws in the French Community. These challenges have to do with both a lack of a tradition in gathering data suitable for this purpose, with certain tendencies that are a legacy of the largely segregated approach to handling diversity, as well as an education sector that functions to a large extent as a competitive marketplace of schools and the system of early tracking and the accompanying 'waterfall' effect or attrition. We hope that this study has clearly demonstrated the need to work to reverse these segregative school structures and that it will inspire new ways of envisioning and managing diversity at school in the future.

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[7] André 2012; Houssonloge 2013.