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Joel Austin Windle

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Ethnicity and Educational Inequality: An
Investigation of School Experience in Australia and
France

Ethnicité et inégalité scolaire : une enquête sur
l'expérience lycéenne en Australie et en France

Joel Austin Windle

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Faculty of Education,
University of Melbourne, Australia
and
Institut de Recherche sur l'Education (IREDU),
Université de Bourgogne, France

Abstract

This thesis examines the contribution of 'ethnic' background to the school experiences of educationally and socially disadvantaged students in the senior years of high school (n=927). To investigate the role both of ethnic identification and its interplay with institutional factors, a comparative analysis of secondary student experiences in two national settings was undertaken. The case of Turkish-background students in Australia and France suggests that the influences of ethnic identity are thoroughly transformed from one setting to the other by distinctive pedagogical structures. Streaming and severe academic judgement in France lower academic self-esteem, while creating resentment and social distance between students and teachers. By contrast, the deferral of selection and judgement in Australia allows, temporarily, for a more convivial classroom atmosphere, but fails just as surely to successfully navigate students through the curriculum and achieve academic success. The accommodations of both systems to students in 'peripheral' locations constitute logics of marginal integration which enable and legitimise 'exclusion from within'. Student efforts to make meaning of school life through peer cultures which share many similarities across institutional and national boundaries emerge as what I have called strategies of marginal integration. Ethnic-minority students appear to be particularly susceptible to those logics and strategies, which reinforce their position within the system as marginal. This study therefore identifies the difficulties facing both systems as emerging from common overarching structural qualities.

Résumé

Cette thèse examine, au niveau lycée, la contribution de l'origine ethnique aux expériences scolaires d'élèves désavantagés (N=927). Elle a pour objectif d'étudier les rapports entre inégalité sociale, expérience scolaire, et structure institutionnelle. Afin d'enquêter sur le rôle de l'identification ethnique et sa relation aux facteurs institutionnels, une analyse comparative a été menée dans deux pays. L'étude du cas des élèves d'origine turque en France et en Australie indique que les influences de l'ethnicité sont transformées d'un contexte à l'autre par des structures pédagogiques distinctives. En France, les filières et les jugements académiques sévères en réduisent l'estime de soi, en créant de l'aliénation et de la distance sociale entre élève et professeur. En Australie, au contraire, le différenciel de la sélection et du jugement permet, de façon temporaire, une atmosphère plus conviviale en cours, mais ne réussit pas à assurer le succès académique des élèves. Les efforts des deux systèmes dans les sites périphériques constituent des logiques d'intégration marginales qui permettent l'exclusion de l'intérieure. Les efforts des élèves pour donner un sens à la vie scolaire à travers des cultures de pairs qui se ressemblent dans les deux contextes font partie des stratégies d'intégration marginale. Les élèves d'origine immigrée semblent particulièrement concernés par ces logiques et stratégies, qui renforcent leur position subordonnée dans le système. L'étude identifie alors les difficultés auxquelles sont confrontés les deux systèmes comme résultant de caractéristiques structurelles.

Declaration

This is to certify that

the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD

(ii) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,

(iii) the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

Joel Windle

Examination Panel/Membres du jury

Professor Françoise Lorcerie

Associate Professor David Beckett (also representing Dr. Ruth Lupton)

Professor Marie Duru-Bellat

Professor Richard Teese

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Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract.....	i
Declaration.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of contents.....	iv
List of tables and figures.....	v
Summary in French.....	viii
Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2. Inequalities in the context of 'massified' systems.....	11
Chapter 3. Research methods and settings.....	33
Part 1 : Australia	
Chapter 4. Turkish migrants in Australia.....	56
Chapter 5. The education of Turkish-background students in Australia	71
Chapter 6. Aspirations and pathways in Australia.....	88
Chapter 7. Managing schoolwork in Australia.....	129
Chapter 8. Social and pedagogical relationships in Australia.....	177
Part 2: France	
Chapter 9. Turkish migrants in France.....	216
Chapter 10. The education of Turkish-background students in France.	233
Chapter 11. Aspirations and pathways in France.....	247
Chapter 12. Managing schoolwork in France.....	281
Chapter 13. Social and pedagogical relationships in France.....	326
Part 3: Schooling in comparison	
Chapter 14. Dreams and disillusionment: cultural logics of meritocracy	358
Chapter 15. Conclusion.....	380
Bibliography.....	388
Appendix 1. Glossary of terms.....	406
Appendix 2. Additional tables and figures.....	408
Appendix 3. Questionnaires and interview schedules.....	412

List of Tables

Table	Page
1.1 French and Victorian education systems compared	6
2.1 Summary of class 'styles' identified by Lareau	18
3.1 Occupational status by ethnic background (Australia)	38
3.2 Ethnic composition of schools (Australian sample)	40
3.3 Socio-economic composition of schools (Australian sample)	40
3.4 Occupational status by ethnic background (France)	42
3.5 Ethnic composition of schools (French sample)	44
3.6 Socio-economic composition of schools (French sample)	44
3.7 Teachers interviewed by school	47
3.8 Students interviewed by school	48
3.9 Parents' country of birth (Arabic/Berber speakers) in French sample	53
3.10 Parents' country of birth (Arabic/Berber speakers) in Australian sample	53
3.11 Country of birth by background (Australia)	54
3.12 Country of birth by background (France)	54
4.1 Occupational status of parents of the second-generation by country of birth	59
4.2 Employment status of parents of second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' birthplace	60
4.3 Unemployment rates of the second generation by age and ancestry	61
4.4 Broadmeadows ethnic Profile, 2001 Census	63
5.1 Enrolment in education of 2 nd generation by age and parents' birthplace for Melbourne statistical division	76
5.2 Highest level of qualification by parents' birthplace for Melbourne statistical division	77
5.3 Completion of year 12 for second generation aged 20-24 (%) by weekly household income (Melbourne statistical division, 2001)	78
6.1 Popularity of selected occupations by gender	97
6.2 Year 12 completers in university or TAFE/VET study: course of study by gender	98
6.3 Popularity of selected occupations by socio-economic status	99
6.4 Popularity of selected occupations by ethnic background	101

Table	Page
6.5 Help received from various sources with planning VCE and career by ethnic background	106
6.6 Social contact with people in aspired to occupational field	108
6.7 Plans beyond school by gender	109
6.8 Plans of students in year 11 by ethnic background	109
6.9 Likelihood of students planning to attend university	111
6.10 Mother's highest educational level by ethnic background	113
6.11 Father's highest educational level by ethnic background	113
6.12 Likelihood of planning to attend university by ethnicity and parents' education	114
6.13 Motivation for subject choice by post-school plans	122
6.14 Destinations of school leavers by school for the year of the sample	125
7.1 Responses to the proposition "I don't see much use in schoolwork" by gender	155
7.2 Likelihood of expecting good results or better (percentage probabilities)	162
7.3 Study habits by ethnic background and gender	168
7.4 Likelihood of keeping up to date with homework (percentage probabilities shown)	169
8.1 Agreement with the proposition 'at my school, teachers and students respect each other'	203
8.2 Agreement with the proposition 'At my school, everyone gets a fair go'	203
8.3 Student participation in the classroom (likelihood of responding 'often' or 'all the time') (percentage probabilities shown)	207
8.4 Who girls feel most comfortable working with in small groups by ethnic background	208
9.1 Immigrant generations according to origin (%) (individuals aged 18 and above)	219
9.2 Demographic profile of the first generation by country of birth	220
9.3 Employment by nationality in Alsace in percentiles	221
9.4 Oppositions in the debate over the hijab	227
10.1 Evolution of unemployment rates for those in the labour market aged under 25 by level of qualification (percentages)	234
10.2 Unemployment Rate according To the Level of Education and by Generation and Origin, France, 1999 (In % for those aged 18-40)	235

Table	Page
10.3 Students graduating in 2002 by stream and social origin (per cent)	240
10.4 Educational achievement of the second generation aged 18 and above by gender and background (percentages)	241
11.1 Popularity of selected occupations by gender (first and second options combined, percentages shown)	262
11.2 Popularity of selected occupations by diploma (first and second options combined, percentages shown)	265
11.3 Distribution of students into <i>sections</i> by ethnicity (percentages)	268
11.4 Parents' highest level of education by ethnic background	273
11.5 Help received from various sources with planning academic and career pathways (percentages)	273
11.6 Social contact with people in aspired to occupational field	275
11.7 Plans after current course of study by <i>section</i> (percentages)	277
11.8 Plans after BEP by ethnic background (percentages)	279
11.9 Plans after <i>baccalauréat général</i> or <i>technologique</i> by ethnic background (percentages)	280
12.1 Frequency of novel reading outside of school requirements	294
12.2 Expected results by <i>section</i> (percentages)	309
12.3 Help received from parents with homework	312
12.4 Help received from siblings with homework	312
12.5 Likelihood of keeping up with homework (percentage probabilities)	317
13.1 Who students prefer working with in groups by gender	352
14.1 Proportion of students planning on attending university	360
14.2 Proportion of students expecting 'good' or 'very good' results by gender, nation and ethnicity (percentages)	366
14.3 Agreement with the proposition 'in France/Australia, everyone is respected regardless of race or religion'	368
14.4 Proportion of students who agree 'discipline is fair and consistent'	369
14.5 Proportion of students who feel at home at school	372

List of Figures

Figure	Page
2.1 The production of inequalities (social domination) through schooling	15
3.1 Age progression through Victorian and French systems	37
3.2 Distribution of students by participation in vocational training (Australia)	37
3.3 Distribution of students by diploma prepared (France)	42
4.1 "The Prohibited Chow Pest"	57
4.2 Migration patterns for Turkish Born in Victoria	64
4.3 Age distribution of the second generation in Australia (parents or father born in Turkey) aged 0-14 years	64
5.1 Tertiary Entry Ranks for Turkish and non-Turkish-background students attending state schools	79
5.2 Tertiary Entry Ranks of Turkish-background students by gender	82
5.3 Post-school destinations of high school graduates by socio-economic status, Victoria 2005	83
5.4 English Study Scores (out of 50) for Selected Language Backgrounds (students receiving government assistance)	84
6.1 School median study score out of 50	95
6.2 Popularity of selected occupations by ethnic background	101
6.3 Occupations hoped for by parents by ethnic background	104
6.4 Enrolment in sciences by occupational aspiration (percentages)	116
6.5 Enrolment in mathematical methods by ethnic background and gender (percentages)	117
6.6 Enrolment in Mathematical Methods by school (percentages)	118
6.7 Participation in VET by background and gender	119
6.8 Participation in VET by school (percentages)	120
6.9 Motivation for subject choice	121
6.10 Motivation for subject choice by post-school plans	123
6.11 Plans of students in year 11 and total post-school destinations	124
6.12 Destinations of school leavers by various background characteristics	126
7.1 Use of a language other than English with parents	133
7.2 Use of a language other than English with relatives and family friends	133

Figure	Page
7.3 Use of a language other than English with siblings by background	133
7.4 Use of a language other than English with friends/classmates by background	133
7.5 Use of a language other than English to discuss schoolwork by background	133
7.6 Use of a language other than English for reading and writing by background	133
7.7 Proportion of students who read novels outside of schoolwork	135
7.8 Coping with English by Ethnic Background	142
7.9 Difficulty with tasks in English by gender	143
7.10 Difficulty with tasks in English by ethnic background	144
7.11 Proportion of students who find various types of examination question 'easy'	145
7.12 Coping with mathematics by ethnic background	149
7.13 Coping with English and mathematics and university offers by school	150
7.14 Agreement with the proposition "I don't see much use in schoolwork" by ethnic background	156
7.15 Responses to the proposition 'the most important reason to do well is to make my parents happy' (percentages)	157
7.16 Expected results at the end of the year by gender (percentages)	161
7.17 Percentage of students expecting very good results and median study score by school	164
7.18 Mean expected results (scale of 1-5) by median study score for school	165
7.19 Help received with homework by ethnic background	173
8.1 The good school should give you confidence in your own abilities	180
8.2 Figure 8.2 The good school should help you achieve good academic results (%)	181
8.3 The good school should inform you about careers (%)	181
8.4 The good school should prepare you for further study beyond school (%)	182
8.5 The good school should give you job skills for when you leave school (%)	182
8.6 The good school should teach you to respect and care for others (%)	183

Figure	Page
8.7 The good school should help you form good friendships (%)	183
8.8 Mean satisfaction with school by school	185
8.9 Percentage of students attending their school because of its good reputation	187
8.10 Agreement with the proposition 'men have more freedom and opportunities than women (percentages)	190
8.11 Agreement with the proposition 'I have a lot of friends at my school' (percentages)	191
8.12 Percentage of students who in the schoolyard 'mix with people who mostly share my cultural background'	193
8.13 Percentage of students who in the schoolyard 'mix with people who mostly are the same gender as me'	193
8.14 Percentage of students who in the schoolyard mix with people who mostly 'are family friends'	194
8.15 Girls need to be careful how they act or they will not be respected	200
8.16 Agreement with the proposition 'teachers understand the things that are important to me' by school and gender	204
8.17 Participation of students in camps or excursions organised by the school (percentages)	209
8.18 Agreement with the proposition 'my parents keep in touch with the school and participate in school events' by school (Turkish background students only)	211
8.19 Mean score on domestic help scale by gender and background	212
8.20 Participation in paid employment by gender and ethnic background	213
9.1 Labour migration from Turkey	218
9.2 Turkish residents in Alsace in municipalities with over 5,000 inhabitants	223
10.1 Highest qualification by background (2 nd generation aged 18-40, percentiles)	242
11.1 Motivation for subject choice by <i>section</i> (percentages)	257
11.2 Motivation for subject choice by ethnic background (percentages)	258
11.3 Occupational choices of French and Australian students (percentages)	263
11.4 Percentage contribution of each diploma to 'trades' as an occupation	266
11.5 Percentage contribution of each diploma to the choice of 'clerical/secretarial' occupations	266

Figure	Page
11.6 Under-representation and over-representation of dominant language-background students by stream (percentage deviation from school total)	269
12.1 Use of a language other than English with parents (France)	292
12.2 Use of a language other than English with relatives and family friends (France)	292
12.3 Use of a language other than English with siblings by background (France)	292
12.4 Use of a language other than English with friends/classmates by background (France)	292
12.5 Use of a language other than English to discuss schoolwork by background (France)	292
12.6 Use of a language other than English for reading and writing by background (France)	292
12.7 Coping with French classes by Ethnic Background (percentages)	301
12.8 Coping well or better in French by ethnic background and <i>section</i> (percentages)	302
12.9 Difficulties identifying parts of a text by <i>section</i> and ethnicity (percentages)	303
12.10 Difficulties with explaining parts of a text by <i>section</i> and ethnicity (percentages)	304
12.11 Difficulties with presenting own point of view in an essay by <i>section</i> and ethnicity (percentages)	304
12.12 Difficulty with various tasks in the French classroom by background (percentages)	305
12.13 Coping with mathematics by <i>section</i> and ethnicity (percentages)	306
12.14 Coping 'very well' in French and mathematics by <i>section</i> (percentages)	308
12.15 Agreement with the proposition "I don't see much use in schoolwork" by stream	311
13.1 Responses to the proposition 'the most important reason to do well is to make my parents happy' (percentages)	329
13.2 The good school should give you confidence in your own abilities (%)	331

Figure	Page
13.3 The good school should inform you about careers (%)	331
13.4 The good school should prepare you for further study beyond school (%)	331
13.5 The good school should give you job skills for when you leave school (%)	332
13.6 The good school should help you achieve good academic results (%)	332
13.7 The good school should teach you to respect and care for others (%)	332
13.8 The good school should help you form good friendships (%)	333
13.9 Mean satisfaction with school (scale: 0-7)	334
13.10 Agreement with the proposition 'I have a lot of friends at my school' (percentages)	339
13.11 Percentage of students who in the schoolyard 'mix with people who mostly share my cultural background'	341
13.12 Percentage of students who in the schoolyard mix with people who mostly 'are family friends'	342
13.13 Perceptions of teachers by <i>section</i> (percentages)	345
13.14 Agreement that 'discipline is fair and consistent' by <i>section</i> (percentages)	348
13.15 Proportion of students responding 'all the time' or 'often' by curriculum stream and ethnicity (percentages)	351
13.16 Mean score on domestic help scale by gender and background (scale: 0-15)	354
13.17 Agreement with the proposition 'men have more freedom and opportunities than women' (percentages)	355
13.18 Girls need to be careful how they act or they will not be respected	356
14.1 Mean confidence in study success by nation and ethnicity (scale: 1-5)	365

Summary in French
Résumé détaillé en français

**Ethnicité et inégalité scolaire: une enquête sur l'expérience lycéenne
en Australie et en France**

Malgré ses promesses de démocratisation, l'enseignement secondaire de masse aujourd'hui encore préserve et produit des inégalités sociales (Duru-Bellat, 2002; Teese & Polesel, 2003). Cette thèse cherche à comprendre comment ces inégalités sont vécues par ceux qui les supportent. La question se pose car la façon dont l'école est vécue joue un rôle dans la production et gestion des inégalités, et peut éclairer les liens et dissonances entre identité scolaire et identité sociale. Comprendre l'expérience scolaire dans le contexte des inégalités scolaires demande comme point de départ une bonne appréciation des identités sociales chez les plus désavantagés. La contribution de cette thèse en est une exploration, elle vise plus spécifiquement à savoir comment l'histoire migratoire et l'ethnicité, comme dimensions de l'identité sociale, s'insèrent dans la construction de l'expérience scolaire. Ce processus dépend non seulement des origines individuelles mais aussi de l'offre de formation, des structures scolaires, et de la portée symbolique de l'ethnicité dans les rapports sociaux (Lorcerie, 2003). Voici pourquoi nous avons choisi une approche comparative.

Méthodes

La méthode que nous avons adoptée consiste à enquêter sur l'expérience des élèves vers la fin de leur scolarité au moyen de questionnaires et d'interviews¹. La volonté des politiques de garder de plus en plus d'élèves plus longtemps dans le système éducatif amène de nouvelles populations, et une nouvelle dynamique, dans des structures conçues au départ pour d'autres. Nous avons analysé les interactions avec deux systèmes scolaires (Français et Australien) d'un public populaire et à forte composante d'origine immigrée. Notre démarche est limitée aux élèves scolarisés au niveau 'year 11' (première général et technologique, deuxième de année BEP). Sans

¹ Reproduits en Appendice 3.

doute des processus qui affectent les élèves à cette étape de leur scolarité différent de ceux qui jouent sur les plus jeunes, ou les plus âgés.

Les contextes sociopolitiques sont différents, mais la France et l'Australie partagent des évolutions sociales qui confrontent les établissements d'enseignement secondaires aux mêmes questions de l'adaptation à ces évolutions. Les populations turques en France et en Australie partagent une histoire migratoire, un profil social, et un manque de réussite scolaire chez les deuxièmes générations similaires. Pour cette raison, les enfants issues de l'immigration turque ont été choisis pour mieux isoler les effets uniques de chaque système scolaire ; de même, un échantillon de sites où sont concentrés les lycéens de cette origine a été construit.

L'échantillon comporte huit établissements australiens et quatre établissements français. Les élèves australiens préparent un diplôme unique dans des établissements publics, souvent de petite taille, mais également dans deux établissements 'turcs' privés, dont la présence est un phénomène récent dans les quartiers populaires. Les jeunes en France sont regroupés dans deux établissements professionnels, où ils préparent des BEP, ou alors en classe de première, dans diverses filières proposés par deux établissements généraux et technologiques. Dans la répartition en filières nous retrouvons des divisions importantes selon l'origine migratoire, au-delà même de l'origine sociale. Les élèves d'origine étrangère sont surreprésentés dans les filières les moins « cotées ».

L'échantillon a un profil populaire dans les deux pays, et à part les enfants issus de l'immigration turque, un nombre important d'enfants issus de l'immigration du Maghreb (en France) et du Moyen Orient (en Australie) ont été regroupés dans une catégorie Arabophone pour les analyses. En tout, 40 pourcent de l'échantillon français et 60 pourcent de l'échantillon australien parlent une langue autre que celle enseignée à l'école chez eux. Des difficultés rencontrées dans le recueil de données en France font que la taille de l'échantillon d'enfants issus de l'immigration turque est restreinte, ce qui réduit la possibilité de tirer des conclusions à partir d'une partie de l'analyse quantitative.

Résultats et discussion

Les enfants issus de l'immigration turque à Melbourne, en Australie, tendent à créer des notions « fantaisistes » de leurs futurs (attentes très élevées même chez les plus faibles) et à garder des visions idéalisées de leur exercice du métier d'élève. Ces

idées se développent dans l'absence de d'obstacles aux rêves, et les élèves ont du mal à discerner les signes subtils qui leur permettrait d'évaluer de façon plus réaliste leur niveau objectif. En Australie les élèves bénéficient d'une promotion presque automatique et sont libres de choisir les options qui leur plaisent – du moins en théorie. Ces élèves manquent les ressources en capital culturel et social à partir desquelles ils pourraient construire des attentes et des parcours « réalisables ». Les lycées, pour leur part, sont complices dans ce phénomène, qui impacte moins sur les élèves d'origine populaire et australienne dont les parents ont déjà fait l'expérience, souvent mauvaise, de ce même système. Les professeurs, en cherchant à garder un contact avec des élèves très faibles, réduisent les demandes académiques et renforcent l'importance de l'affectif et de l'effort.

En plus de jouer un rôle dans les aspirations professionnelles et dans l'évaluation de soi, l'ethnicité a une place importante dans le sens donné par élèves et professeurs aux conflits et aux capacités linguistiques. En Australie, les enfants issus de l'immigration turque cherchent ainsi à éviter les matières perçues comme ayant un contenu trop lourd de « langage ».

En France, les élèves issus de l'immigration turque n'ont pas la possibilité de préserver des projets de famille fantaisistes jusqu'au lycée, et doivent au contraire se soumettre à une logique institutionnelle qui rabaissent les attentes par la sélection et la relégation par filière. Ces élèves semblent particulièrement sensibles aux jugements négatifs qui ont très souvent marqué leur parcours. Cette aliénation de l'école est augmentée par un sentiment d'injustice dans le traitement des professeurs et de discrimination dans la société française. Comme en Australie, les garçons sont moins engagés dans le monde scolaire que les filles.

Alors que l'expérience lycéenne des jeunes d'origine turque semble très contrastée dans les deux systèmes, on peut considérer qu'élèves français et australiens sont à des étapes différentes d'un même trajet. Ce trajet pour les australiens se caractérise par le différemment du jugement académique, qui n'est pourtant pas moins lourd, jusqu'au dernier moment. Les attentes élevées se retrouvent en France chez les plus jeunes, mais ne perdurent pas face aux effets de l'orientation et de la sélection et d'exigences scolaires moins souples qu'en Australie.

Il également est possible de discerner chez les élèves issus de l'immigration turque en France et en Australie une vulnérabilité particulière aux logiques idéologiques de la méritocratie. Dans les deux systèmes, on peut constater ce que

nous appelons « des stratégies d'intégration marginale » – des stratégies dans lesquelles sont complices, pour la plupart, élèves et professeurs. Le remplacement des exigences académiques par une certaine sociabilité et solidarité vise à faire fonctionner l'école face à des élèves très faibles, et à minimaliser les dissonances entre identité sociale et métier d'élève (Perrenoud, 1994). Cette stratégie trouve son plus grand succès en Australie, mais en France, elle joue un rôle important au lycée professionnel et se trouve institutionnalisée dans la différenciation des exigences par filière. Les élèves qui ont réussi à parvenir aux filières en haut de la hiérarchie académique se trouvent dans le plus grand malaise, avec des professeurs intransigeants qui s'attendent à des élèves forts et autonomes à l'image de 'l'héritier'. Cette hiérarchie, au-delà de l'accommodation à ces nouveaux publics, rend « acceptable » les inégalités sociales, puisqu'elles apparaissent aux élèves autant qu'aux autres, comme de simples inégalités de don ou de performance. Néanmoins, dans la conscience d'un certain racisme et d'une certaine injustice exprimée par certains garçons (surtout) d'origine turque et maghrébine, l'opération méritocratique du système se trouve remis en cause.

Les populations turques en France et en Australie ne subissent pas passivement les opérations du système scolaire. On peut constater une forte mobilisation de la famille, et chez les filles en particulier des pratiques d'entre-aide avec le travail scolaire. En Australie, deux établissements privés ont été établis par la communauté turque, et connaissent succès académique hors du commun. Le prix de ce succès est une sélectivité académique et un travail intensif sur une tranche étroite du curriculum avec des cours obligatoires pendant les vacances et le week-end. Malgré la connaissance des enjeux du système représenté par cet investissement, les investissements des familles et des élèves méconnaissent souvent le métier d'élève et la nature du travail scolaire.

Les blessures de l'échec scolaire sont gérées de façon différente et selon une chronométrie différente en France et en Australie. En Australie, les élèves sont libres de choisir leur poison, et la responsabilité de tout échec reste leur incombe de fait. En France, les élèves suivent la posologie du système et peuvent constater les signes d'échec à une étape précoce de leur scolarité. Dans les deux cas, les blessures de l'échec sont le résultat de difficultés à maîtriser les demandes culturelles et cognitives d'un curriculum qui s'est démontré efficace dans la préservation des avantages des « usagers » traditionnels du système.

Chapter 1. **Introduction**

Despite its promises of democratisation, mass secondary education today is characterised by the maintenance and production of social inequalities (Duru-Bellat, 2002; Teese & Polesel, 2003). The broad question this thesis seeks to address is how social inequalities in education are experienced by those who bear their brunt. This is a pressing question because the way in which school is experienced plays a role in the production and management of inequalities, and casts light on the connections and dissonances between social and scholarly identities. To understand school experience within the context of educational inequalities therefore requires as a starting point a clear appreciation of the social identities of disadvantaged groups. The contribution of this thesis lies in a close consideration of migration history and ethnicity as dimensions of social identity which come into play in the construction of school experience.

Social and economic trends in developed nations over the last 30 years have increased reliance on education as the chief vehicle for advancement towards stable, well-paid careers, while similar opportunities for early leavers and students with poor results have almost disappeared. In response to this situation, educational provision has expanded in those sites where many students would not previously have continued into the post-compulsory years. 'New' student populations, foremost amongst whom are the children of migrants, now encounter the upper reaches of previously socially restricted education systems.

Education systems are structured differently in different national contexts, and the mechanisms which manage and deliver educational inequalities vary both at a system level, and at the level of local operation. By contrasting both system and local context, this thesis seeks to advance our understanding of educational inequality in the context of its formation.

Just as the mechanisms producing educational inequalities vary, so to do the experiences and responses of groups disadvantaged by these mechanisms. The way students make sense of and respond to their educational environment reflects the ways in which 'weak' students are

positioned by the institution, but also reflects the cultural values and principles of action which students bring with them and use to attempt to reposition themselves.

Previous understandings of educational inequalities have tended to emphasise homogeneity both in the operation of education systems and in the experiences they produce, while underestimating the basis for variations in experience. They posit shared attitudes and beliefs arising from the peculiar socialisation of disadvantaged students. In particular, the shared working-class school experience of cultural dissonance and alienation provides an essential mechanism in sociological theories developed from the work of Bourdieu, Willis and Bernstein (Bernstein, 1971, 1973, 1975; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964, 1970; Willis, 1977). The tradition of rational action theory emerging from Boudon's work (1979) disagrees on the question of alienation, but again emphasises working-class homogeneity, this time in the strategies mobilised by families.

This thesis seeks to question assumptions of unity in primary socialisation, modes of educational investment and school experience by articulating the perspectives of distinctive working-class sub-groups. A comparison in two national settings of the experiences of Turkish-background students, students from other migrant backgrounds, and non-migrant students supports the analysis of varied social processes affecting school outcomes for these 'new' populations. In this endeavour, the present study contributes to recent work extending the sociology of educational inequality beyond economic resources and mechanical explanations.

Work seeking to analyse the effects of differing norms and identities affecting interactions at school has been most prominent in the analysis of the influence of gender on school experiences and outcomes (Collins, McLeod, Kenway, 2000; Duru-Bellat, 1989). Other symbolically and socially charged identifications such as ethnicity and migration status have also emerged as lines of differentiation in the academic ambitions of working-class students (Brinbaum, 2002, 2005).

Nevertheless, the premise of educational inequality arising from shared perceptions, beliefs and practices remains predominant. Ethnicity has even been dismissed by some as of minimal importance in understanding

educational inequalities because 'ethnic' attributes can be parcelled out into 'non-ethnic' variables (Vallet, 1996; Vallet & Caille, 1995).

The question of the relationship between symbolic identifications, school experience and socially unequal outcomes remains pressing in light of the ethnic diversity of working-class populations. This diversity, arising from the recent history of migration, has become highly visible through the invocation of ethnic boundaries in local conflict and wider discourses (Lorcerie, 2003). This is the case in both France and Australia, which provide the settings for this investigation.

The ethnic dimension

Ethnicity is understood here as a situated process of social construction (Fenton, 2003). Because ethnicity is not a fixed category, but becomes meaningful only in relation to context, the scope of this thesis is limited to 'ethnic minority' migrants and their children in particular local and institutional settings in Australia and France.

My primary example in this study is the Turkish community, whose settlement and strategies of educational investment have been little considered in France or Australia, and whose similar circumstances in both settings provide fertile ground for the cross-national comparison. Turkish migrants began arriving in large numbers in both countries after the signing of bilateral agreements between the respective governments in 1968, and followed the path of earlier labour migrants to factory and construction jobs.

A number of 'ethnic qualities' are relevant to an investigation of school experience in light of these elements. First, the circumstances of Turkish migration and settlement result in a particular relationship to educational structures. It has been argued that the Turks, in common with labour migrants, pass on to their children a distinctively strong desire for social improvement through education and devote particular energy to their children's education (Inglis, Elley, Manderson, & Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1992). At the same time, parents' interaction with schools and support of children is limited by lack of confidence, language skills and low levels of participation in the labour market.

Second, distinctively 'Turkish' community and family norms may be expected to have an impact on students' interactions with school, although there is little recent work on this question. Community bonds remain strong in the Turkish-background populations of Australia and France, with Turkish migrants geographically concentrated in particular areas. This has led to the maintenance of the Turkish language and certain cultural traditions, some in modified form, across generations. Ethnographic research has shown that distinctive gender roles, sexual norms and sets of kinship obligation remain important (Elley, 1985). These traditions have been viewed as limiting the chances of girls at school, or alternatively as propelling girls to see education as a means of avoiding onerous social or sexual norms (such as early marriage).

Finally, the reputation of 'the Turks' in schools, and in society more broadly as a more or less racialised group, may impact on students' sense of themselves and of others and colour their relationships at school. This question has also been little researched, but it is likely that a global climate of increasing suspicion of migrants and of Islam may leave Turkish-background students feeling defensive or in conflict with peers and teachers.

While earlier research has signalled the potential of these factors to influence school experience, much remains to be done in order to understand how they actually play out in the French and Australian educational environments in which Turkish-background students are currently placed.

Forms of schooling

In order to appreciate the interaction of ethnic background and educational institutions, this study pays particular attention to the characteristics of the schools which students must navigate.

Schools constantly provide students with signals about their place, their prospects and their abilities. These signals may be transmitted in subtle forms through the curriculum or through prevailing attitudes. Sometimes scholastic judgement works in more visibly brutal ways, through relegation signalling failure within a clearly established academic hierarchy. These signals are powerful influences on student self-perception, and they are

distinctive to particular systems, and to particular locations within those systems.

Ultimately, education derives its legitimacy from the belief that it affords all students opportunities for personal growth and economic advancement on the basis of ability and effort. The experience of those students who benefit least from these promises will depend in part on the extent to which they can maintain or develop this belief.

This in turn leads to the question of whether the beliefs and practices students bring from home are comforted or undermined by the conditions of schooling. Will students share the optimistic promise of democratic education, feel a sense of injustice, or merely hope to survive? The answer to this question depends in part on the influences outlined in Table 1.1 (below).

As Table 1.1 shows, in the Victorian system educational inequalities are managed 'softly' through the choices students are encouraged to make, the resources afforded to them, and the cognitive content of the curriculum. Students who remain at school are not explicitly sorted in preparation for particular positions in the labour market until they learn their final examination grades at the end of the final year of schooling¹. Inequalities are also produced in often hidden ways through the concentration of cultural and economic capital in particular educational sites. In Australia, the private investment by parents is combined with public subsidies to limit the uncertainties associated with the growth of a mass system and assure the success of the traditional users of education through private schooling and elite state schools.

It could be expected that disadvantaged students might be less resentful of such a diffuse and loosely structured system where they can be "cooled out" (Foster, 1987: 169) than of a more rigidly and visibly structured system. Indeed schools and teachers in Australia are able to limit student alienation somewhat by virtue of the deferral of external academic judgement to the very end of secondary education. Nonetheless, there is some evidence of student alienation from the dominant middle-class cultural and cognitive demands of the curriculum (Teese, 2000; Teese & Polesel, 2003).

¹ Equivalent to *terminale* in France.

Table 1.1 French and Victorian education systems compared

	Victoria ²	France
Teachers (training, philosophies, perceived roles)	Focus on pedagogical innovation and student wellbeing, responsiveness to student differences in learning styles	Focus on expertise in content area, little role outside the classroom, expectations that all students be treated alike
Curriculum content and assessment practices	Traditional academic subjects dominate in examination results, 'newer' and vocational subjects attempt greater proximity to student lives	Traditional academic and vocational streams. Marking varies between schools but is severe with many students repeating years
Degree of differentiation and hierarchy	Common leaving certificate prepared in single school structure. Social divisions between geographical areas and school sectors	Specialised leaving certificates offered in specialist senior schools. Social divisions between types of senior school, academic streams, and geographical areas
Management of student pathways (grades, vocational guidance...)	'Open' selection by students, weak students discouraged from certain areas. Students gain entry to tertiary education on the basis of marks in competition for limited places	Pathways partly 'closed' by grades at year 9; difficult to move out of certain non-academic streams. All students in academic streams may gain entry to university
Management of difference	Official policy of multiculturalism and recognition of diversity. Some forms of cultural diversity accepted in school, racism considered to be a problem	Official policy of secular universalism: to create equal citizens all signs of community belonging should be left out of school. Racism and sectarianism considered to be problems

By contrast, the French system publicly sorts students into academic streams clearly linked to labour market outcomes by the age of about fifteen. Prior to this, many will have been obliged to repeat a year of school and all will have passed external examinations and regularly had their academic performances compared to those of their classmates. By senior secondary school, the place for individual choice and dreams is reduced, and future aspirations must be named and defended.

² Each Australian state has its own education system, and this study is concerned only with the system of the state of Victoria. Appendix 1 provides a glossary of the terms and acronyms relating to each system used in this thesis.

In theory, students in France are placed in learning environments which match their abilities and interests, but in practice students recognise a clear hierarchy of pathways and weak students tend to be 'relegated' to vocational streams. The mutual accommodation of students and teachers in disadvantaged settings is perhaps less prevalent in France than in Australia, and conflict between teachers and students who reject the values and content of formal education is evident (Debarbieux, 1996; Debarbieux, Garnier, Montoya, & Tichit, 1999).

The visibility of ethnicity in these tensions can be linked to the universalising tendency in French educational ideology, which expresses concern for ethnicity and religion in seeking to exclude them from the realm of schooling. This involves prohibitions on the expression of ethnic or religious dimensions of identity which are uncontroversial in the Australian setting. Rather than removing the salience of ethnicity from schooling, this tendency has tended to reinforce expressions of cultural difference as practices of resistance (Lorcerie, 2003).

In Australia, by contrast, a tradition of multiculturalism has sought to manage cultural diversity in less confrontational ways, but school has nonetheless been permeated by ethnic tensions arising from wider conflicts invoking ethnicity and religion. This has become most obvious in the hostility directed towards Muslims and presumed Muslims subsequent to September 11 2001, and the second Gulf War, in which Australia has participated.

The organisation of schooling in France and Victoria therefore presents the potential for the emergence of contrasting 'cultural logics' in the management of disadvantage. Further, cultural logics offer every prospect of working differently on the population under examination here (the Turks) than for other disadvantaged students whose relationship to school is structured by different social and cultural circumstances.

Outline

The purpose of this thesis is to enlarge our understanding of the variation in school experience associated with social disadvantage by seeking out the place of ethnicity. The approach taken here is to compare the experiences of members of a particular ethnic group with those of their peers in two distinctive institutional contexts. To this end, my strategy is to focus on the Turkish populations of Australia and France. The research questions are as follows:

1. Do Turkish-background students perceive and manage the demands of school differently to their peers?
2. Is it possible to speak of distinctively 'Turkish' strategies of educational investment?
3. Do the different terrains represented by France and Australia lead to different adaptive strategies?

The primary data is drawn from interviews and a survey of senior students taken from 12 schools located in areas of relative social disadvantage and which cater in some part to Turkish-background students. The findings presented here thus do not extend to French and Australian schools generally, but reflect the specificities of certain 'peripheral' sites (van Zanten, 2001). This type of data is naturally limited by students' conscious appreciation of the school environment and what students are willing to express to an outsider.

After I have placed the study within its scholarly context (chapter 2) and outlined my research methods (chapter 3), I will present each national setting separately before focusing on cross-national comparisons.

In Part 1, I argue that Turkish-background students in Melbourne's north tend to develop 'fantasy' notions of their futures and maintain idealised visions of themselves as students. These notions are unchecked by formal barriers to even the highest levels of achievement. Students have few resources available to them upon which to form more concrete and realistic assessments of their prospects. In this section I will show how schools are complicit in this process, which has a lesser hold on non migrant-background students whose parents have often passed on a cynical regard for educational

structures. Questions of ethnicity emerge in the consciousness of students and teachers through peer conflict and perceptions that 'language-based' subjects are unsuitable for Turkish-background students.

In Part 2, I argue that Turkish-background students in schools in the east of France do not have the freedom to maintain such fantasies into the senior years of secondary school and instead must submit to an institutional logic which lowers aspirations through streaming. Turkish-background students at these sites appear to be particularly susceptible to the negative judgements they have been subjected to through the process of '*orientation*' (development of vocational pathways). Their alienation is heightened by a feeling of unjust treatment by teachers and discrimination in French society. As in Australia, Turkish-background boys appear to be less engaged by and committed to schooling than girls.

In Part 3, I turn to a closer analysis of the characteristics of the cultural dynamics revealed by the contrasting experiences produced by the two systems. My argument is that while the experiences of Turkish-background students appear to differ radically between the two settings, both sets of experience demonstrate a greater vulnerability to the ideological logic of the respective systems than their peers. In addition, the contrasting experiences may be understood as different stages on a journey which is not so dissimilar and which are characteristic of what I have termed strategies of marginal integration. The high hopes of migrant-background families identified in the French literature have, by and large, been crushed by the time students are mid-way through *lycée* (senior secondary school). In Victoria, the deferral of judgement and reluctance of teachers to discourage students allows this hope to live on a little longer, but it must eventually be confronted with the reality of working-class educational outcomes.

This study does not presume that the association of experience with particular variables establishes causality, and the explanations offered here are tentative. Further, cross-national comparison introduces the potential for a wide range of unconsidered variables. Nevertheless, the mechanisms investigated here have been well established by previous research, and their role may be further clarified through a comparative approach. A number of practical difficulties which arose in the course of the study resulted in the

inclusion of a smaller than expected group of Turkish-background students in France, making the interpretation of the quantitative findings for France extremely tentative and increasing reliance on the qualitative data. Despite this limitation, the high participation rate within each school (close to 100% of students attending on the day of the survey) means that conclusions can be drawn at least within the specific contexts investigated.

In the next chapter I will outline the development of explanatory models in the literature, and the potential for further developing the theoretical framework relating school experience to unequal outcomes.

Chapter 2.

Inequalities in the context of 'massified' systems

This thesis aims to build on our understandings of the processes underlying educational inequalities. Investigation of the interaction of social inequality and ethnicity with different institutional arrangements in the construction of school experience offers the possibility of increasing our appreciation of this process. In the present chapter I first review the development of theoretical perspectives on educational inequality before turning to the literature on the place of ethnicity in education in Australia and France. This chapter is devoted to drawing out the implications of previous research for integrating migration history and ethnicity into a theory of the relationship between school experience and educational inequalities. Rather than attempting a comprehensive review of the literature world-wide, I have concentrated on the sociological work generated by the Australian and French contexts. I will provide a more detailed presentation of research into Turkish migrants in chapters 4 and 5, for Australia, and chapters 9 and 10, for France.

The social consequences of 'massification'

The consequences of exclusion from school, poor learning and low attainment are grave in societies which use educational credentials to determine economic and social success. Once access to secondary education becomes not only universal but universally necessary for economic advancement, as it has since the later part of the last century, the fairness of this institution becomes a fundamental question for society. This universal necessity is now the case in both Australia and France. In France, the massive increase in retention in the final years of secondary education occurred over the period between 1985 and 1995 (Terrail, 2002: 233), with 70 per cent of a generation now completing secondary school. With starts and halts, the education system in the Australian state of Victoria has undergone a similar transformation over this timeframe; with completion of secondary school now exceeding 80 per cent of a generation (Teese 2003).

Expansion of the highest reaches of education systems has brought about diversification of the student population at the same time as traditional transitions to work for early school leavers have disappeared or become more uncertain. Many of these 'new students' are the children of migrants who came in the post-war years of unskilled labour shortages, or in subsequent family reunion.

The expansion of education has brought into schools not only a greater diversity of students, but new divisions and hierarchies. The 'new students' are concentrated in the most strained educational structures, described by Richard Teese (2003) as 'exposed sites', as opposed to 'fortified sites' where resources have accumulated over time through the collective efforts of the most socially powerful parents.

Social divisions in the senior years of secondary school also work through the curriculum, with the 'new' populations concentrated in particular subjects and streams. In 'exposed' sites, the cultural concordance over the meaning and forms of education shared by the traditional users of the system no longer holds. As more students remain in formal education for longer, schools participate in new forms of socialisation, academic promotion, relegation, and social selection.

Research into the locations and vehicles of disadvantage has become increasingly sophisticated in recent years, mapping the accumulation and transformation of inequalities in streaming, marking, retention, and transition over the period of 'democratisation' (Duru-Bellat, 2002). Researchers have shown the importance of the relationship between families and school (Brinbaum, 2002, 2005), the effects of school context, and the 'ethnicisation' of social relations in certain educational contexts (Lorcerie, 2003). In the following section I will outline how the implications of institutionally segmented expansion for the 'new' student populations have been interpreted and theorised.

Theories of educational inequality

The sociology of education has been slow to turn its empirical gaze to the subjective experiences of students in schools. The pervasive and stable connection between class origin and educational outcomes seemed to earlier researchers to indicate that one determined the other regardless of anything going on in schools (Baudelot & Establet, 1971; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). The influential early work of Basil Bernstein further located the origin of these inequalities in distinctive class patterns of socialisation and language use in the home (Bernstein, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1975).

However writers from Bourdieu onwards have also seen students as active, if not fully self-aware, participants in their destinies through the understandings and 'dispositions' they bring to an educational environment. This approach places the focus on academic culture and its dissonances with the lives of working-class students (Ball, 1981; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964, 1970; Lacey, 1970; Willis, 1977).

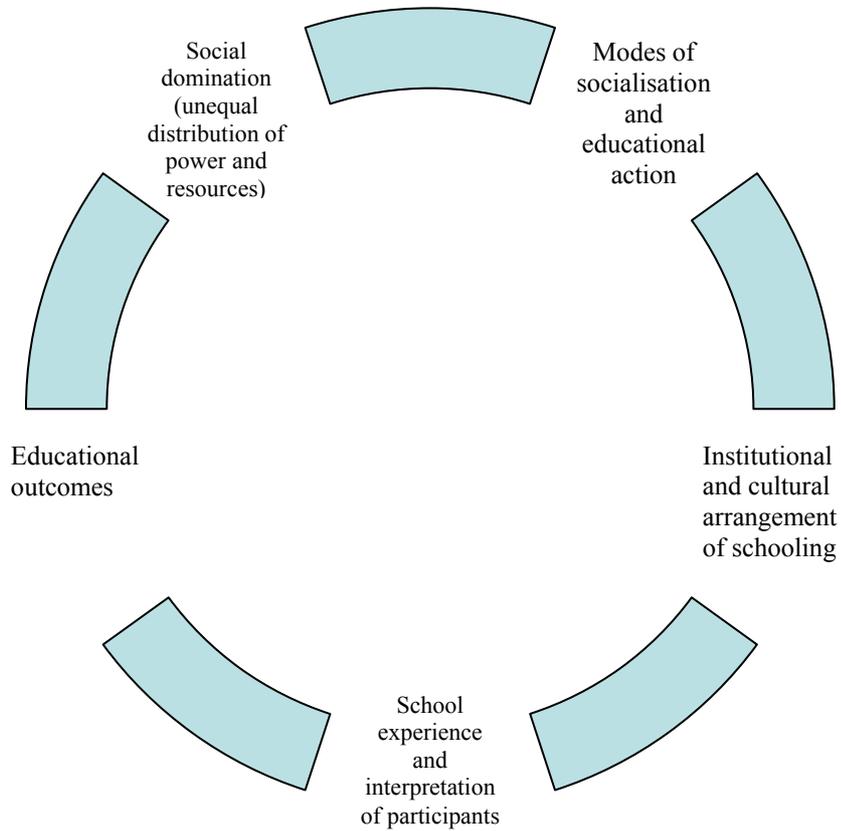
Yet differences *between* schools remained uninterrogated in this paradigm, and the publication of the Coleman Report lent further support to the view that differences in school resources count for little (Coleman, 1966). What acknowledgement of difference between schools existed was presented in managerial terms (Thrupp, 1995).

Subsequent research has turned to closer examination of micro-social processes in schools, classrooms and neighbourhoods. Van Zanten, in theorising the effects of local context, observes that 'peripheral schools' differ from schools at the apex of the system on a number of important points which warrant their study as peculiar social system (Van Zanten, 2001). Building on the insights of past work, it is possible to place the subjective experiences and understandings of students into a fairly simple schematic (Figure 2.1).

Taking educational outcomes and social domination to be two 'objectified' products of the operation of the remaining three components of Figure 2.1, I wish to review at greater length the mechanisms which may be identified in these remaining components. The first of these, which I have termed 'modes of socialisation and educational action' refers to embodied and 'subjectified' perceptions and educational strategies which are at work prior to

contact with school, but which continue to influence relationships established between families and schools. The second component, the institutional and cultural arrangement of schooling, refers to the school structures through which social disadvantage is articulated into educational disadvantage. Finally, school experience and the interpretations of participants may be understood as the 'subjectified' product of interactions between the first two components. Below I will discuss in greater detail how previous research has dealt with each of these three components. I begin with the influential theories of Bourdieu and Boudon.

Figure 2.1 The production of social inequalities (social domination) through schooling¹.



¹ Of course school experience may also be considered an important outcome of itself, and indeed elements of it are treated as such by the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2006). Social domination may also be considered to be the impetus for the entire operation of educational inequalities rather than merely an outcome.

Modes of socialisation and educational action

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* has provided rich ground for investigating the place of distinctive biographies and outlooks in the engagement with institutions. *Habitus* refers to a "strategy-generating principle" whereby dispositions born of past experiences are the basis for understanding and dealing with one's objective social position (Bourdieu, 1977). In Bourdieu's words "any successful socialisation tends to persuade agents to collaborate with their own destiny" (Bourdieu, 1988: 216). This collaboration is unwitting, and operates primarily on a subconscious level. Some of the traces of *habitus* may be sought in the ways students see themselves as learners, however how they *act* as learners is also a function of *habitus*.

Habitus comes into play in the production of inequalities through the field of power relations legitimising and delegitimising certain practices at school. The interpretations of student behaviour provided by teachers follow the logic of a scholastic field of value, and also a logic of value attached to the teachers' own socialisation and *habitus*. The frameworks of value by which teachers act and interpret student actions may therefore be at odds with those used by students, and can serve to disadvantage students even by virtue of practices which are tangential to the business of learning (such as the display of signs of respect and disrespect). For example, in some settings working class and immigrant families are less assertive in contact with educational institutions than middle-class parents (Lareau, 2002), which is interpreted by many teachers as a sign of disinterest. For researchers to interpret low levels of contact with teachers as a lack of investment in education is, it has been convincingly argued, to accept only the modes of thinking which are dominant amongst teachers (Mills & Gale, 2004). The intensive and focused attention on educational investment to which teachers are often unconsciously responsive indeed constitutes a class strategy which is characteristic of middle-class engagement with an educational market-place (Ball, 2003).

Whereas Bourdieu's approach might be described as a "practical-actor" model, a contrasting "rational-actor" model, based on a much greater level of individual awareness, has also used link educational inequalities to family strategy (Boudon, 1979). While Bourdieu's model points to the adaptive

construction of identity under constraint, the rational actor approach emphasises intentional calculations made at moments of decision making. Thus, rather than stemming from differentiated socialisation and cultural understandings, inequalities are said to stem from a rational appraisal of risks and benefits (Boudon, 1979; Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992; Goldthorpe, Llewellyn, & Payne, 1987).

However decisions are made and resources deployed with imperfect knowledge of risks and benefits. For example, 'irrational' prejudices against particular ethnic groups results in 'white flight' from schools with many migrant-background students, even though such concentrations do not necessarily have much bearing on outcomes (Felouzis, 2003). Perceptions of the same objective position may also vary when the scheme of values used to evaluate that position varies. This appears to be the case for some ethnic groups, who 'irrationally' over-value the status accorded to particular professions, and so perceive the risks and costs involved in aiming for them differently to others in the same objective class position.

The opposition of culturally embedded logics (Bourdieu) and 'rational' calculations (Boudon) presents to some extent a false dichotomy. Notions associated with the rational action theory tradition, such as mobilisation and strategy, are useful for understanding the appreciations and actions of actors, but they must be brought together with an appreciation of the adaptations of actors in relation to structural constraints and institutional strategies.

The theorisations of the influence of family socialisation and strategy outlined above have largely been deduced from data sets reporting on educational performances and outcomes linked to social particular social categories. However, research exists which delves empirically into the world of the family. Lareau, for example, shows how familiarity with and confidence in managing institutional actors requires strategies and resources beyond the reach of many parents, regardless of their personal investment in their children's education. She identifies two distinctive class-based childrearing approaches in her ethnographic study of American families (Lareau, 2002) (Table 2.2). Lareau's middle-class child-rearing model is characterised by active fostering and evaluation of talents, opinions and skills, orchestration

leisure activities and weak extended family ties. By contrast, the working-class approach is more laissez-faire in terms of development: children “hang out” with kin, rarely question adult directives, have strong extended family ties and are often in heterogeneous age groupings. The consequences for middle-class children are an emerging sense of entitlement, and for working-class children, an emerging sense of constraint. In comparing the black and white American families in her sample, Lareau concludes that in the US context, race plays a minor role in the organisation of family life for children aged 10, noting that peer relations in later years may be more racially divided. In France, Bernard Lahire (2000) provides an example of this detailed approach to the study of family practices, while in Australia the early work of R.W. Connell (1982) provides another demonstration of the fine-grained approach to family practices and beliefs. This work points to spheres of action where the practices and beliefs of ethnic-minority migrant families are likely to set them apart.

Table 2.1 Summary of class ‘styles’ identified by Lareau

<p><u>Organisation of daily life</u></p> <p>Time spent on various types of activity – formal, informal, adult-directed, homework, rhythms of activities</p> <p><u>Language use</u></p> <p>Subject of discussions, negotiation and reasoning, discipline</p> <p><u>Social connections</u></p> <p>Parents have Professional/organised weak networks vs. strong family/neighbourhood relations</p> <p><u>Interventions in institutions</u></p> <p>Distrust of social institutions vs. ease, negotiation and sense of entitlement</p>

Source: Lareau 2002

Institutional and cultural arrangements of schooling

I have borrowed the expression ‘institutional arrangements of schooling’ from Kerckhoff (1995) to describe the various channels through which

disadvantage can be articulated and accumulated at school. These arrangements differ according to the modes of access to the most advantageous school settings, the governance of schooling, practices such as streaming, the organisation of specialised and vocational education into types of school or special classes, the management of individual pathways, the nature of the curriculum, and pedagogical practices.

Specialisation in the upper reaches of the French system means that job opportunities are clearer, which may provide greater certainty than the Australian system, but also greater pessimism amongst those destined for low status positions. In Australia, optimism can be sustained for longer as students remain in a formally undifferentiated structure and prepare for a generalist leaving certificate. Yet differentiation between schools in Australia has been favoured by the ideology of parental choice, the creation of an educational marketplace, and bureaucratic outlooks informed by the 'school effectiveness' movement (for a review of the movement see Draelants & Dumay, 2005).

Across national settings, the traditional users of education have been able to manage the construction of curriculum over time as a vehicle virtually guaranteeing success and exporting failure as a form of social domination (Teese, 2000). As Connell succinctly puts it, "to deal with powerful institutions requires power", and more than individual power, "collective resources that produce the kind of school system that favours a particular home environment for success" (1994: 134). This power is exercised in both France and Australia through the curriculum and the responsiveness of educational bureaucracies and teachers to particular social groups.

In France, responsiveness to the collective interests of particular groups is considered to be reduced through the imposition of '*la carte scolaire*' (school zoning) which requires that parents send their children to the nearest school. Despite the requirement that students attend the local school, it has been suggested the separation between home and school life is particularly sharp in the French system (Osborn et al., 2003: 51). France stands out in Osborn's study as having the greatest affective distance between students

and teachers and an emphasis on 'lock-step' and controlled learning (Osborn et al., 2003: 103-115).

In considering the importance of the institutional arrangements of schooling, it is important to note that system-wide structures nevertheless operate differently at different sites, and that the local operation of schooling is not merely structured from above. Van Zanten has described local educational sites as:

A social construction with a certain internal cohesion and a relative autonomy with regards to the centre, but at the same time, structurally articulated to it by relations of domination and interdependence (Van Zanten, 2001: 19).

Those sites which are peripheral operate in divergent ways because the cultural divide between school, students' lives beyond its walls and the world of academic study is so great. This divide, felt most strongly in working-class neighbourhoods, results in teacher efforts at accommodation which can lead students even further astray from the cultural and cognitive core of a curriculum constructed elsewhere and for others (Van Zanten, 2001).

In this study, the term 'peripheral' is used to describe schools which are culturally, geographically and socially removed from, and subordinated to, other institutional sites in an education system. In both Australia and France, the most disadvantaged schools are now primarily located in urban peripheries. These sites are mapped onto a social geography through residential segregation and the flight of the most academically and socially advantaged students to schools outside of peripheral locations. Marginality is also expressed in the curriculum through streaming in France and subject choice in Australia. The least selective and valued locations in the curriculum hierarchy are therefore distinctive attributes of the periphery. Yet students in socially and geographically peripheral schools who attempt the most selective curricula do not escape a 'peripheral' location, and indeed enter into a specially punishing relationship of subordination to those 'central' sites which exert greatest control and mastery over these curricula (Teese, 2000).

School experience

Beyond family socialisation and school structure lies the impact of the immense amount of time students spend at school – Rutter’s famous fifteen thousand hours (Rutter, 1979). At school, students must find a sense of purpose in what they do and construct a self-image of themselves as learners. They must build relationships with teachers and peers, search for meaning in schoolwork, and develop intellectual and vocational interests and ambitions for the future.

Teachers’ positive or negative conceptions of student abilities, and the capabilities of students from particular backgrounds, contribute to the production of inequalities through labelling and stereotyping. Teacher expectations, and their expression in educational practices and cues, influence students’ self esteem, confidence, interest, persistence and cognitive outcomes (Persell, 1977: 123-134). In the secondary years, students are particularly sensitive to what they see as hostility and lack of respect from teachers (Centre for Applied Educational Research, 2002; Dubet, 1991; Felouzis, 1993). Even teachers who have no conscious bias interpret student behaviour and performance by reference to norms which may be foreign to students themselves, and which in fact refer only to a constructed ‘fictive student’ (Bourdieu, Passeron, & Saint Martin, 1994). ‘Real’ students are disadvantaged through the operation of a system predicated on pedagogical approaches and competencies which assume a socially narrow set of lived experiences to be effective.

Students must also make sense of the work they are given at school. The way in which they attribute meaning and value to learning activities and knowledge has important consequences for their success (Bautier, Charlot, & Rochex, 2000). Students who ‘misunderstand’ the intellectual and cognitive nature of school learning are disadvantaged by directing their efforts to merely completing tasks, biding time until the moment of their release at the end of the school day. Indeed release is what many struggling students in Australia are hoping for – a majority of Victorian students who report not coping with

English select prison as the most appropriate metaphor for school (Teese & Polesel, 2003: 137).

In the French setting, Barrère (1997) also presents the spectacle of convicts (*forçats*) who spend their time metaphorically splitting rocks with nothing to show for it, while others, dubbed 'the shirkers' (*fumistes*), adopt a self-protecting strategy of withdrawal (see also Broccolichi, 2000). Motivation and interest in schoolwork thus appear to decline over the final years of schooling, with the attitudes of (and towards) peers and teachers contributing to students' ability to maintain the posture of the serious student (François Dubet & Martuccelli, 1996; Van Zanten, 2001).

For many students, economic conditions and the inflation of educational credentials have forced them to remain in school regardless of the quality of their experience. These constraints have affected some groups more strongly than others. Girls, facing a more difficult job market and greater reliance on ever higher levels of education for the traditionally 'feminine' occupations, have overtaken boys in retention rates (Duru-Bellat, 1989; Teese, 1995: 3). Gendered patterns in stream and subject selection may similarly be understood as stemming from perceived vocational prospects.

Whereas investment in education as a pathway to personal fulfilment remains the privilege of the academically successful middle-classes, instrumentalism and avoidance strategies ('anything but the factory floor') predominate amongst weaker students (Dubet, 1991; Felouzis, 1993; Teese & Polesel, 2003). Recent increases in the educational aspirations of even the weakest students reflect their recognition of the importance of schooling rather than an increase in engagement with academic study. As a consequence, many of the 'new' school students fail to realise their aspirations (Beaud, 2002).

Research on school experience in Australia and France suggests that disadvantaged students are weakly integrated into the system, but have adopted survival strategies and strategies for the protection of self-dignity in order to remain within the system for as long as possible. It shows that desire is not sufficient to translate dreams into academic success. Although distinct from the traditions which dominate in the study of educational inequalities, the

micro-sociology of performative identity formation and management developed by Irving Goffman (1961, 1969) provides some useful tools which have been adopted here. These are particularly valuable for theorising the relationships between experience, and projection of self which come into play in the world of school.

Theories of ethnicity and migrant incorporation

Alongside the development of theories of social inequality, researchers have sought to develop theories specific to relations between ethnic groups in the context of migration. Some of these studies have seen ethnicity as an adjunct to class relations, while others have developed models of ethnically specific social mobility and cultural integration/differentiation.

Put most simply, ethnicity is a constructed group identity based on belief in shared descent and culture (Barth, 1969). Importantly, ethnicity should not be regarded as a self evident marker of cultural or social difference. As Fenton has noted, researchers should turn not to ethnicity on its own but to the material and cultural context for the expression of ethnic identities (2003: 2). Fenton proposes two useful questions which may be applied to the conditions of educational inequality:

- How important are descent and culture mobilised as markers between groups?
- Do these identities and social attachments which we call ethnic play a part in social action? (7)

Fenton cautions that the answers to these questions are conditional, and the presence of different ethnic groups does not imply that ethnicity plays a major role in determining social relations.

The social contexts we are concerned with here are plural societies, where ethnic identities have been influenced by large-scale migration from changing sources over the second half of the twentieth century. Ethnicity is constructed anew on this new post-colonial terrain of mass-migration to industrialised nations. For example, the emergence of a problematised category '*Maghrébin*' in France is the product of these conditions (Zirotti, 2003). Although originating from Arabic, the term has little meaning as an

ethnic identification or label outside of France, where it tends to subsume other identifications such as 'Moroccan' or 'Berber'. Similarly, shifting constructions of ethnic identity are evident in the identification of some Kurdish-background youth living in France with a Turkish ethnicity, a phenomenon which shocks their Kurdish-identifying parents.

Ethnicity may also be understood as a performance which varies depending on situation and audience. Pallotta-Chiarolli (2003) observes that the Italian 'wog boy' school identity of her students is distinctive from traditional Italian community models of masculinity. It also excludes boys of Italian heritage who do not fit in with the "soccer, cars and chicks" 'wog boy' image (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003: 101).

This view of ethnicity as performance contrasts with early work emanating from the Chicago school, which presented ethnic boundaries as the result of hostility to culturally different newcomers. According to the model developed in Chicago, first contact results in hostility, which diminishes over the course of time through cultural assimilation into existing populations (Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1925). Yet some symbolic identities, regardless of cultural content, often remain strong. For example the category '*Maghrébin*' has strengthened over time, particularly as applied to the second generation.

More recent work from the US suggests that the strength of ethnic boundaries is not dependent on cultural or linguistic attributes, and is tied to socio-economic integration and the conditions of arrival (Gibson, 1997; Glazer & Moynihan, 1970; Gordon, 1964; Ogbu, 1978; Portes & MacLeod, 1996). According to these authors, when ethnicity comes to mark a permanent social status of inferiority, the (justified) perception of discrimination results in rejection of and conflict with institutions such as school. Some in France have applied this 'permanent caste' perspective to the '*Maghrébin*' category, members of whom are viewed more negatively and consider themselves to be worse off than other groups (Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de L'Homme, 1996; Silberman & Fournier, 1999; Van Zanten, 2001). Indigenous Australians, as an 'involuntary' minority, might be similarly viewed.

Negative perceptions and symbolic boundaries are strengthened by spatial segregation. Spatial segregation of migrant background students is

indeed a wide-spread phenomenon: close to half of immigrant children would need to change schools for there to be an even spread in France and Australia (Schnepf, 2004). Similarly, a recent study in Bordeaux found that just 10 per cent of *collèges* (*junior secondary schools*) enrol 40 per cent of students of African and Turkish background (Felouzis, 2003).

In relating ethnicity to class relations, some scholarship postulates that conflict between groups is the product of threats to group positioning and the protection of acquired privilege (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Rieder, 1985). The concentration of support for political parties expressing ethnocentric and anti-migrant views in low socio-economic status areas lends credence to this explanation (Davis & Stimson, 1998). A neo-Marxist angle on this view is summarized by Dunn: “racism is a political means of dividing the working class...segregation, and racism generally, are therefore seen as manifestations of inter-working-class competition encouraged by the elite” (Dunn, 2001). The increase in political interest in ethnicity and migration in conservative nationalist discourses supports this interpretation.

In addition to divergent scholarly views on ethnicity, different educational policy perspectives on ethnicity may be discerned in the Australian and French political contexts. Whereas in the French system, ethnicity is viewed as threatening and disrupting the existing social order (Osborn et al., 2003: 117), in Australia it has been incorporated into the political and policy discourse since the Galbally report of the late 1970s (Galbally, 1978). This difference may find some explanation in the broader social composition of ethnically defined groups in Australia: OECD data suggests that the migrant background population is much more concentrated in the bottom fraction of the working class in France than in Australia (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2006). The contrasting policy perspectives and class-composition of migrant groups in Australia and France have implications for the perceptions of actors within schools, which will be addressed in subsequent chapters.

In a recent review of the literature on social and symbolic boundaries constituting class, ethnic and sexual inequality Lamont rightly stressed the need for a more cumulative research agenda on the common social process

of “the relational definition of identity and social position” (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). Previous studies provide some helpful guidance on areas for future investigation, and here I wish to briefly outline those that will be taken up in this thesis. From the literature on ethnicity and migrant incorporation, I take a view of ethnicity as a situated and dynamic component of social identity. It is relevant to the processes described in this study through its ability to generate particular principles of action and value, but also through the importance of ethnicity as a symbolic boundary which influences the judgement and treatment of others to produce exclusion and solidarity. Below I present some of the ways in which ethnicity has been understood as influencing the experience of schooling. The influence which is most strongly represented in the literature relates to parental aspirations; however influences on the management of schoolwork and social relations at school have also received some attention. The presentation of findings in the later chapters of the thesis follows the same order as the discussion presented below.

Aspirations and pathways

As a very general proposition, the research in France and Australia suggests that migrant parents have elevated aspirations for their children and that this may be attributed to the ‘inner drive’ which in some instances drove them to migrate in the first place. The decision to migrate may be testimony to a desire for social mobility (Zérroulou, 1988), but the ‘push’ factors leading migrants to leave their homeland can make this a fairly constrained choice. An element of luck, such as having relatives or friends who can inform and support emigration, may be more influential in determining migration than the strength of inner drive to change one’s circumstances. It is far from clear, therefore, that migrants constitute a self-selected elite, however the attribution of inner-drive is not limited to those who are ‘self-selected’. Instead, this appears as a diffuse and persistent cultural attribute.

In Australia, evidence for elevated parental aspirations have primarily deduced from student pathways (Birrell et al., 1995; Khoo & Birrell, 2002; Khoo, McDonald, Giorgas, & Birrell, 2002). Direct information from parents on their hopes for their children in France, where better data exists, show that

they are indeed higher amongst than those of other parents of like socio-economic background (Akers-Porrini & Zirotti, 1992), however their ambitions remain vague and sometimes 'unrealistic' (Brinbaum, 2005).

In France, dependence on academic success is also greater in those communities which are poorly integrated into the workforce, such as North Africans. The aspirations of migrant families, formulated with little knowledge of educational structures, are also less frequently adjusted in response to academic results than are those of other families (Brinbaum, 2005). This results in academically weak students developing plans for higher education for which they are ill-prepared (Beaud, 2002; Lambert & Peignard, 2002). North African-background students in vocational structures are more likely to be there through relegation than desire, and so feel a sense of injustice. A sense of injustice persisting over time may also result in rejection of school norms (Ogbu, 1978).

Parental aspirations for long academic studies are not universal, however, and Portuguese-background migrants in France are more likely to aspire to shorter vocational courses and apprenticeships leading to occupational areas where their parents have experienced success (Brinbaum, 2005). It has also been suggested however that the status of aspirations as a measure in relation to educational disadvantage is uncertain given high aspirations across all groups (Kao & Thompson, 2003). Further, while parental commitment and encouragement may be a condition of success, success also relies on the autonomous mobilisation of students (Terrail, 2002).

Managing schoolwork

Research into how migrant background students cope with schoolwork has tended to focus on support outside of school rather than on the quality of classroom experience. Students from particular migrant groups with strong kinship bonds may experience benefits such as children tutoring each other or supportive extended networks (Kao & Thompson, 2003). Crul (2000) has identified access to support and advice from peers and siblings as a key to

success amongst second generation students in the Netherlands, giving younger siblings an advantage.

Inside the classroom, the language difficulties faced by students have produced the most concern (Sturman, 1985). Recognition of other challenges to managing schoolwork, such as cultural bias, have only rarely formed the basis of critical interrogations, with some notable exceptions (e.g. Brice Heath, 1982; Hofstede, 1986; Kalantzis, 1990; Kalantzis & Cope, 1999).

Differences in students' interpretation of academic tasks and the difficulty of tasks have also been little considered. German research has indicated that student understandings of the reasons for success (ability, effort, luck, task difficulty) vary between ethnic groups (Hewstone, Wagner, & Machleit, 1989). Similarly, self-perceptions of ability appear linked to ethnicity and gender in an Australian study (Polesel, 1997). Such understandings form part of the overall approach of students to the world of school and can profitably be understood as a dimension of the 'craft' of being a student, a concept known in French sociology as *'le métier d'élève'* (the student's trade) (Perrenoud, 1994). Migrant background students emerge as the group least competent in this craft or trade of 'studentship' in the eyes of teachers. They are most vulnerable to negative teacher assessments, punishments and perceived "injustices" (Choquet & Héran, 1996; Payet, 1996).

The literature into schoolwork suggests that further research needs to better theorise the relationship between language use and academic performance as it concerns migrant-background students. The question of second language proficiency amongst migrant-background students remains confused with the cultural and cognitive styles demanded by school. Beyond language acquisition, attention also needs to be turned to the existence of inter-linguistic and inter-cultural cognitive patterns, dispositions and practices that are shared by both socially privileged groups and education systems. An example of this distinction between 'language' writ large and expression for academic purposes can be found in Inglis' observation of frequent mistakes in questionnaires filled out by young Turkish respondents. She notes student confidence in their English abilities is "misplaced for written English, *at least*

as it related to its adequacy for successful tertiary study" (Inglis, Elley, Manderson, & Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1992: 66) (my emphasis).

From the field of second language studies, Cummins (2000) argues that 'cognitive academic language proficiency' (CALP) is a useful concept for describing the linguistic skills demanded by school. Unlike basic interpersonal communication (BIC), CALP requires knowledge of discourse conventions and specialised vocabulary, syntax and concepts. The rival concept, 'second language instructional competence' (SLIC) has emerged from a critique of Cummins which seeks to further capture the cultural dimensions of schooling (MacSwan & Rolstad, 2003). However both CALP and SLIC have been conceived of for application in the context of more recently arrived migrants who are undertaking explicit second language instruction.

Further theoretical resources in the analysis of language in the case of second generation students, who most concern us here, are provided by class-based linguistic approaches (Bernstein, 1973; Heath, 1983). The language learnt by high status migrant-background students is more often been directed towards academic 'type' purposes and cognitive styles. It has been supported in academically oriented and resourced home environments by parents who are "highly educated and socially astute", and who extensively use home tutoring (Cahill et al., 1996). By contrast, the English learnt in the home by working class migrants may well be poorly modelled by parents, and combined with another language (Cahill et al., 1996, p. 39), or modelled on a non-standard variety of English that will disadvantage them in formal situations – if they speak English in the home at all.

It is reasonable to conclude that many migrant-background students share with other working class students a distance from academic culture, which has remained relatively unscrutinised by virtue of a focus on English language acquisition. However, as I will show further in this thesis, *perceptions* of language use and language competence vary in important ways between ethnic groups to a greater extent than actual linguistic practices.

Ethnicity and the school environment

The sociology of interactions mobilising ethnicity in the school environment has emerged most strongly in France, as represented in the studies gathered together by Lorcerie (2003). Embedded within the work of learning, and extending beyond it, a complex series of relationships which connect students to peers and teachers have been the object of sustained attention. In French *collège* (junior high school) classrooms with high proportions of migrant-background students, the visibility of North African boys as a 'deviant' group tends to lead to racist assumptions on the part of teachers (Perroton, 1999; Van Zanten, 2001). Cultural stereotypes can cut both ways, however, with research in Australia showing negative consequences for students who are assumed to be 'pro-school' (Matthews, 2002).

Even when students are satisfied with their academic progress, they may experience a difficult social environment, and doing well cannot always be equated with "being well" (Bankston & Zhou, 2002). Bankston and Zhou note that the ethnic group with the highest self esteem in the United States, Afro-Americans, has the lowest academic achievement, while the more successful Asian-background students have low self esteem.

The French literature suggests that ethnicity plays little role in the construction of friendship groups in primary school (Rayou, 1999), but in secondary contexts of social disadvantage and high migrant concentration, both ethnicity and 'street culture' become important markers (Lepoutre, 1997; Perroton, 1999; Van Zanten, 2001). Similar views have been expressed in Australia (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003). Ethnically segregated peer grouping is exacerbated by streaming in the final years of the French system (Herpin, 1996). Such 'ethnification' of tensions has led Debarbieux to conclude that the sociology of school violence *is* the sociology of ethnicity and exclusion (Debarbieux, 1996; Debarbieux, Garnier, Montoya, & Tichit, 1999).

Some difficulties in interpretation of the place of ethnicity and migration in educational inequalities

Some researchers have warned against the treatment of ethnicity as part of the question of educational inequalities. The disadvantages faced by migrant

students have been presented as ephemeral (Birrell, Khoo, & Bureau of Immigration Multicultural and Population Research, 1995), or related to issues of prejudice beyond the core of curriculum and school organisation (Berque & Centre national de documentation pédagogique (France), 1985; Cahill, Gundert, Bureau of Immigration Multicultural and Population Research, & Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 1996). Alternatively, ethnicity has been downplayed as merely an ideological gloss over social class (Jakubowicz, 1984; Jakubowicz & Castles, 1986).

The work of Vallet and Caille in France has been most influential in attributing the outcomes of migrant-background students to characteristics purported to be unconnected to ethnicity, such as number of children in the family (Vallet, 1996; Vallet & Caille, 1995). The 'all else being equal' approach used in this work has been criticised for its abstraction from the realities of life in France (Passeron, 1991), indeed few 'French' households have large numbers of children, but many migrant households do. As Duru-Bellat has noted, the very meaning of ethnicity is defined by its articulation with other variables (Duru-Bellat, 2002: 49).

Even where the legitimacy of studying ethnicity is admitted, the relationship between factors deemed cultural in nature and those deemed economic remains theoretically problematic. One proposed solution to this confusion is the concept of 'ethclass' (Bullivant, 1987; Gordon, 1964; Mackie & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1983). The problem with 'ethclass', and implicit in many other explanations, is that it is essentially a cumulative model and does not account for interaction. It has been opposed by Kalantzis and Cope (1988), who acknowledge that these dimensions work together in complex ways, but maintain a distinction between the attributes of ethnicity and class. They observe that while "certain aspects of ESB [English speaking Background] working-class culture, education and structural context, portend limited education", "language learning context, racism, the particular non-commensurability of family culture and the culture of educational success" count amongst explanations peculiar to NESB [Non English Speaking Background] students (1988: 55). Meanwhile Marjoribanks (1978) suggests that certain factors may be contingent on other threshold factors,

such as English proficiency, which must exist at a minimum level before others start to have a positive effect. Even Marjoribanks himself admits that the notion of a single model for success is misleading. In fact, there exist many ways to achieve the same ends.

Conclusion

The literature points to the importance of interrogating student experiences and suggests that these may be often painful in contexts of disadvantage. Ethnicity as a phenomenon is yet to be fully integrated into a theory of educational inequality; however the presence of large numbers of migrant background students in such contexts has led to increasing attention. This attention has often been limited to aggregate categories and a small number of large and well established minority groups. Existing qualitative investigations of ethnicity have tended to concentrate on either external supports and constraints or the most visible forms of conflict inside school.

Important questions remain, therefore, about both the impact of ethnic diversity on schooling and the impact of schooling on ethnic identities, strategies and experiences. This thesis has been undertaken in order to better understand students' experiences of the social, institutional and pedagogical relationships they must negotiate in the 'peripheral' space they have been allocated within educational systems. In the next chapter I will outline in greater detail the strategies that I have adopted to undertake these tasks before turning in subsequent chapters to a close examination of the two national contexts and analysis of the data generated by the study.

Chapter 3. **Research methods and settings**

The schools attended by Turkish-background students are often located in contexts of social adversity, but schooling in these contexts is a different proposition from one education system to another. Cross-national comparison is one way of seeking to bring out these specificities (for a discussion see Hantrais & Mangen, 1996), and it is the strategy adopted in this thesis.

In the present study, France and Australia are taken as contrasting institutional settings, and Turkish-background migrants provide the focus as members of an ethnic minority emerging from labour migration which is present in similar locations in both national contexts. A sample has been constructed from students attending schools in Australia and France which cater, at least in part, to working-class migrant populations which include Turkish-background students.

This study has been designed to investigate firstly whether migrant-background students, particularly those of Turkish origin, perceive and manage the demands of school differently to their peers. The second aim is to investigate 'ethnic' strategies for educational investment, and their variations based on the different terrains presented by France and Australia. In this chapter I will first describe the construction of the sample and institutional settings of the study before outlining the research instruments and the implementation of the research.

The comparability of the Turkish immigrant population in Australia and France
Turkish migrants have been chosen as the focus here as a population which has a similar social profile in both Australia and France. Other migrant groups present at schools in the study form part of the analysis as well, but they have migration histories which are more distinctive to each national setting than is the case of the Turkish population. The similarities of Turkish migrants in Australia and France can be summarised as follows:

1. Period of migration

The period of migration began in the late 1960s and was at its height until the mid 1970s, after which it slowed but does not completely stop. The Turks are not the primary source of immigrants in either France or Australia and their migration came at the tail end of a period of mass migration and economic expansion.

2. Conditions of migration

Initial labour migration to fill shortages in expanding post-war economies was gradually replaced by family reunion and chain migration. Small numbers of more recent skilled migrants do not share the same social characteristics as their predecessors.

3. Pre-migration status

Migrants came mainly from country areas, either directly or after an initial migration to an urban area within Turkey. They had low levels of education and experience as labourers or farm workers. Most were tied together not only by a language but by a sense of national identity tied to Islam. Divisions existed between ethnic, linguistic and religious groups¹.

4. Post-migration status

Migrants worked in manufacturing and construction, often both men and women worked with a view to saving for a return to Turkey. These perspectives gradually changed over time to permanent settlement, and later migrants arrived to find an established community and religious networks in areas where Turkish migrants are most concentrated. Subsequent structural changes in the economy and workplace accidents have taken many of the first generation out of the workforce. At the same time, their children face an economic climate of high youth unemployment and few opportunities that are not dependent on academic success. The second generation has had poor educational outcomes to date – these will be examined in later chapters at some length.

The socio-economic and demographic profiles of the Turkish populations and neighbourhoods included in the study are presented in Chapter 4 for Australia and Chapter 9 for France. Below I focus only on introducing the participants in the study and their selection.

The Sample

The sample has been constructed from the population of students attending schools in areas where Turkish-background migrants are concentrated. The northern suburbs of Melbourne in Australia, and the surrounds of Strasbourg in France were identified

¹ In France and Australia there are small numbers of Turkish-born migrants of Armenian, Kurdish and Assyrian ancestry, however these groups do not appear to be represented in the sample.

using census data to provide the terrain. I have therefore constructed a purposive rather than a random sample.

The sample has further been constrained by practical difficulties in gaining access to schools. In both France and Australia regional education authorities responsible for granting research access identified schools which they considered would be suitable for the study and the schools were subsequently approached to participate. Their designation of schools was based on an understanding that the study focused on social disadvantage and ethnic diversity, with Turkish-background students as the prime point of comparison. Given that no figures are kept on this latter attribute, the designation was based on approximations, and included schools with few Turkish-background students. In Australia two schools declined to participate, while in France, three schools declined. Unfortunately for the study, the absence of the three additional schools in the French sample means that the numbers of Turkish students in particular is small. Two of these schools teach Turkish, suggesting that their inclusion would have significantly boosted the number of students from this group. Due to the time and logistical constraints of the study, it was not possible to seek out further sites in order to boost the size of the sample.

Only one school cited a reason for not participating, this being a lycée which was reluctant to let an outsider in as a result of negative media publicity in relation to enforcement of the ban on the hijab. With particular consideration for the vulnerability of the schools in the study, all schools and participants have been de-identified and assigned pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

The participating students come from the year level equivalent to the second last year of mainstream secondary schooling, a time when decisions about subject choices and streams have been made. It was considered that schools would be reluctant to let final-year students participate in the study due to examinations. Students are thus aged around sixteen years old, although many in the French sample are older, having repeated multiple years of school. The penultimate year of mainstream schooling is known in Australia as Year 11 and in France *Première*. Students in French vocational schools are in the final year of a *Brevet d'études professionnelles* (or BEP – a vocational studies diploma). These structures are outlined in Figure 3.1 (below).

In most schools, all students at the relevant year level participated, however in a few schools some classes were unavailable or some students declined to

participate. Support for students with special needs or language difficulties to complete the survey was provided by schools, or in some cases by peers, with additional time and assistance made available. Although efforts were made to collect surveys from students who were absent on the day of collection, in general absent students are not included in the study. This may result in some bias in the results in favour of more assiduous students, with absenteeism ranging from 10% to 20% of students. In all, the total sample size is 927, evenly split between the two countries. Four French schools participated compared to eight schools in Australia, illustrating differences in school size.

Australian Sample and setting

It is necessary for the analysis which will follow to first provide some background on academic structures and the year level from which the sample is drawn. Each Australian state is responsible for managing its own education system, although the Federal Government also provides some funding. The study takes place in Victoria, where secondary education begins at the age of twelve, after seven years of primary education (see Figure 3.1). Secondary education in Victoria occurs in a single structure, although some senior campuses are physically separate from junior campuses. Schooling is compulsory until the age of fifteen², but offers no qualification prior to the Year 12 leaving certificate, taken at the end of six years of secondary study at the age of eighteen.

The Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) is a two-year leaving certificate theoretically accessible to all students. The study took place at the time of the introduction of an alternative Victorian Certificate of Applied Learning (VCAL), which has a more vocational focus and involves time spent in industry. Around 5 per cent of students in the Australian sample were enrolled in VCAL (see Figure 3.2).

At the end of year 10, students in Victoria choose individual subjects, but must retain the core study of English and undertake a minimum of subjects from the 'humanities' and 'sciences' areas. Students may also complete some vocational studies which contribute to their VCE. In the sample, 40 per cent of the students in Australia were involved in Vocational Education and Training programs (VET) (Figure 3.2).

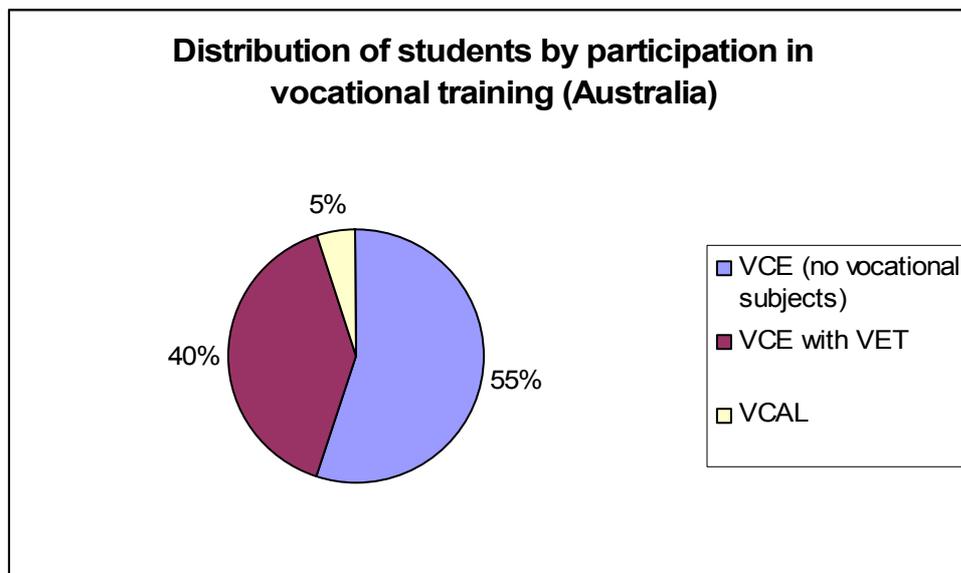
² Age sixteen from 2007

Figure 3.1 Age progression through Victorian and French systems (year of sample in bold)

Age	Victoria	France	
3	Kindergarten	<i>Ecole maternelle</i> : Petite section	
4	Kindergarten	Moyenne section	
5	Primary school: Prep	Grande section	
6	Grade 1	<i>Ecole élémentaire</i> : CP	
7	Grade 2	CE 1	
8	Grade 3	CE 2	
9	Grade 4	CM 1	
10	Grade 5	CM 2	
11	Grade 6	Collège: 6e	
12	Secondary school: Year 7	5e	
13	Year 8	4e	
14	Year 9	3e ****Brevet des collèges****	
15	Year 10 -----subject choices-----	<i>Lycée Général et technologique</i> : Seconde générale et technologique ---placement in gen or tech---	<i>Lycée Professionnel</i> : first year of BEP or CAP
16	Year 11	première générale or technologique	final year of BEP or CAP ****BEP/CAP****
17	Year 12 *****VCE*****	terminale générale or technologique **Baccalauréat gén or tech**	Première professionnelle
18			Terminale professionnelle **Baccalauréat Pro**

Note: ***** = qualification, ---- = decision making moment in stream/subject choice

Figure 3.2



A majority of students in the Australian sample are of working-class background, and parental participation in the workforce is low (see Table 3.1). In light of the concentration of parents in lower blue-collar occupations, I have identified

three categories to capture socio-economic status. The father's occupation and work status (or the mother's where this is missing) have been used. The first category consists of those parents who are not working, due to unemployment, ill health or retirement. The second category consists of labourers, factory workers, shop assistants, cleaners and other blue-collar or unskilled workers. The final category is the most diverse, with most of those in it engaged in intermediate occupations, commercial activities, and associate professions. A small number in this category are managers or in the liberal professions.

We can see from Table 3.1 below that, consistent with census data, parents from ethnic-minority backgrounds are more likely to be out of work. Many of those fathers who are out of the workforce previously worked in industries that are in decline, and where workplace injuries are not uncommon. The construction of the ethnic categories used in Table 3.1 is presented on page 41.

Table 3.1 Occupational status by ethnic background (Australia)

	Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %
unemployed/pensioner	18.4	36.2	57.4	30.0
blue collar/unskilled	60.3	40.9	22.1	50.0
lower middle class and higher	21.3	22.8	20.6	20.0
N	174	149	68	90

The schools

A distinctive characteristic of the Australian setting is the presence of two private schools. Sixty-nine students from the Australian sample are studying at these schools, which cater mainly to the Turkish community and have been set up in the last 10 years. Large subsidies from the Federal Government have helped the emergence of small Christian and Islamic community schools in poorer areas over the last decade in Australia. This move forms part of an ideological commitment on the part of the federal government to 'parental choice' and the development of a quasi-market in education. The participating schools, as they are presented below, reflect the general characteristics of schooling in depressed urban settings in Victoria: small and shrinking state schools; state schools seeking to gain market share through aggressive marketing, and low-fee private schools. These schools hold

contradictory philosophies of social inclusion, and a desire to rid themselves of students who risk dragging down the school in order to protect more motivated students.

Özel College

A private school founded in 1997 with a selective entry policy and a focus on academic achievement and personal development. Its principal and some staff members were educated in Turkey and came to Australia specifically to work at the school.

Kuzey College

A small, poorly resourced Muslim community school catering primarily to the Turkish community. The focus is on pastoral care and personal development.

Westhill College

A large state school which projects itself as a more desirable establishment than surrounding local schools, which the VCE co-ordinator boasts students drive past to reach it.

Livingston College

A small VCE only campus catering to students in the immediate area. Welcome signs to the school are in Turkish as well as English.

Mayfield College

A small state school with not only many Turkish background students but many Pacific Islander students too. Academic connection is extremely fragile, and many students are experiencing great hardship outside of school.

Clydebank College

A small state school drawing students only from the immediate surrounds.

Viewpark College

A larger state school situated further from the urban centre than other schools and with relatively less ethnic diversity.

Prestwick College

A medium sized state school located in the heart of the locality under investigation. A language centre for new arrivals is attached to the school, so there are more first-generation students at this school than elsewhere.

In addition to varying in size and philosophy, the ethnic composition of these schools varies considerably (Table 3.2). Turkish-background students are a majority at both private schools, and at one state school, but in a small minority at two other state schools. This is important to remember in considering the forms of peer sociability and identity formation which will be discussed in later chapters.

Table 3.2 Ethnic composition of schools (Australian sample)

	dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/ Berber %	other backgrounds %	n
<i>Özel</i>	2.1	93.6	4.3	0	47
<i>Kuzey</i>	0.0	72.7	22.7	4.5	22
<i>Westhill</i>	38.3	25.5	13.8	22.3	94
<i>Livingston</i>	5.3	60.5	21.1	13.2	76
<i>Mayfield</i>	61.4	10.5	3.5	24.6	57
<i>Clydebank</i>	46.4	5.8	24.6	23.2	69
<i>Viewpark</i>	71.3	1.3	3.8	23.8	80
<i>Prestwick</i>	25.0	22.2	27.8	25.0	36

There is somewhat greater uniformity between schools in terms of social composition (Table 3.3). More than two-thirds of students are the children of lower-working class or unemployed parents. Rates of unemployment are exceptionally high at Livingston, but remain high elsewhere too.

Table 3.3 Socio-economic composition of schools (Australian sample)

	unemployed/ pensioner %	blue collar/ unskilled %	lower middle class and higher %	n
<i>Özel</i>	25.5	46.8	27.7	47
<i>Kuzey</i>	36.4	40.9	22.7	22
<i>Westhill</i>	18.1	58.5	23.4	94
<i>Livingston</i>	50.0	32.9	17.1	76
<i>Mayfield</i>	31.6	59.6	8.8	57
<i>Clydebank</i>	31.9	39.1	29.0	69
<i>Viewpark</i>	17.5	58.8	23.8	80
<i>Prestwick</i>	63.9	19.4	16.7	36

French sample and setting

Secondary education in France follows five years of elementary school, with students beginning junior secondary school (*collège*) at 11 years of age. Many students will also have attended nursery school, which forms part of primary school, from the age of two or three (see Figure 3.1).

In the final year of junior secondary school (*collège*), students are directed towards either academic studies in a '*lycée général*' or vocational studies in a '*lycée professionnel*' (LP). The choices are made based on negotiations between families and schools and on results. On Figure 3.1 (above) this moment of decision making is signalled by a dotted line (---). At the end of three years of study attending the academic *lycée général*, students sit for the leaving certificate or '*Baccalauréat*' (baccalaureate). Meanwhile, students at the *lycée professionnel* (which means 'vocational' and not 'professional') first prepare a two year diploma known as a *CAP* or *BEP*³ before either leaving school or staying for another two years to complete a *baccalauréat professionnel* (vocational baccalaureate). Half the students in the sample are enrolled in a BEP structure, with 35 per cent studying for a *baccalauréat général* and the remaining 15 per cent preparing a *baccalauréat technologique* (Figure 3.3). The French sample is split between a *lycée général*, a *lycée polyvalent* (all types of '*baccalauréat*' on the one site), and two *lycées professionnels*.

Not only are students in the French sample at age 16 separated by the type of school they attend and the diploma they are preparing, but they are also separated into classes based on their curriculum stream or specialisation. While movement between streams and structures is possible, in reality it is rare. Better-off parents seek to place their children in streams and schools which protect them from weaker or socially suspect students. The different modes of organising the senior years in France and Australia are important to remember in considering the differences between the two countries which emerge in student responses.

Socially, the French sample is somewhat more diverse than the Australian sample in the contribution of dominant language-background students (see Table 3.2). The greater number of dominant language-background students from middle-class backgrounds reflects the broader geographical intake of the academic sections, which take in both urban and rural populations.

³ *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle* (certificate of vocational aptitude), *Brevet d'études professionnelles* (diploma of vocational studies).

Figure 3.3

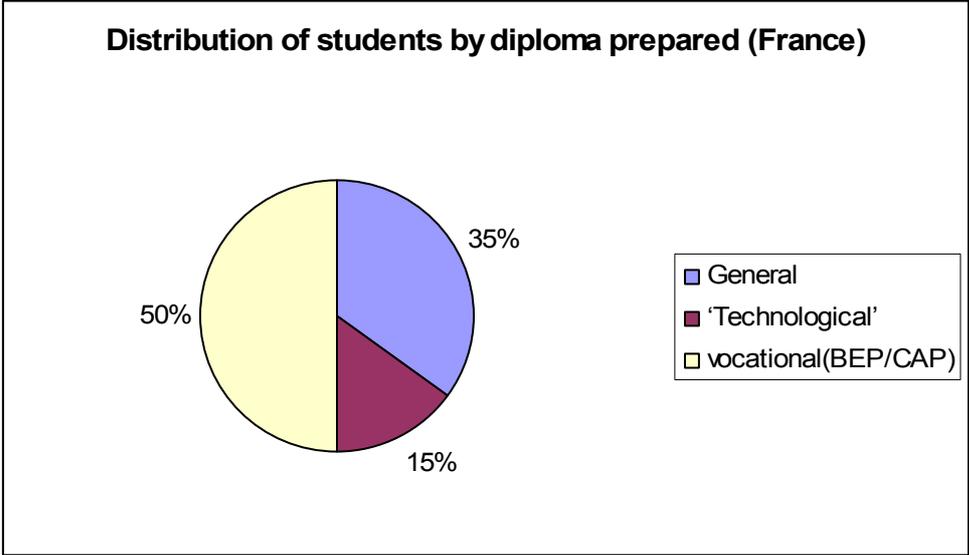


Table 3.4 Occupational status by ethnic background (France)

	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other backgrounds %
unemployed/pensioner	7.7	17.1	32.5	14.5
blue collar/unskilled	56.8	74.3	56.6	63.8
lower middle class and higher	35.5	8.6	10.8	21.7
n	259	35	83	69

The lower working class profile of migrant families (Table 3.4) reflects the historical demand for workers in manufacturing and construction which was the impetus for much post-war migration. For those migrants who are not still working in these sectors, their lack of qualifications and fluency in the national language has taken them out of the working population. Workplace injuries also help to account for low participation rates in the workforce. The relatively earlier period of migration from North Africa and some parts of the middle-east is also reflected in large numbers of retired fathers in the Arabic/Berber speaking cohort.

Tables presented above show that, to some extent, the purposive sample construction has resulted in a level of control of social characteristics and that the two national samples are approximately paired. Identifying and gaining the participation of schools with a large numbers of students with a particular migration background in two countries has been a particular challenge in conducting this investigation and this match is, inevitably, inexact.

The schools

French urban peripheries are populated by larger and more specialised schools than their counterparts in Australia. A smaller number of schools are included in the French sample, and each is a distinctive type:

Lycée Professionnel Dumas

A technical college catering primarily to girls studying secretarial and economics courses. Located in the centre of Strasbourg.

Lycée Professionnel Molière

A technical college catering mainly to boys. Located in Mulhouse, which the Proviseur compared to Manchester due to its industrial heritage. The school is located in an old textile factory.

Lycée Claudel

A large 'polyvalent' school with academic and technical wings located in a suburb of Strasbourg described by students as "chaud" (hot).

Lycée Voltaire

An 'academic' school located in a town close to Strasbourg. Stands out from the other French schools as more rural in its intake and its small size.

These schools are located within, or close to, smaller urban centres than Melbourne. As in the Australian sample, dominant language-background students are in a minority in most schools (Table 3.5). The proportion of Turkish-background students is, however, much smaller. This was somewhat unanticipated, and presented problems for data analysis which are discussed elsewhere. This composition also has an influence on identity formation, school attachment and peer sociability which is discussed further.

Table 3.5 Ethnic composition of schools (French sample)

	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	n
Dumas	43.9	6.5	29.0	20.6	107
Claudel	45.9	8.1	23.0	23.0	74
Molière	37.8	8.9	28.9	24.4	90
Voltaire	82.3	8.0	5.1	4.6	175

The socio-economic composition of the schools indicates that parents whose children attend the schools with 'academic' tracks are somewhat more likely to have higher status occupations (Table 3.6). Many of those who contribute to the appearance of greater social advantage at Voltaire occupy intermediary positions, and there are few managers or professionals amongst the parents of any of the four schools. The greatest distinction therefore is in the lower rates of unemployment amongst the parents of children attending Lycée Voltaire.

Table 3.6 Socio-economic composition of schools (French sample)

	unemployed/ pensioner %	blue collar/ unskilled %	lower middle class and higher %	n
Dumas	15.9	61.7	22.4	107
Claudel	18.9	54.1	27.0	74
Molière	21.1	68.9	10.0	90
Voltaire	7.4	54.9	37.7	175

Instrumentation

A mix of qualitative and quantitative methods has been used. A questionnaire collected mainly quantitative data from students while structured interviews provided qualitative data (instruments are in Appendix 3). Self-reported characteristics are, of course, not the equivalent of observation and actual behaviour, and are influenced by students' interpretations of the research situation. They nevertheless remain valuable when understood as such. Combining methods allows for a deepening of understanding and triangulation, strengthening the validity of results.

The questionnaire aimed to gather students' perspectives on the operation of schooling as they experience it. The questions seek data on distinctions in the workings of education systems at particular sites, the diversity of users, and the variations in student experiences. In addition to information on family background, students were also asked to provide information on their 'choice' of school/stream, years repeated, help received with homework and other support available to them.

They were asked to give their own view on coping with schoolwork, their expected results, their aspirations and future prospects, relations with peers and teachers, and the quality of the school. Students were also asked about constraints placed on boys and girls at school, prejudice in society, and the importance of gender in determining opportunities in broader society.

Most opinions and attitudes were elicited using a four point Likert scale. The measures developed by Centre for Post-compulsory Education and Lifelong Learning (University of Melbourne) have proved sensitive to differences in student experience linked to student background, and a number of these 'road tested' questions have been adopted.

Group interviews were designed to provide more in depth responses than allowed for by the survey instrument and were conducted according to well established approaches for such procedures (Krueger, King, & Morgan, 1998; Vaughn, Schumm, & Sinagub, 1996).

The choice of a group interview was based on the greater potential for generating discussion amongst participants. A second benefit of group interviews is that they reduce the intensity and perhaps intimidation potentially felt in a one-on-one interview by altering the balance of power in favour of participants (Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999: 18). As students were being asked for general opinions rather than revelations about themselves, it was felt that the ethical concern of confidentiality – reduced when participants are from the same social network – was not overwhelming. Further, the potential for students to feel uncomfortable speaking in a group, and in particular a mixed gender group, appeared to be outweighed by the benefit of increased discussion through group interaction.

Outside of the formal framework of conducting interviews and surveys, I spent time in the various educational settings and communities observing, listening, discussing and sharing meals. Generally my time in each school was limited to one or two days but I spent considerably longer in the local communities.

Selection of interviewees

At each school I asked to interview VCE co-ordinators (Australia), CPEs⁴ (France), careers advisors, and a teacher from each major subject area (see Table 3.7). Each school managed this request differently, and time available varied. At all schools, some interviews with staff were opportunistic, and based on which staff members were free at the time of my visit. At some schools, the contact person for the project had organised either group or individual interviews with specific staff members. Thus, responses may have been influenced by the type of staff member 'hand-picked' by the contact person.

For student interviews, I asked the contact person from each school to select two groups of six students with a view to including gender balance, academic and behavioural mix, and ethnic diversity (see Table 3.8). The groups were interviewed in a classroom without any school staff present. In some instances students were taken out of class, and in others students were recruited from amongst those who did not have a class at the time of my visit, and were to an extent opportunistic. Typically students from different streams were interviewed in separate groups in the French setting, with all streams being represented by at least one student. Following interviews with students, the contact person usually provided some background information on the students interviewed. The potential exists therefore for bias to enter into interview responses through the selectivity exercised by the school contact person. The conditions of my entry to the schools and my short stay made alternative approaches to sampling for interviews extremely difficult.

⁴ Conseiller Principal d'Education. Non-teaching position with responsibility for welfare and discipline.

Table 3.7 Teachers interviewed by school

School	VCE co-ordinator/ CPE	Careers advisor	Mathematics	English	Other staff	Principal	Total
<i>Özel College</i>	1	1	2	1	1	1	7
<i>Kuzey College</i>	1	1	1	1			4
<i>Westhill College</i>	1	1	1	1	1		5
<i>Livingston College</i>	1	1	1	1			4
<i>Mayfield College</i>	1	1	1		1		4
<i>Clydebank College</i>	1	1		1			3
<i>Viewpark College</i>	1			2			3
<i>Prestwick College</i>	1	1	1	1		1	5
<i>Lycée Professionnel Dumas</i>	1		1	2	3	1	8
<i>Lycée Professionnel Molière</i>	1			1	3	1	6
<i>Lycée Polyvalent Claudel</i>	1		1		1	1	4
<i>Lycée Voltaire</i>	1		2	2	3	1	9
Total	12	7	11	13	13	6	62

Table 3.8 Students interviewed by school

School	Girls	Boys	Turkish-background	Total
<i>Özel College</i>	6	6	10	12
<i>Kuzey College</i>	4	4	5	8
<i>Westhill College</i>	4	3	1	7
<i>Livingston College</i>	4	4	3	8
<i>Mayfield College</i>	6	6	2	12
<i>Clydebank College</i>	3	3	1	6
<i>Viewpark College</i>	3	3	0	6
<i>Prestwick College</i>	4	3	4	7
<i>Lycée Professionnel Dumas</i>	5	0	1	5
<i>Lycée Professionnel Molière</i>	2	6	2	8
<i>Lycée Polyvalent Claudel</i>	6	6	3	12
<i>Lycée Voltaire</i>	1		2	9
Total	48	44	34	100

Procedures

I undertook to meet with community members in the course of developing the hypotheses and research instruments and prior to conducting the survey in order to discuss my aims and appropriate methods of approaching local communities with due sensitivity. To this end I had discussions with the Islamic Women's Welfare Council of Victoria, teachers from the Turkish community and members of the Broadmeadows mosque. I also took Turkish lessons from a member of the Turkish community in order to help with this process. In France I was able to make contact with a range of community leaders through a conference commemorating the fortieth anniversary of Turkish presence in Alsace. This also helped me to appreciate some lines of division in the community, particularly around the diversity of orientations towards Islam and politics.

I also consulted broadly with institutional stake-holders, which helped to clarify the operation of different aspects of the two systems and the best ways to approach staff and students to gain their full participation. This was particularly useful in

determining how to frame the study to participants and what kind of language to use in questions and discussions.

A draft of the survey instrument and interview schedule was tested in 2003 on a group of 28 year 11 students. The administration and analysis of the instruments was followed by discussion with the students to clarify their understandings of particular items and to improve them. The interview items were also tried out with students and teachers at the school at this stage. In the French stage of the study, a pre-trial was carried out at Lycée Professionnel Hyppolyte Fontaine in Dijon. This also allowed for fine tuning the translation of the questionnaire. After approval from the relevant educational authorities and authorisation from schools, data was collected in the second half of 2004 from Australian schools and in the first half of 2005 from French schools. Questionnaires were completed in class-time following a short explanation of the study from myself. In a small number of cases surveys were posted to me from schools when there had been insufficient time for students to complete the survey. Interviews were also conducted in schools with students selected by teachers or the CPE, but not in their presence.

Translation and adaptation of the questionnaire

The OECD has noted that self-reported characteristics are vulnerable to problems of comparability across cultures. However, the relationship between certain characteristics, such as self-belief and sense of belonging at school, and performance in the PISA study appears to be robust (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2004: 112; Zigo, 2001). In translating both the group interview schedule and the questionnaire the recommendations outlined for comparative research by Hayashi were followed (Hayashi, Suzuki, & Sasaki, 1992). Through pre-testing and interviews I have attempted to take into account differences in the interpretation of questions between national contexts. Due to differences between education systems and greater sensitivities around the concept of ethnicity, some questions were modified and the order of the questionnaire was changed. It proved impossible to retain some questions in equivalent form, so a small number of items are not directly comparable across the two settings.

Analysis

Data from the questionnaires were coded and analysed using the SPSS software package. Data from notes and interview recordings were ordered into themes which provide the basis for discussion in each section of the thesis.

All interviews were recorded, with one exception on the request of interviewee. In making use of this data I have borne in mind the need for analysis of the group as a whole as well as recognition of individual voices operating within it. I have attempted, as Barbour advocates, to “distinguish between opinions expressed in spite of, or in opposition to, the group and the consensus expressed or constructed by the group” (Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999: 16).

The final survey question sought a written composition in response to the question “if you were asked on a radio interview to describe your idea of a successful life, what would you say”? As response rates varied greatly according to the time available and students’ speed, I have not attempted a quantitative analysis. Rather, I present the common themes which emerged from these responses and a linguistic analysis. In my linguistic analysis, I have not used traditional linguistic measures of second-language development here, partly because they focus on the early stages of acquisition⁵. I instead focus on discourse features and grammatical and lexical complexity.

The quantitative data have been analysed mainly through descriptive statistics and traditional inferential techniques. Bivariate tests of significance are shown in where possible. These tests include Pearson’s Chi-Square, independent sample T-Tests, one-way ANOVA, Mann-Whitney U, and Kruskal-Wallis tests. I have reported information on expected frequencies for Chi-Square tests when the minimum expected count is less than 1, or more than 20 per cent of cells have expected values below 5 (the conservative minimum requirement (Cochran, 1954)). The sample size is generally sufficient to satisfy Roscoe and Byers’ more liberal rule of thumb that the *average* expected cell frequency should be at least 1 when the expected cell frequencies are close to equal, and 2 when they are not (Roscoe & Byars, 1971).

⁵ Morphosyntactical tests of second language development are of little relevance here as virtually all students have mastered the forms evaluated in such measures (negation, question formation, grammatical morphemes, relative clauses) (Lightbown & Spada, 1999). Further, indexes based on the T-unit or error-free T-unit (Wolfe-Quintero, Kim, Inagaki, & University of Hawaii at Manoa. Second Language Teaching & Curriculum Center., 1998) generally do not take into account conventions of written language.

Multivariate analysis has been undertaken using logistic regression where possible. Because of the small number of schools in the sample, multilevel models have not been used. While the data is structured hierarchically, the number of level-two units (the 8 schools in Australia and 4 in France) is insufficient for variance estimates provided by multilevel modelling to be reliable. The literature suggests a minimum of 30 level-two units and ideally at least 50 (Hox, 2002: 173-9; Kreft & Leeuw, 1998: 124-5; Snijders & Bosker, 1999: 140).

Despite the criticisms levelled at work which mixes levels of analysis since the work of Coleman (1966), his general findings identifying influences on achievement are still generally accepted as important. For the purposes of the present study, the value of investigating the influence of schools over and above the composition of their intake outweighs concerns about mixing levels of analysis. School and stream have therefore been considered as contextual variables for a small number of analyses.

I have reported regressions models using predicted probability expressed as percentages. Percentage increases in probability have the advantage of being easy to compare and interpret. I also include a pseudo R Square as a measure of strength of association between predictors and the dependent variable. The Nagelkerke R Square (Nagelkerke, 1991) is based on likelihood and may be interpreted as approximating an OLS R Square, although its values tend to be lower.

Regression has been used more sparingly in analysis of the French settings, where small numbers and the structure of streams present serious obstacles to this approach. Indeed all forms of quantitative analysis have been approached with caution in light of the small sample size.

The construction of categories

A small number of questionnaires did not contain responses to all items. Where possible, responses have been imputed from responses to similar items on the same questionnaire. Socio-economic status has therefore been constructed using the father's profession, and where that is missing, the profession of the mother. The work status and educational levels of parents have been used when this data is not available.

Parents' place of birth and the use of a language of migration in the home have been taken as proxy measures of ethnicity. In the Australian setting it is worth

noting the large number of English speaking migrants. Seventeen percent of students in the sample who only speak English at home have two parents born overseas, and 21 per cent has both born overseas. The figures for France are 3 per cent and 7 per cent respectively.

Because those born overseas who are monolingual speakers of the dominant language are likely to be from the same cultural background as non-migrants, they have been grouped together in a category called 'dominant language-background'. This category thus includes the children of non-migrants and the children of parents born overseas to non-migrant parents, or to parents from New Zealand or the United Kingdom (in the Australian sample) and Switzerland or Belgium (in the French sample). This term is awkward, but avoids the use of 'French' and 'Australian', labels which refer only to nationality, and 'non migrant-background', which is inaccurate for some students in this category.

A second category, 'Turkish-background', comprises students who were born in Turkey, whose parents were born in Turkey, or who speak Turkish at home. There are sufficient numbers in the sample to construct a further category of those students who speak Arabic or Berber or were born in one of the countries in Tables 3.9 and 3.10. Indeed this group is larger than the Turkish group in France. The unity of this category is weaker than that of Turkish background; however language⁶, religion, and some aspects of family structure, provide a basis for its coherence. Nationality does not form part of the definition, and indeed the national origins are different for the Australian sample and the French sample. This makes it potentially more problematic to compare the category across the two settings. Within each country there is greater cultural and geographical basis for the category. In France, the 'Maghreb' region is the birthplace of all but 8 per cent of mothers and 6 per cent of fathers from the Arabic/Berber category.

⁶ Berber speakers are mainly in the French sample and usually speak both Arabic and Berber at home. Some students also used the name of their country of origin (e.g. Algerian) to name the language they speak at home.

Table 3.9 Parents' country of birth (Arabic/Berber speakers) in French sample

	mother or guardian's country of birth %	Father or guardian's country of birth %
Morocco	52	46
Algeria	29	34
Tunisia	10	13
France	3	3
Turkey	0	1
Syria	3	1
Lebanon	1	1
Afghanistan	1	0
n	69	68

Table 3.10 Parents' country of birth (Arabic/Berber speakers) in Australian sample

	mother or guardian's country of birth %	Father or guardian's country of of birth %
Lebanon	59	60
Iraq	13	13
Syria	9	10
Egypt	6	8
Algeria	2	2
Australia	2	0
Ghana	2	0
Jordan	2	0
Kuwait	2	3
Morocco	2	0
Palestine	2	2
Somalia	2	2
France	0	2
n	64	62

The students in the Australian sample are more likely to be of Middle Eastern background, with a clear majority being of Lebanese origin. It would be possible, but not completely accurate, to rename the Arabic/Berber category 'North African' in the French context and 'Middle Eastern' in the Australian context. Although there are only two Berber speaking students in the Arabic/Berber category in the Australian part of the sample, this label has been retained in order to facilitate comparison between national settings.

The final category, 'other backgrounds', consists of students who speak a language of migration other than Turkish, Arabic or Berber. This group is made up of students from over 100 different national origins and their ethnic profiles are extremely diverse. As a consequence of its heterogeneous composition, I will not devote much time to discussing this group in my presentation of results. It can serve

as a reference point, however, to identify where effects are generalised across all groups.

The research literature also suggests that it is useful to distinguish between first generation migrants and the second generation, made up of their children. In the sample, students are primarily second generation, with the exception of the 'other language' group which makes an analysis by generation difficult. I have not, therefore, gone down this path.

Table 3.11 Country of birth by background (Australia)

	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other language %	Total %
born in country of reference	93.70	89.90	73.50	53.30	82.10
born overseas	6.30	10.10	26.50	46.70	17.90
n	174	149	68	90	481

Table 3.12 Country of birth by background (France)

	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other language %	Total %
born in country of reference	96.90	85.70	80.70	75.40	89.70
born overseas	3.10	14.30	19.30	24.60	10.30
n	259	35	83	69	446

As a result of practical difficulties encountered in the collection of data, the number of Turkish-background students in the French sample is small (n=35), which raises problems for quantitative analysis. Because the study seeks to identify whether specific ethnic traits play a role in influencing school experience, I have not amalgamated these students into a larger 'ethnic-minority' category. The inferences which can be drawn from this small sample are, as a consequence, limited. However, with a response rate of close to 90 per cent in the French schools, these figures do hold some descriptive value for the settings investigated.

Caveats

The validity of my procedures depends on an awareness of my own position as a researcher, and of the constraints of the social structures governing my relationship with the people I am researching (Bourdieu, Chamboredon, & Passeron, 1983). Specific issues also arise in the context of cross-cultural research (Burgess & Pole,

2000): I entered schools and communities as an outsider, one viewed as particularly exotic in the French setting. Although I was an outsider to the sites I visited, I brought with me experience in schools in both education settings.

The extent to which purposes are revealed must be considered both as an ethical and a pragmatic concern. Generally I did not present ethnicity as my focus. In this I followed the example of Schram, who told subjects in his study of Laotian students that he simply wanted to understand the experiences of students in the school in general (Schram, 2002: 104). Nevertheless, there is likely to be some trace in student responses of the underlying assumptions embedded in the questions asked of them.

On a practical level, this study confronts the problem of matching populations in two different settings, and this has been achieved only imperfectly. The logistical difficulties of undertaking this task have resulted in a small sample size, which make some forms of quantitative analysis difficult. This is compensated by the richness of data provided and the conceptual benefits of comparing a 'like' group in the two settings. Given this purposive construction of the sample, the question of generalising findings and achieving inferential statistical significance diminishes in importance as a test of validity.

The scope of the study and the nature of the research instruments also exclude a range of factors which have the potential to influence school experience. The study focuses on students' perceptions of themselves, and to a lesser extent, the perceptions of staff-members of the schools visited. As such, the study is limited to a snap-shot of the subjective aspects of student life at a particular stage.

A limitation of any work seeking to uncover causal mechanisms is that some factors will inevitably be omitted from analysis, and therefore explanations can only be tentative and provisional. The identification of associations between variables which are considered does not, of course, establish a relationship of causality. Nevertheless, as I have shown in the previous chapter, there are solid theoretical grounds for positing a relationship between the subjective experiences uncovered by this study and the factors presented as possible explanations.

Chapter 4.

Turkish migrants in Australia

In order to investigate the salience of 'Turkish ethnicity' to school experience, it is necessary first to delve into the distinctive characteristics of the Turkish community in Australia. In this chapter I present the case that particular community norms and particular material circumstances distinguish the Turkish community from other working-class groups in Australia. Amongst those factors deserving attention are the conditions of reception of Turkish migrants (including residential and economic location); and family and community structure. Some of these elements are shared with other migrant groups, and I will use these groups as points of comparison. The purpose of this chapter is not to portray the Turkish experience as unique in every regard, and it is instructive to show where similarities exist with other groups which have been shaped by similar social forces.

Background of migration in Australia

A focus solely on the perceived cultural characteristics of migrant groups is unhelpful, as Tsolidis (1986) has noted, because ethnicity is a set of symbolic resources mobilised under specific institutional and economic conditions. In order to understand the reception of Turkish migrants in Australia, it is important therefore to appreciate something of the wider context of Australian migration.

Turkish migration to Australia came at the tail-end of the largest wave of migration from beyond the United Kingdom and Ireland since British settlement in 1788. The history of migration to Australia since that time has been one of tension between a dominant 'Anglo-Saxon' population, which has come to be identified as the cultural core of Australia, and various culturally and racially alien subjects.

This opposition is reflected by the foundation of Australia on the dispossession of indigenous people, who did not receive citizenship or voting rights until 1967. It is further embodied by the 1901 the White Australia Act, which restricted all non-European immigration and was used to further restrict

migration to speakers of English. A cartoon from the *Bulletin* underlines this sense of cultural vulnerability, which persists in contemporary political discourse.

Figure 4.1 "The Prohibited Chow Pest"



Source: (King, 1976, originally appearing in *The Bulletin* 1909).

In the post-Second World War years, the Australian economy began to suffer from labour shortages and British migration was joined by large-scale migration from Southern and Eastern Europe, and later from the Middle East. Then, from the early 1980s, labour migration started to dry up and refugees from Vietnam, Lebanon and other war-torn areas began to arrive. Currently a small refugee intake and a larger intake of skilled migrants make up the bulk of permanent settlers. Today, of Australia's population of 19 million, 23 per cent were born overseas and 43 per cent were either born overseas or had at least one parent born overseas. Twenty per cent of Australians speak a language other than English, with the most common languages being Italian, Greek, Cantonese, Arabic, Vietnamese and Mandarin (Turkish is thirteenth nationally but eighth in Melbourne).

Following the abandonment of the White Australia policy in 1966, the dominant discourse moved towards the cultural assimilation of new migrants and indigenous populations to 'Anglo' cultural norms. This in turn has been replaced, from the mid 1970s, with a policy of 'multiculturalism', and the first 'Multicultural Education Program' was formulated in 1981. Multiculturalism involves the recognition and support of some forms of cultural difference (for a discussion of multiculturalism see, for example, Henry & Lingard, 1982; Jakubowicz, 1984; Kalantzis & Cope, 1999; Knight, Smith, & Sachs, 1990). However, in the last ten years resurgent ethno-nationalist political formations have again presented cultural difference as a threat to social cohesion.

Turkish migrants have thus entered a context in which ethnic boundaries have tended to be maintained and defined against a dominant 'Anglo-Australian' cultural norm. Their Turkish ethnicity has also been defined in terms of the economic position they occupy, and the geographical spread of Turkish settlers emerging from the process of migration and economic participation.

The economic conditions of migration

Turkish migration began in earnest after the signing of a bilateral agreement with Turkey in 1967, and was at its peak until the mid 1970s. Despite their massive concentration in factory work on arrival, Turkish migrants left heterogeneous prior occupations (Elley, 1985: 130). Many had also undertaken a prior migration from a rural area to a city within Turkey as part of a rural exodus driven by economic changes (Inglis, Elley, Manderson, & Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1992). Inglis has observed that "the Australian labour market has been an important levelling influence" on the distinctions between urban and rural origins (Inglis et al., 1992: 47).

In common with many who arrived before them, Turkish migrants had high aspirations for social mobility. However, in the early days many viewed their migration as temporary, and invested their future aspirations, including for their children's education, in a return to Turkey (Elley, 1985: 8).

By 1980, permanent settlement had become the dominant perspective (MSJ Keys Young Planners & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1980). The 2001 census counts over 54,000 individuals (0.3% of the

population) claiming Turkish ancestry (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2003b: 57). This shift to permanent settlement implied greater investment in both material goods in Australia and in children's education.

The first generation of Turkish migrants has retained a strong occupational concentration in factory and unskilled work (Keceli, 1998; Young, 1988). Most are employed in manufacturing, clerical and sales, and wholesale and retail sectors (Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs, 2003). Table 4.1 shows that Turkish; Lebanese and Vietnamese parents are under-represented in managerial and professional employment categories, while large numbers fall into the category 'other', which includes lower skilled occupations).

Lebanese and Vietnamese migrants provide interesting points of comparison, as groups which settled over a similar period and which have, as we can see from Table 4.1 below, a similar economic profile¹. However settlement patterns have led Vietnamese migrants to different parts of Melbourne, and to access different schools. Many Lebanese migrants live in the same areas as Turkish migrants, and this is reflected in some of the similarities in school experience which emerge in the data presented in later chapters.

Table 4.1 Occupational status of parents of the second-generation by country of birth (percentages), 1996

Birthplace of parents	Managerial/professional	Para-prof. Or trades	Sales, services, clerical	Other	Number of children
Australia %	32.0	33.2	10.6	24.2	1742418
Turkey %	10.8	28.1	4.5	56.6	4709
Lebanon %	10.0	40.6	5.0	44.4	14201
Vietnam %	16.4	28.8	4.4	50.4	20091

Source: (Khoo, McDonald, Giorgas, & Birrell, 2002: 36)

Many in the first generation have left the workforce completely across Turkish, Lebanese and Vietnamese groups, often as a result of workplace accidents. Forty-four per cent of the Turkish second generation aged 0-14

¹ Lebanese migration to Australia has a longer history, and socially diverse origins and economic implantation. However, the recent wave of migration, captured by this data and present in the study, is primarily Muslim, of rural origin, and comes with low levels of education.

years live in households where neither parent is employed, compared to 19.1 per cent of children whose parents were born in Australia (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Employment status of parents of second generation aged 0-14 years by parents' birthplace, 1996

Birthplace of parents	Both/sole parents employed full time	At least one parent employed part-time	Only one parent employed	Both/sole parent(s) not employed
Australia %	17.0	33.3	30.6	19.1
Turkey %	13.5	10.2	32.2	44.1
Lebanon %	6.7	7.4	32.3	53.7
Vietnam %	24.5	9.9	27.9	37.7

Source: (Khoo et al., 2002: 33)

Unlike the groups presented in Table 4.2, earlier waves of labour migrants experienced more favourable economic conditions and more rapid economic mobility. The precarious economic situation of these more recent migrant groups can be linked to the timing of their arrival at the start of a long downward turn in Australia's manufacturing industries. As a consequence, as Inglis notes,

Although the lived world of the daily experiences of the Turkish people may have changed in many respects, the material circumstances of their lives have not changed so significantly...Turkish Australian young people are still predominantly growing up in families where material disadvantage, and family experience of limited English, and often limited formal education, are the norm (1992: ix).

Economic position is further illustrated by income. Of Melbournians born in Turkey aged fifteen or over, more than half have incomes of less than \$300 per week – a figure similar to that for Vietnamese and Lebanese born (Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs, 2003: 31). However, only 37 per cent of Australian-born are in this income bracket. At the other end of the scale, more than three times as many Australian-born earn over \$1000 a week as do Turkish, Lebanese or Vietnamese born.

Not all Australian migrant communities have the same economic profile, and Hong Kong-born migrants, who are more highly educated and proficient in English, more than twice as often earn over \$1000 a week as migrants from the other sources mentioned.

To date, there are signs that the Turkish second generation also suffers from unemployment at higher rates than those with Australian-born parents (Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs, 2003: 39). A break-down by age shows an increase in the unemployment rate of at least 10 percentage points between non-migrant-background youth and those with parents born in Turkey, Lebanon or Vietnam (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Unemployment rates of the second generation by age and ancestry² (2001, Melbourne statistical division) (%)

	Age:	
	15-19	20-24
Parent(s) born in Turkey	44.4	25.6
Parent(s) born in Lebanon	40.0	17.8
Parent(s) born in Vietnam	59.6	30.2
Parents born in Australia	32.0	10.3

Source: calculated from unpublished 2001 census data provided by Australian Bureau of Statistics

Unemployment is highest for those who have left education at an early age, and peaks amongst Vietnamese-background young people aged between 15 and 19. It remains high for those of Turkish background aged 20-24, and stands at more than double rate of unemployment experienced by those whose parents were both born in Australia. This high level of unemployment provides a powerful incentive for young people from these migrant groups to seek to stay in formal education for as long as possible. In material circumstances, the situation of Turkish-background youth is thus similar in some ways to that of other groups. This similarity persists in relation to housing and access to education for Turkish and Lebanese migrants in particular.

² For individuals not enrolled in secondary, vocational or tertiary education

Geographical location

Patterns of settlement amongst Turkish migrants can be directly linked to social class, as Icduygu has observed:

Structural segmentation of the Australian population provided a particular social class position for Turkish migrants which became more direct and certain when they were concentrated in certain industries and occupations and tended to settle in particular neighbourhoods (Icduygu, 1994: 80).

Initial settlement in particular neighbourhoods was driven not only by the availability of affordable housing, but desire to be with other Turks and availability of ethnic support networks. Over time, Turkish migrants' aspirations for home ownership and community regrouping have led to further concentration, with other low income earners, in areas close to heavy industry where housing is cheap, but services are scarce (Keceli, 1998).

In Victoria, 92 per cent of Turkish born live in Metropolitan Melbourne, which is home to 42 per cent of all Turkish speakers in Australia (Clyne & Kipp, 2002: 32). Initially Turkish migrants were concentrated in inner-city areas where they could find migrant hostels, public housing and factory work. The Turkish community is now primarily located in the North West of Melbourne: the local government areas of Hume, Whittlesea, Brimbank and Moreland.

These five areas alone account for 69 per cent of Turkish speakers in Victoria, with the greatest concentration being in the suburb of Broadmeadows, where a migrant hostel was formerly located and where the Ford motor company has a plant (Table 4.4). As Table 4.4 shows, Broadmeadows is also home to a considerable number of Arabic speakers.

Table 4.4 Broadmeadows ethnic Profile, 2001 Census

Three main countries of birth outside of Australia:

Turkey: 4429 (6.8%)

Italy: 2038 (3.1%)

Lebanon: 1667 (2.6%).

The three most common languages spoken at home other than English:

Turkish: 8355 (12.9%)

Arabic: 5224 (8.1%)

Italian: 3536 (5.5%).

Source: (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002)

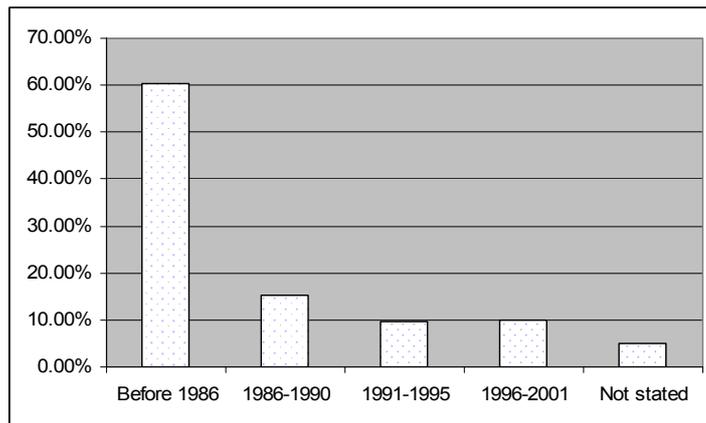
Residential concentration has tended to strengthen ethnic bonds. Keceli found in her Melbourne study that structural and geographical boundaries generate "intense feelings of solidarity and the desire for inclusive traditional cultural boundary maintenance" (Keceli, 1998:410). In the course of my fieldwork it emerged that some Turks from the suburbs of strongest Turkish concentration perceive Turks in other parts of Melbourne as placing less emphasis on being a Turk and a Muslim. They are considered to be more secular, left-wing and assimilationist, emblematised by the practice of anglicising names.

However, residential concentration in the poorer Northern suburbs of Melbourne has also resulted in the Turkish community accessing the schools which have been identified by previous research as locations of great educational disadvantage and disengagement (Teese 2003).

The structure of the Turkish community

The consequences of the conditions of arrival and reception of Turkish migrants are now being felt by their children. The 2001 census counts 30,000 Victorians claiming Turkish ancestry, roughly half of whom were born in Turkey. Ninety-six per cent of Turkish-background individuals aged under 15 at the time of the 2001 census are second generation. The figures match patterns of Migration from Turkey: 61 per cent of Turkish born arrived before 1985 and 76 per cent before 1991 (see Figure 4.2).

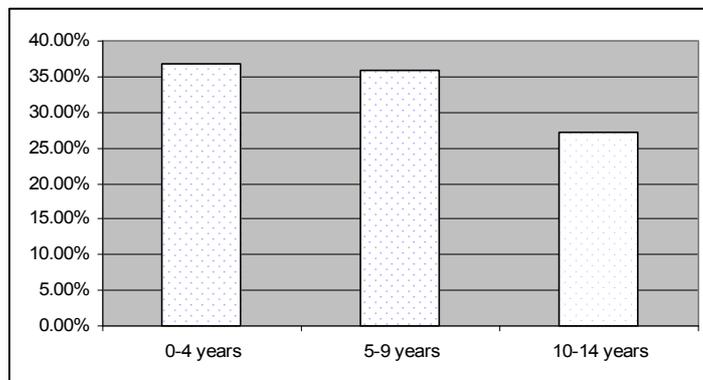
Figure 4.2 Migration patterns for Turkish Born in Victoria



Source: (Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs, 2003)

Khoo's 1996 census analysis found that the second generation were overwhelmingly school age or younger, with the largest numbers yet to come through secondary schooling (see figure 4.3)

Figure 4.3 Age distribution of the second generation in Australia (parents or father born in Turkey) aged 0-14 years, 1996



Source: (Khoo et al., 2002)

This second generation is growing up in a community characterised by the maintenance of strong community norms, many of which have been transformed by the new economic and institutional circumstances of life as part of the Australian working-class.

Patterns of social relations in the Turkish community in Australia are of interest here because they have the potential to shape educational expectations and mobilisation, particular as these interact with gender roles.

Unfortunately, most research on Turkish migrants in Australia refers to an earlier period as interest was mainly on the Turks' status as new arrivals with cultural and religious traits perceived to be particularly alien (Mackie & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1983; Young, Petty, Faulkner, & Department of Education, 1980). The broad brush-strokes are supported by my own observations and discussions, including with some of the earlier researchers (Elley, Keceli and Inglis).

In terms of family structure, traditional kinship relations were disrupted by migration and the nuclear family is now the predominant household unit (Bottomley, 1984; Mackie & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs., 1983). The loss of extended family and new patterns in work reduced the support available to children and parents alike. Mothers expressed concern about the physical safety of their children, and about "what they were learning because their mother was not present to guide and instruct" (Elley, 1988: 92).

Elley (1988) notes that, in the early years, women chose work based on proximity to residence, and most found work, but childcare was a problem. Outwork and other exploitative practices placed stress on the whole family, and lead to women being frequently ill and injured (Elley, 1988). Marginal and precarious positions in the labour force made it almost impossible for women to attend English classes, and they did so less frequently than men.

Beyond losing material support, women found distancing from kin and kin-oriented networks to be a difficult social adjustment to make. Nevertheless socialisation with kin remained the predominant form of social interaction for both parents and their children (Mackie & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1983: 75). Such socialisation remains frequently gender segregated.

Through the upheaval in work and family structure, distinctive gender roles have remained, although opinions of specific roles differ between women and men. A study in the 1980s found that 42 per cent of Turkish men but just 12 per cent of Turkish women consider that the husband makes decisions regarding money, punishment of children and use of spare time (Mackie & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1983: 76).

The implications of distinctive gender roles for the second generation are not clear cut, however parents are keen to play a central role in decisions about their children's future well into adulthood.

Expectations placed on the second generation

Turkish ethnicity emerges in the social identities of Turkish the second generation through strong attachment to family and family networks, which are influential on future pathways, especially marriage. First generation respondents in one study felt children should start making their own decisions only when they married (30% of men; 51% of women) (Icduygu, 1990:278). Inglis found that a happy marriage is rated very important by 85 per cent of both boys and girls, equal with having a good job and slightly below being a good parent. Generally the partner has to be Turkish Muslim (Inglis et al., 1992).

Childrearing is an important part of marriage, and a large family is aspired to by many. The importance of education for girls is seen in terms of their ability to educate their own children (Inglis et al., 1992: 72). Although education is generally agreed to be important across genders, examples of barriers placed in the way of girls' education in some families include heavy housework, restrictions on what are considered suitable jobs, and expectations of early marriage (Hartley, 1988: 116). However Hartley also found some parents specifically opposed an early marriage and wanted daughters to go on studying (1988: 56). The second generation appears to be responsive to high parental hopes in education; although Brookes found students initially name their parents' dream choice of future occupation, then when asked for details of how they would achieve this, named a "more accessible career as their own choice" (Brookes, 1985: 54).

In Mackie's study, the Turkish customs parents would like their children to keep up included respect (above all else), discipline and trustworthiness, religion and language. Mothers hope that their daughters will show respect for elders by dressing properly, acting modestly, keeping virginity, not having boyfriends and showing hospitality (Mackie & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1983: 65).

Adherence to Islam is also considered to be an essential attribute, mentioned either alone, or in conjunction with respect for elders, parental strictness, or other cultural traits (Inglis et al., 1992: 134). Turkey is the third largest birthplace for Muslims in Australia (8.3%), behind Australian born (36.4%) and Lebanese born (10.4%) (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2003b: 50). The Australian-born group can be assumed to include large numbers of second-generation from both other groups.

Most Turkish born Muslims belong to the Sunni and Alewi sects, and comparatively fewer than for the total Australian population responded 'No Religion' on the census (5.4% to 15.5%) (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2003a).

Some authors have been critical of approaches in the literature which specified the culture of Turkish people as 'Middle Eastern Moslem', and in particular of Young and Mackie, who grouped Lebanese and Turkish migrants together (Akçelik, 1984). The complexity of religious and cultural identification is captured in the debate over Islamic schooling. Reported by Donohoue-Clyne:

Turkish parents... had chosen for cultural reasons to send their children to Islamic schools established by their own ethnic community and had in the process re-discovered their religious identity. But other parents strongly opposed the religious and political values of some Muslim organisations (Donohoue Clyne, 2001: 134).

Indeed some in the Turkish community consider their Muslim identity to be cultural rather than religious (Mackie & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1983). Beyond personal religious observance, weddings, circumcisions and Islamic festivals such as Eid include both cultural and religious elements as well as providing frequent opportunities for extended family gatherings.

The forms and enforcement of community norms

In the course of my fieldwork, I found that the importance of honour to the social standing of a family is often evoked as guiding community norms. Parents justify their strictness due to due to fear of what people are going to say – the power of *dedikodu* (gossip). Children's respectability and financial stability are also important to parents for the specific purposes of finding partners and having children (Inglis et al., 1992: 72).

Icduygu describes the consequences of an unmarried seventeen year old leaving the family home to live with friends for the family's reputation in the Turkish community, as told by her mother: "Now I don't have any daughter called Hulya...She is my family's shame. What did our Turkish friends say about her, us, or the family? I don't want to think about it..." (Icduygu, 1990: 268).

Fear of provoking gossip (which impinges on reputation of whole family) can particularly constrain social actions for girls (Inglis et al., 1992: 72). Gossip is therefore an important social control mechanism reinforcing parents' expression of concern about their daughters being seen unchaperoned with a young man. Although some girls are resentful of an over-protective or policing attitude from Turkish boys, Inglis found that girls generally accepted the limitations placed on them by parents as valid and necessary, or at least understandable (1992: 72).

Beyond family gatherings, community norms and networks in Australia are supported by a large number of Turkish social, sporting and cultural associations, in addition to Turkish language newspapers, radio programs and businesses catering primarily to the Turkish community. Forty-three associations and ten sporting clubs are listed in the Turkish *Golden Business Directory* for 2002-2003. The community also has contact with Turkey through satellite television and video/DVD rental.

The two recently established community schools included in the present study (discussed in the following chapter) also provide an important community structure. At the time Elley was writing, men had a higher rate of participation in community organisations and were more frequently to be found in leadership positions (Elley, 1985: 223). This situation does not appear to have altered.

Residential concentration has favoured the establishment of services provided by and serving the Turkish population. A commercial and community infrastructure has developed making commodities such as food and cultural items readily available, Turkish professionals available and allowing Turkish childcare centres, ethnic weekend schools, and the teaching of Turkish in mainstream schools. The construction of mosques has provided another community and religious hub.

According to Keceli (1998), participation by community members in non-Turkish structures is rare, as is knowledge of welfare services. Mackie found that women in particular are reliant solely on Turkish sources of welfare help (Mackie & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1983: 72).

Maintenance of Turkish

Another indication of the strength of ethnic community, but also of potential difficulties interacting with wider society, is the maintenance of Turkish. Turkish use continues to grow nationwide, with an increase of 9.8% between the 1996 and 2001 censuses (Clyne & Kipp, 2002: 31). In Inglis' study, a majority of young people reported using Turkish with friends and family and third of young people reported using Turkish while shopping (Inglis et al., 1992: 46). The maintenance of Turkish has been conceived as forcing the Second generation in into "identity crisis, cultural conflict, and lack of cognitive and reasoning ability unless they keep a balance in their bilingual and bicultural development" (Peköz, 1993: 121).

Linguistic choices in Turkish can also reflect divisions within the community. An informant comments on preference at Özel College for 'traditional' words, such of those of Arabic origin (*sual* rather than *sorut* for 'question' and the Arabic origin *cevap* rather than the Altaic *yanıt* for 'answer'). He cites this as an example of the school's 'conservative' mindset.

Inability to communicate in English is frequently mentioned as a problem in the literature, limiting knowledge of and access to resources, and placing the burden of translating on young children. Of those born in Turkey, 28 per cent claim that they do not speak English well; the fourth highest rate out of all birthplaces. A further 29 per cent claim to speak English well, while 36 per cent speak English very well or exclusively (Khoo et al., 2002).

That virtually all of the second generation aged over ten could speak English well or very well, regardless of background, is presented by Khoo as providing “conclusive evidence that second generation children are not hindered by their parents’ lack of English language skills in developing their own proficiency in the language once they reach school age” (Khoo et al., 2002: 26). However, the imprecision of the census question, and the specific linguistic skills required for academic performance and achievement, mean that the question of linguistic ability in the context of school demands remains unanswered.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that despite its appearances as a land of opportunity for migrants, Australia retains social divisions along ethnic lines. Some of these divisions place a number of migrant groups into similar situations with regards to economic participation. This is the case for Turkish, Lebanese and Vietnamese migrants, and is related to the timeframe of their settlement. I have suggested that beyond the common constraints felt across ethnic minority groups, the Turkish community has developed in distinctive ways, to maintain particular traditions and norms, a process which has been facilitated by residential concentration in Melbourne’s north. While the norms and traditions evident in the Turkish community are not all exclusive to that community, the strength of the community in Melbourne’s north means that these have been maintained in particular ways. This has the potential to set Turkish-background students apart from Lebanese-background students, who attend the same schools and some similar cultural norms. In the next chapter I will show how the distinctive characteristics of the Turkish community have been interpreted as contributing to the schooling of Turkish-background students in Australia. I will continue the comparisons with other groups which share some commonalities with the Turks in terms of migration and social profile.

Chapter 5.

The Education of Turkish background students in Australia

In the previous chapter we saw that, in Australia, strong Turkish community networks and norms have developed in specific locations and under the pressures of social disadvantage. These conditions have every potential of producing a distinctive *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977) which will guide interactions with school. Research perspectives in Australia have been dominated by theories of incorporation which have tended to glide over the importance of structural, geographical, and institutional location, and so have not considered the generation of particular dispositions and principles of action deriving from the interaction of ethnicity and structural location. Turkish migrants were amongst the last of the massive wave of post-war migration drawn to Australia to fill unskilled labour shortages, and the first to feel the effects of the new period of economic uncertainty. Their first experiences of Australian schools came at a time of rapid educational change, a time when multiculturalism was emerging as an official policy, but schools had yet to encounter large numbers of non-European migrants.

In this chapter I wish to present the evolution of research into the relationship between ethnicity and educational disadvantage, as it concerns the Turks in Australia, and argue in favour of an approach which is more sensitive to location. This latter approach is adopted by the present study, through the collection and analysis of rich data which better allows for appreciation of the importance of context in the connections between disadvantage and school experience.

Australian Research perspectives

It is fifteen years since the last major riposte in the debate over migrant educational disadvantage in Australia (Kalantzis & Cope, 1988), subsequent to which discussion has increasingly been closed down, and government support for students of non-English speaking migrant background scaled back (Keceli & Cahill, 1998). This trend has been justified by data relating to broad

categories such as 'Non English Speaking Background' (NESB) and 'Language Background Other Than English (LBOTE)'.

Attention to the schooling of migrant-background students in Australia began in earnest the 1970s, as retention rates were growing, in the context of optimism for the democratising potential of school. English as a Second Language (ESL) classes were funded in 1970 through the Child Migrant Education Program, framing the response to these new students primarily in terms of short-term language acquisition.

By the time of the first major investigations devoted to Turkish migrants (Mackie & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1983; Young, Petty, Faulkner, & Department of Education, 1980) other influential research had begun arguing for optimistic assessments of the prospects of the children of migrants more generally (Martin, Meade, Department of Education, & Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1979; Meade, Department of Education, & Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, 1983). Martin and Meade's investigation found that students from a range of migrant backgrounds (not including Turkish) were better off than their English-speaking-background peers, calling into question the existence of long-term difficulties for migrant groups. However, for students of Turkish background at the same time, despite strong parental encouragement, staying on at school was not a rewarding experience. Young's study found only 27 per cent of those who left school at eighteen or older completed their High School Certificate (1980: 156).

Martin and Meade's findings for longer established groups suggested to some researchers documenting Turkish migrants that their disadvantage too might fade with and adjustment (Young, Cox, Daly, & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1983). It is possible to distinguish four main strands in the general thesis of migrant incorporation, which has been extended to Turkish-background students

Initial shock

In the years immediately following migration, the difficulties faced by Turkish migrants were interpreted as an ephemeral phenomenon. This focus produced policy proposals for making Government services in high demand

areas more open and responsive to 'new arrivals'. New arrivals were understood as being disadvantaged in two ways:

- (a) Mismatched expectations and ignorance of the workings of both the education system and other social institutions. The key solution presented was community education (Young et al., 1980).
- (b) Language difficulties inhibiting effective communication, aggravating mismatched expectations and preventing students from performing to the level of their 'ability' (De Lemos & Australian Council for Educational Research, 1975). This focus led to recommendations for more effective ESL programs aiming at bringing NESB students 'up to speed', but failed to offer suggestions for culturally sensitive mainstream curricula.

On the basis of the school achievements of Greek and Italian students from an earlier period of migration, Young concluded that time spent in Australia eliminates any disadvantage. Over time, students gain mastery of English, "sufficient schooling...to have reached secondary level and to have gained an understanding of Australian society"; and access to sources of vocational information and support (Young et al., 1983, p. 254). Looking back from the mid 1990s, Cahill drew similar conclusions about the benefits of the passage of time (1996: 39).

However, comparing the difficulties of newly arrived groups with the success of earlier arrivals to establish a direct link between length of time spent in Australia and social mobility remains problematic (as Cahill acknowledges). This reasoning assumes that circumstances affecting each group are broadly similar, and the structures of opportunity (access to housing, job security, wage levels...) are consistent over time.

In addition, the high academic achievement of recently arrived overseas students who have studied English as a foreign language in academic settings suggests that cultural and economic capital may be more important than length of stay in determining success.

Cultural Deficit or ethnic advantage?

Cultural difference was first understood as an impediment to academic success in the Australian setting, but later an advantage (Meade et al., 1983). Early reports on the experiences of Turkish students, identified 'deficits' of knowledge, lifestyle and language, rather than problems relating to the cultural demands and operation of schools (Mackie & Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs., 1983; Young et al., 1980), and so tended to leave the latter unscrutinised. However cultural practices increasingly became the locus of research as it became clear that ethnic boundaries in academic outcomes persisted beyond the initial phase of settlement for certain groups (Akçelik & Australian-Turkish Friendship Society, 1993; Inglis, Elley, Manderson, & Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1992). By the early 1990s, improvements in retention were still not matched by improvements in attainment (Inglis et al., 1992) and Turkish-background students struggled to translate their commitment into success.

The basis for an 'after-shock' in the second generation was identified in parents' low educational levels, lack of modelling of English in the home, the persistence of prejudice, and the psychological trauma of attempting to reconcile competing value systems at home and in broader society (Kagitçibasi, 1988; Peköz, 1993; Smolicz & Wiseman, 1971). Community structures, such as religious organisations, came to be seen as the scaffolding to bridge the gap between migrants and schools.

However, Martin and Mead convincingly challenged, and reversed, the assumption of migrant cultural disadvantage in Australia. Instead, they suggested, the scholastic progress of migrant students might be derived from shared group characteristics, such as greater motivation and parental ambition. In the time following their report, researchers have consistently found an aggregate advantage for NESB students. For example Marks found that 84 per cent of NESB students completed VCE compared to the average of 79 per cent across Victoria (Marks & Australian Council for Educational Research., 2000: 10, 67). He concluded that higher aspirations and family support were able to compensate for linguistic and social disadvantage. Bullivant, the most enthusiastic advocate of the powers of motivation and ambition, has termed this the 'ethnic success ethic' (1988). He has gone as

far as associate length of stay in Australia with “contamination from Anglo values denigrating drive and success” (1987: 190).

However, both Birrell and Bullivant, in promoting this thesis, perceive cultural credit as counter-balancing rather than removing the burden of other factors associated with social disadvantage. Admitting the existence of some deleterious factors, their work implies that a focus on migrant background students is both unnecessary and unfair to other, ‘Anglo’ students, whose competitiveness would be further reduced.

Birrell (1995) has based his argument, in part, on the educational ground made up by second-generation children in relation to their parents. However, it needs to be remembered that the second generation’s educational levels reflect the availability of education in Australia, and that of their parents reflects the availability of education in a starkly different context. The availability of education in Turkey or Lebanon at the time when migrant parents were at school age is hardly comparable that in Australia for the same period, hence a given level of education may carry different social meanings depending on the history of migration (Kalantzis & Cope, 1988).

Do Turkish-background students benefit from an ‘ethnic advantage’ in Australia?

The story on the educational outcomes of Turkish-background youth in Australia is mixed, with some measures, such as retention, suggesting Turkish-background students are more persistent, if not more successful, in their studies. On other, relatively crude measures, Turkish-background students do not appear to distinguish themselves from peers of like socio-economic status.

Data from the 1996 census show high levels of participation in education for second generation youth aged 15-21, with girls outnumbering boys across all ethnic groups (Khoo, McDonald, Giorgas, & Birrell, 2002: 52). While participation of the second generation in education is slightly higher than that of students whose parents were born in Australia, this does not carry through to qualifications. Forty-three per cent of the sons of Australian-born parents aged 22-24 have a further education qualification compared to 33 per cent of the sons of Turkish-born parents. Similarly, 39 per cent of the

daughters of Australian-born parents have a further education qualification compared to 30 per cent of the daughters of Turkish-born parents (Khoo et al., 2002: 54)

Data from the more recent 2001 census show that participation in secondary education is similar for the age-group 15-19 of Turkish and non-migrant background (55%). Participation in education is slightly lower amongst Lebanese-background youth (52%), but is 10 percentage points higher amongst Vietnamese-background youth (67%). In the older age-group of 20-24, a third of Turkish and non-migrant background youth remain in formal education, although there is a slightly higher reliance on technical education is evident amongst those of Turkish background. Participation remains much stronger amongst those of Vietnamese background, but plunges to just a quarter of Lebanese-background youth. This suggests that despite similarities in their social profiles and the workforce participation of the first generation, the educational trajectories of the second generation diverge somewhat. As I noted in the previous chapter, the educational sites where Vietnamese students are located are different to those where the Lebanese and Turkish-background students can be found.

Table 5.1 Enrolment in education of 2nd generation by age and parents' birthplace for Melbourne statistical division

2nd generation	Turkish %		Lebanese %		Vietnamese %		Both parents born in Aus %	
	15-19	20-24	15-19	20-24	15-19	20-24	15-19	20-24
<i>Secondary Ed</i>	55.1	0.2	51.8	0.3	66.6	0.0	54.7	0.2
<i>Technical or Further Ed</i>	10.4	10.6	12.3	7.9	6.1	13.0	9.3	8.7
<i>University or other Tertiary</i>	11.8	21.7	9.0	15.9	15.8	45.7	13.0	24.2
<i>Other incl not applicable</i>	22.7	67.6	26.8	75.9	11.5	41.3	23.0	66.8
<i>total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Calculated from data provided by Australian Bureau of Statistics from the 2001 census.

Despite the extremely high levels of participation of Vietnamese-background youth in tertiary education (46%), for those aged 20-24, this is not reflected in the awarding of bachelor degrees or even diplomas (see Table 5.2). Instead, all three second generation groups considered here hold fewer bachelor degrees than the children of Australian-born parents (8% to 11%). The qualifications awarded to Turkish-background youth are mainly vocational

certificates and diplomas, but even certificates are less common than they are amongst the children of non-migrants.

Table 5.2 Highest level of qualification by parents' birthplace for Melbourne statistical division

2nd gen aged 20-24	Turkish	Lebanese	Vietnamese	Australian born parents	Whole population
Postgraduate degree/Grad dip/Grad cert	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.2
Bachelor degree	7.5	8.4	7.8	10.7	6.1
Advanced diploma and diploma level	5.0	5.9	1.6	4.4	2.6
Certificate	8.0	9.5	4.2	11.4	7.9
Other level of education including n/a	79.1	75.9	86.4	73.1	83.2
total numbers	1882	2702	449	130699	232200

Source: Calculated from data provided by Australian Bureau of Statistics from the 2001 census.

Of course many students aged 20-24 may still be studying for their qualification; however all may be expected to have exited secondary education. Year 12 completion rates for this age cohort show that overall, Turkish-background students have amongst the lowest completion rates of any group, being 10 percentage points behind the children of Australian-born parents (Table 5.3). This difference remains if we compare students from households within the same income bracket, only diminishing amongst poorest and the best-off. In low to middle-income households (less than \$1,000 per week), just under 60 per cent of Turkish-background students complete year 12, compared to closer to 70 per cent in non-migrant households. Increases in household income appear to be most closely related to secondary school completion amongst those of Lebanese ancestry, with 25 percentage points separating the completion rate of the poorest from that of the best-off. These data suggest that factors beyond household income are at play, and that economically disadvantaged students from minority groups suffer from higher rates of drop-out than those from the majority. However in an age when the majority completes year 12, and the leaving certificate is designed to be accessible to students of all levels of ability, completion testifies to mobilisation rather than to performance. In

order to look at performance, it is necessary to take a closer look at the destinations of school leavers.

Table 5.3 Completion of year 12 for second generation aged 20-24 (%) by weekly household income (Melbourne statistical division, 2001)

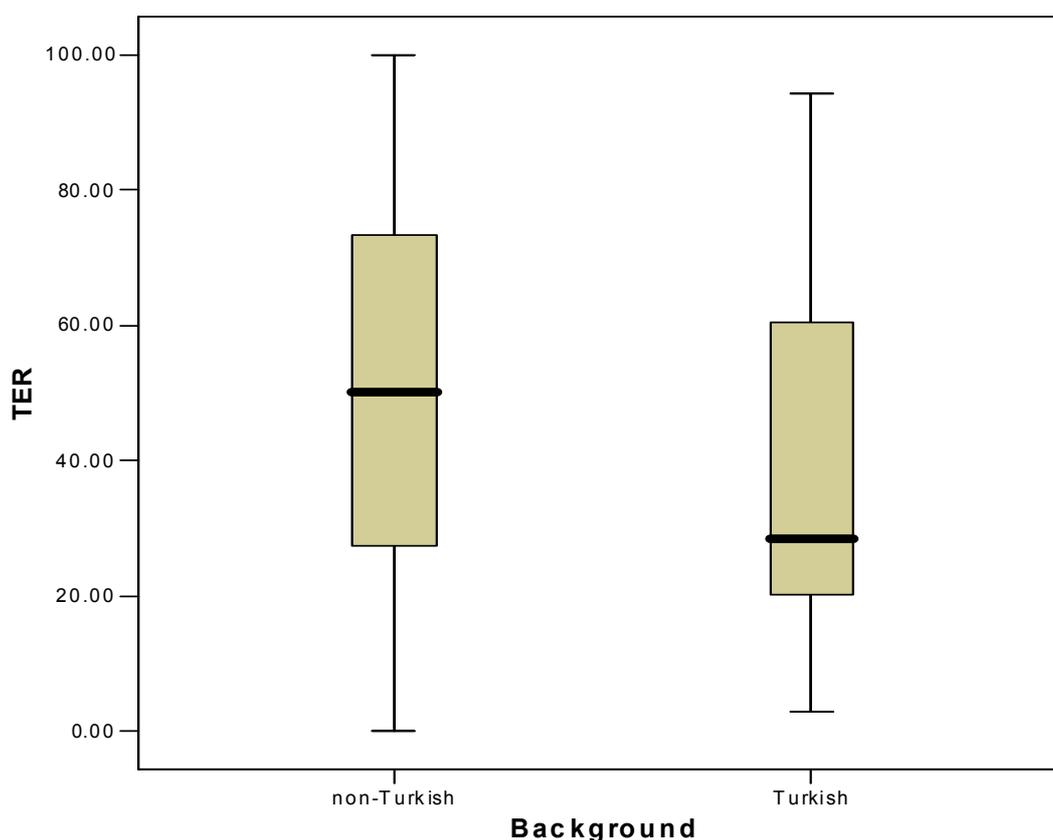
Weekly household income	Turkish	Lebanese	Vietnamese	Aus
<i>Negative/Nil/\$1-\$399</i>	56.2	55.7	59.5	60.7
<i>\$400-\$699</i>	55.4	55.6	55.2	65.5
<i>\$700-\$999</i>	59.5	70.7	65.6	68.5
<i>\$1000-\$1499</i>	66.3	70.9	69.3	72.1
<i>\$1500+</i>	76.7	81.7	76.3	79.6
<i>Total (including not stated or n/a)</i>	63.1	68.5	67.8	73.1
<i>n</i>	940	1404	263	69766

Source: calculated from data provided by ABS from 2001 census

Recent data from the schools participating in the present study show that university enrolments account for as little as 13 per cent of the total number of school graduates participating in higher education, compared to a state-wide figure of 60 per cent (Department of Education and Training, 2003). As I will argue in the next chapter, University is thus rarely a realistic prospect for Turkish-background students in the areas where they are most highly concentrated.

Low participation in universities would be unsurprising in light of the low Tertiary Entry Ranks recorded for a sample of 1996 Turkish-background students attending Victorian state schools (Table 2). The blunt tool of retention, although frequently relied upon (Birrell et al., 1995; Meade et al., 1983; Williams & Australian Council for Educational Research., 1980), does not capture the importance of such scores for future opportunities.

Figure 5.1 Tertiary Entry Ranks for Turkish and non-Turkish-background students attending state schools



Source: Unpublished data, Educational Outcomes Survey 1996, University of Melbourne.

Explanation: Students are ranked on a scale to 100, used by universities to determine selection. The shaded boxes show the range of scores of the middle 50 per cent of students, while the middle intersecting line shows the median score. The average score achieved by Turkish-background students is more than 12 points lower than that of their peers, a significant difference (Mann-Whitney test $p=0.004$). The size of the 'effect' of ethnicity is small to medium ($ES=0.48$), but greater than that of gender, for example ($ES=0.034$).

Despite the lack of a clear demonstration of educational advantage for Turkish-background students, and indeed signs to the contrary, analysis in

Australia continues to emphasise the unity of the 'ethnic advantage' thesis. For example, Marks makes the apparently universal observation that:

Migrant families have tended to emphasise their children's education as the key to a better life so that their educational performance is much higher than for non-migrant children (2000: 24).

The first limit of this analysis is the aggregate category 'migrant background'. Even in his most detailed analyses, Marks aggregates students into broad regions, including Asia and the Middle East. He also uses the combined measure 'participation in higher education', which aggregates university and vocational training, sectors which set students on very different social and economic pathways.

When 'migrant background' is broken down its positive impact appears uncertain. Meade found greater variation between NESB groups than between NESB and ESB students, (1983: 109-110), and recent data has continued to show wide variation between groups (Birrell, 1986, 1994; Birrell et al., 1995; Cahill et al., 1996; Dobson, Birrell, & Rapson, 1996; Marks & Australian Council for Educational Research., 2000). This suggests the salience of factors associated with the history of migration, specific cultural background, or evolving economic and political climates. Persistent disparities between and within groups suggest that the categories NESB, migrant or 'ethnic' have no unified meaning outside of these factors and their interplay with specific contexts and structures of schooling, the specific conditions of arrival and subsequent social trajectories of migrants.

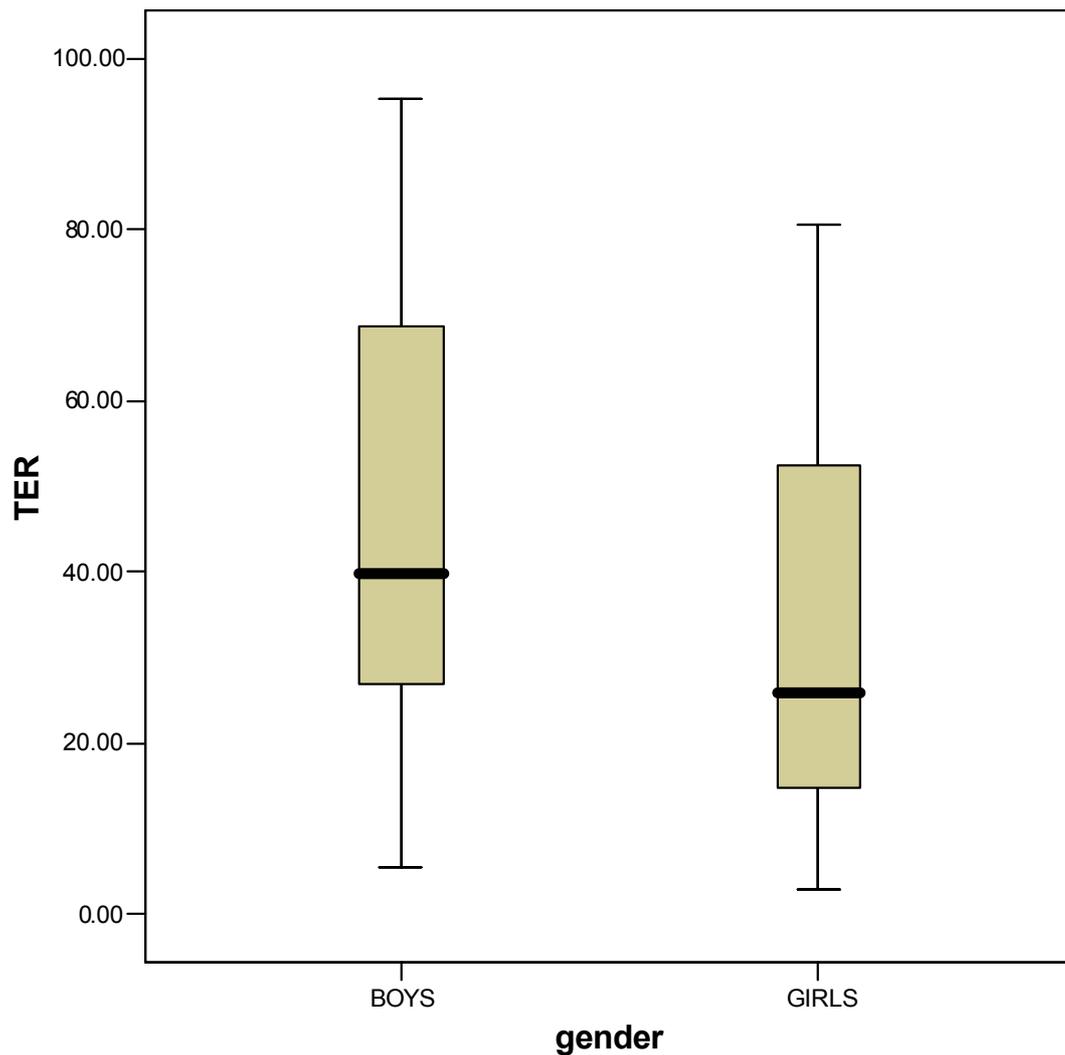
Further, simplistic links between motivation and success liquidate intervening processes and obstacles contributing to success and failure, leaving ethnic motivation as a sufficient or overriding characteristic. Studies of Turkish students from the early 1990s onwards indicate the strong role of parent and student motivation, but also refer to the frustration of being unable to realise high hopes and the existence of continuing impediments (Inglis et al., 1992; Latifoglu, 2001).

A further generalised thesis on the attributes of migrant students is that traditional gender roles will disadvantage girls. Certainly, distinctive patterns

of attainment, participation and outcomes emerge for boys and girls (Bottomley & De Lepervanche, 1984; Bottomley, De Lepervanche, & Martin, 1991; Brookes, 1985; Cahill et al., 1996; Hartley, 1988; Inglis, 1988; Inglis et al., 1992; Myhill, Herriman, Mulligan, & Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, 1994; Polesel, 1997; Tsolidis, 1986; Young, 1985; Young et al., 1980). However no uniform trend emerges from this data. Further, stereotyped conceptions of ethnic gender roles often do not provide a sound foundation for analysis, and Kenway and Willis complain that some use preconceptions of 'ethnic' gender roles as explanations for all differences in male and female behaviour and performance (Kenway & Willis, 1997).

In the case of Turkish-background students, boys appear to have an advantage over girls in performance in data coming from settings with low proportions of Turkish-background students (Figure 5.1). However, data from this study in Australian schools with high proportions of Turkish-background students suggest that Turkish-background girls *in these contexts* express greater academic confidence and perform more strongly than boys.

Figure 5.2 Tertiary Entry Ranks of Turkish-background students by gender



Source: Unpublished data, Educational Outcomes Survey 1996, University of Melbourne.

Explanation: (As per Table 5.1), Differences between boys and girls are significant when tested using a Mann-Whitney test ($p=0.065$). The size of the effect of gender on TER scores ($ES=0.543$) exceeds the effects of gender on the broader student sample and also exceeds that of 'ethnicity' alone.

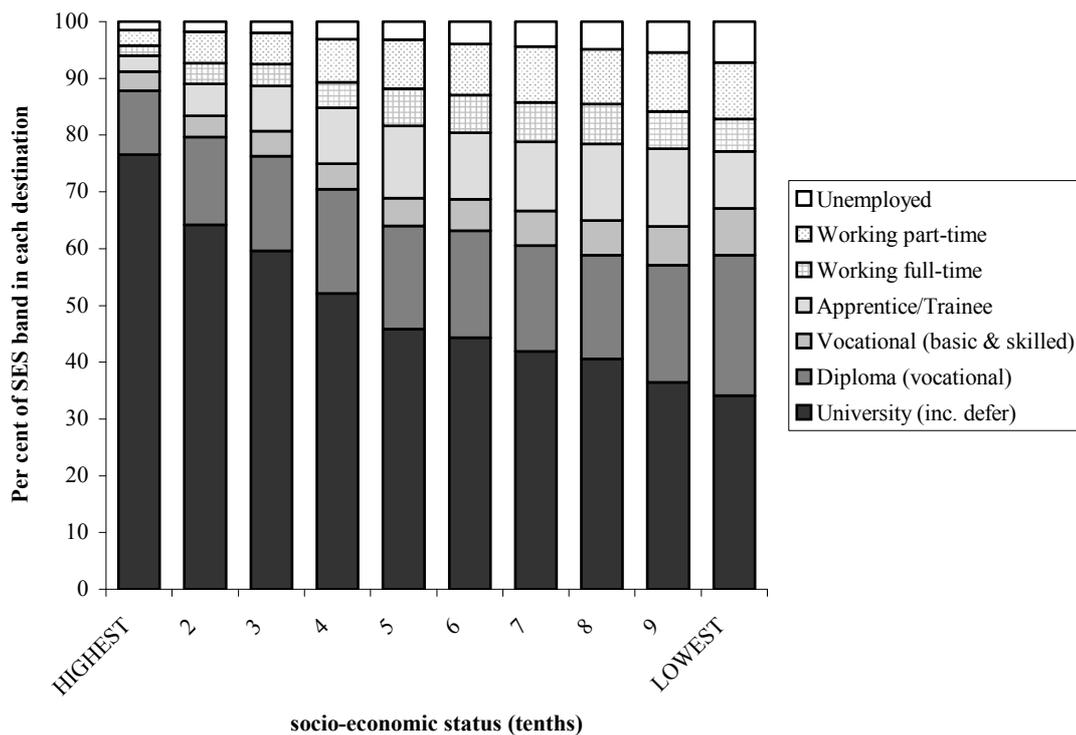
Does ethnicity vanish into socio-economic status?

The relationship between factors deemed cultural in nature and those deemed economic remains problematic. While many low socio-economic status schools also have high proportions of NESB students (Teese & Polesel, 2003) there exists little policy analysis of the implications of the combination of these characteristics. Existing data does not shed light on how residential

polarisation affects what goes on in the classroom, nor how experiences differ between students sharing these classrooms.

These existing data on the influence of socioeconomic status show that close to 80 per cent of the most privileged students make it to university, more than double the proportion of the least well-off (Figure 5.3). At each point down the socio-economic scale, reliance on technical training and apprenticeships increases as poor school results restrict access to other options. So too, unemployment, or employment in precarious part-time or unskilled jobs becomes increasingly prevalent for the more socially disadvantaged school graduates.

Figure 5.3 Post-school destinations of high school graduates by socio-economic status, Victoria 2005



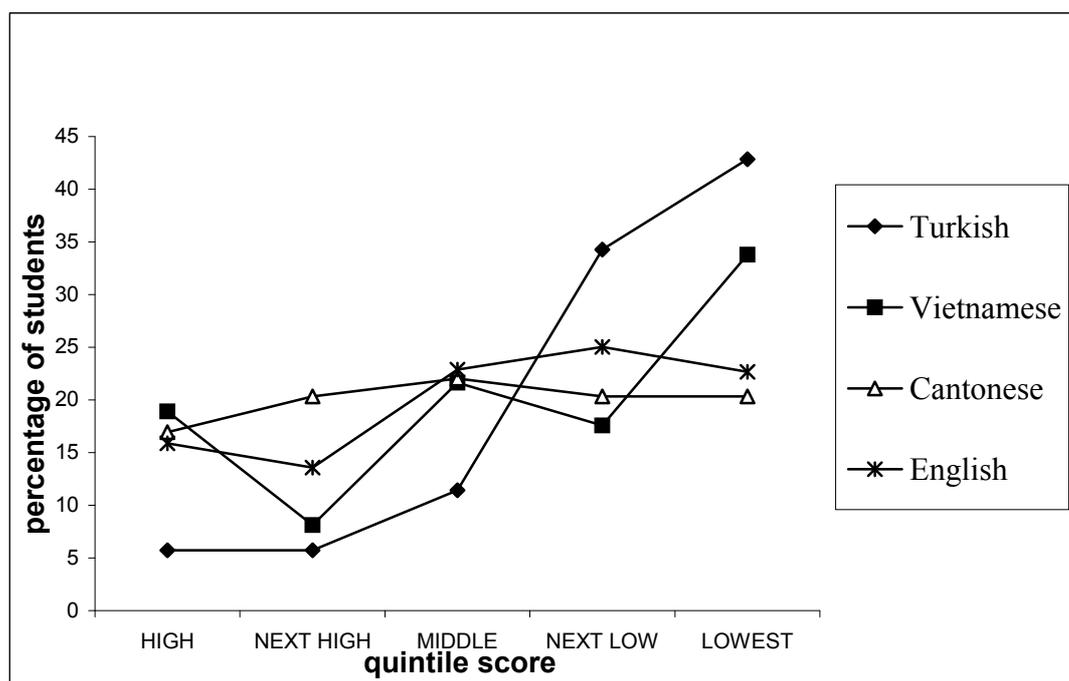
Source: CPELL, University of Melbourne.

Yet socioeconomic status alone is unable to account for differences in academic performance underpinning these destinations. A comparison of students of different language backgrounds receiving government assistance

(Figure 5.4) shows that performance in English examinations varies greatly between ethnic groups.

Within the cohort of students receiving assistance, Turkish and Vietnamese speaking students are most highly concentrated in the lowest grades. However, the distribution of grades at the other end of the scale differs, and Turkish-speaking students are four times less likely to receive the highest grades than Vietnamese-background students. The spread of English language-background students is more even and most closely aligned with the results of Cantonese-speaking students. While these data take in only one measure of socio-economic status, they suggest that amongst economically disadvantaged students, different ethnic backgrounds influence results differently.

Figure 5.4 English Study Scores (out of 50) for Selected Language Backgrounds (students receiving government assistance¹).



Source: Unpublished data, Educational Outcomes Survey 1996, University of Melbourne.

¹ Government assistance, formerly known as Austudy and currently as Youth Allowance, is a benefit paid to students in full-time study on the basis of parental means. The children of parents who are either unemployed or on extremely limited incomes are eligible, as are those who are deemed 'independent' of parental support.

Note: data drawn from the 1996 Educational Outcomes Survey were collected from limited areas of Victoria.

To understand these 'ethnic' differences it is necessary to return to the interactions between families and school.

Turkish Families relating to schooling

Research shows parental concern that the type of schools their children attend in Australia will limit their potential (Donohue Clyne, 2003; Hartley, Maas, Ministerial Advisory Committee on Multicultural and Migrant Education, & Australian Institute of Family Studies, 1988). Turkish parents' expectations of, and interactions with, schools in Australia have been coloured by the contrasting nature of the Turkish education system.

The integrated senior years in Victoria are characterised by automatic promotion, and at schools at the periphery of the system, academic and social norms are even further relaxed. By contrast, schooling in Turkey at least into the 1980s followed a high level of national uniformity, included corporal punishment, a national uniform, classes of 50 to 60 students, a national curriculum and examinations between year levels, with one chance in ten of getting into an 'academic' high school (Elley, 1985: 168). It is unsurprising that Turkish Parents focus on traditional markers of educational hierarchy such as discipline, respect, rote learning, and homework (Donohue Clyne, 2003; Dooley, 2003; Inglis & Manderson, 1991, p. 113; Latifoglu, 2001; Office of the Commissioner for Community Relations, 1980).

Further confusion is introduced by the contrasts between the 'Saturday school' or 'Turkish school', run by first generation Turks to maintain language and culture across generations, and mainstream schooling². A primary school teacher described to me his experience in the 1980s at a school located in public housing: whereas automatic promotion operated in primary school, 'Turkish school' operated in a more regimented and authoritarian way, along anachronistic lines based on the school experiences in Turkey of its untrained

² 'Saturday school' refers to classes taught by community members, who often have little or no training, on weekends. The state government offers some financial support for these endeavours.

teachers. For this interviewee, the messages from Saturday school may have de-emphasised some of the importance of primary school for students.

In addition to differences in education systems, Turkish parents' first-hand experience with education is far more limited than that of Australian parents. According to the 1996 Census, only 12.1% of the second generation from Turkey have parents with Associate diploma or higher degrees, compared to 29.5% of Australian born parents (Khoo 2002).

Women have the lowest levels of education, and these have been linked to the scarcer availability of education in Turkey, particularly in rural areas (Inglis et al., 1992: 37). In 1970, almost two-thirds of the population in Turkey lived in rural areas and almost 50% of women and 30% of men were illiterate (Elley, 1985: 66, 67).

The students in my cohort were often ignorant or derisive of their parents' educational levels. One commented as he completed the survey 'bro, my old man dropped out in grade three, whata ya put for ya mum? *Sifir?*' [zero]. Here we can see an example of code switching from English to Turkish, and also in 'bro' a kinship claim which has generalised currency across a range of ethnic communities in Australia.

School appears to students and parents alike as a beacon of hope for social advancement but also as an enforcer of the existing socio-cultural order and a source of frustration. A representative of the Broadmeadows Mosque outlined a range of concerns expressed by a number of parents and teachers (see insert below). Out of these concerns and the Federal Government's abandonment of the restrictive New Schools Policy in 1996, two private schools have been established by the Turkish community in Melbourne's North.

A perspective from the Broadmeadows Mosque: Dogam (a teacher):

- Parents who are illiterate in both Turkish and English are unable to support their children academically.
- Parents can't afford tutors; parents are forced to 'leave it to schools'.
- Peer group pressure to work and earn money.
- Girls get teased over hijab.
- Inadequate involvement of parents, especially regarding options and subject choice.
- Students don't seek extra help if they don't understand
- Students lose hope before demanding tasks and under high levels of

- pressure.
- VCE represents a sharp increase in pressure and is a big shock.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to explain how the education of Turkish-background students in Australia has slipped off research agendas and why it should remain matter of some concern. The educational profile of the Turkish community in Australia, incomplete as it is, points to two conclusions. First, that there are some indications that ethnicity does make difference to particular educational outcomes (such as participation levels). This suggests that some underlying processes, pressures, burdens or dispositions connected to a distinctive *habitus* may distinguish the Turkish-background population from its peers. Second, Turkish-background students as a cohort have not succeeded in escaping the working class destinies laid out for them by their position in persistent pattern of educational inequalities. This would tend to suggest that their experience of schooling may not be very different from that of their non-Turkish peers, but this proposition remains to be tested.

The most cited instance of a distinguishing 'ethnic capital', which I have suggested has been poorly theorised to date, relates to aspirations. In the next chapter, I will therefore focus on re-examining the question of aspirations and their realisation with regard for this interplay of social position and symbolic identity.

Chapter 6.

Aspirations and pathways in Australia

Research presented in the previous chapter has suggested that migrant-background students often aim high, but struggle to realise their academic ambitions. In the context of working-class schools in Melbourne's north, we shall see that there indeed exists a wide gap between the academic ideals held by year 11 students and the reality of educational outcomes. The mismatch between dreams and outcomes appears at first glance to be a dysfunction of the system, but it remains uncorrected because it serves the important purpose of maintaining student faith and engagement in that system. The educational structures of the senior years in Victoria fail students by allowing them to continue at a level of academic performance (to be analysed in the next chapter) which is not sufficient to sustain their ambitions, in an environment which fails to alert them to this fact. Faced with weak and uninterested students, teachers turn from the individual academic benefits of schooling to the social and personal development they feel better able to foster, and which allows for them to sustain their engagement with the system.

At the schools investigated for this study, academic ambitions peak amongst Turkish-background students attending the private Özel College¹, but remain elevated amongst all groups of students. While a considerable number of students, particularly boys, maintain a blue-collar horizon in their aspirations, the most striking characteristic of the students in the Australian sample is prevalence of aspirations to the most academically demanding professions.

In order to keep their dreams alive, students must overcome the sobering reality that very few of their older peers have successfully negotiated the pathways they envisage. They must further rationalise their own experiences coping with the curriculum and the careers advice they receive from school. On these last two points, I wish to suggest that the messages students receive from school are sufficiently ambiguous for them to maintain the highest ambitions even when they have poor academic prospects.

¹ See Appendix 1 for a presentation of the schools participating in the study.

In the Australian state of Victoria, students pass from one level to the next virtually automatically, and at year 11, they have not yet faced competitive external examination. However a minority of students who have been 'cooled out' have already exited the system: retention to year 11 is 88 per cent nationally, slightly lower in state schools than in private schools (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2005). Students who remain in the system must rely on more subtle signals of their academic worth than failure or relegation.

Grades at year 11 are awarded with some discretion allowed to individual teachers, and it is understandable that teachers might follow the advice of popular pedagogical philosophies and strive to instil optimism in weaker students through encouragement and positive feedback. The vision of Prestwick Secondary College to "teach, challenge and empower to achieve success for all" by catering for difference and diversity (Prestwick Secondary College, 2005) is echoed by other schools in the study. Mayfield, for example, designs its curriculum "to maximise each student's future expectations" ('Mayfield' Secondary College, 2003).

The process of careers guidance might be expected to dampen and redirect inflated aspirations. However, as I will show, this formal process is often reduced in students' minds to a hunt for subjects they will be able to cope with and which will hold their interest.

Beyond formal careers guidance, there exist informal strategies and knowledge which help to lay out the steps needed to concretely accomplish academic pathways. These are, by and large, unknown to students in the settings of this study. Families and friends also usually lack the forms of strategic knowledge which would allow them to support students in the development of a clear pathway.

The situation of many migrant-background students differs somewhat from that of other students with regard to the construction of vocational goals. Turkish parents have no first-hand experience of school life in Australia, and often very little in Turkey. They are also often without contact with the workplace. Students' responses to their parents' occupational status are also distinctive. Turkish-background students suggest that they are keen to

distance themselves from the blue-collar trajectories of their parents, but also to reward the sacrifices parents have made.

Different sets of expectations and aspirations also arise from community norms. These have resulted in the creation of two fee-paying schools which have adopted distinctive strategies for engaging with the demands of parents and the wider system.

Desire for security, satisfaction and status

Students were asked to describe their idea of a successful life as the final question on the survey instrument (Appendix 3). Answers are revealing not only of personal ambitions and anxieties, but of what students understand to be socially desirable. Familiar goals appear: successful studies, a home, a good job, good health, friends, marriage and children. Many of these goals are shared; however Turkish-background students place an emphasis on family honour, perseverance and resilience as essential elements of success.

More than wealth, most students have in common a concern with job security and financial stability, reflecting the economic uncertainties of both their own families and the labour market they will soon enter. A typical definition of success is “someone who enjoys their job, loves their life. They don’t have to be a millionaire, but are financially stable” (dominant language-background girl, 455.8²). The casualisation of work and chronic under-employment in the youth labour market may also explain the specification, more prevalent amongst girls than boys, of work that is full time.

For many academically weaker students, their primary concern is to “be interested in the work I’m doing [sic]” (Turkish-background boy, 449.8). The focus on ‘interest’ alone amongst the weakest students perhaps reflects a recognition that interest is all that may be salvageable from low-paid or precarious employment.

While all students recognise the importance of education to their future economic wellbeing and work-satisfaction Turkish-background students show greater concern with making their parents happy and maintaining family pride

² Reference numbers and background information have been used to identify written responses, which were anonymous. Names (which have been altered to preserve anonymity) are used to reference responses given in interviews. I have retained errors contained in written responses, which will be the subject of analysis in the following chapter.

and honour in the eyes of the community. The standing afforded to a family with academically successful children by the ethnic community thus provides an additional impetus for social action.

Social integration and adherence to cultural norms are concerns which are foremost in the minds of some members of other ethnic-minority groups too, with success defined by reference to standing with kin and community. Relational definitions of success are most frequent amongst girls, for whom aspirations appear more greatly influenced by the symbolic rewards and sanctions they can expect from their ethnic communities. They express a particular desire to be respected and to make their parents happy:

Successful life with me means being respected by others, being able to help everyone I love, doing the job I want and having a happy family [sic] (Vietnamese-background girl, 304.6).

For many Turkish-background girls, fulfilling other roles essential to parental pride, those of wife and mother, comes only after the attainment of economic independence, as the following shows:

It doesn't matter whether you get into University or TAFE³ as long as you are able to achieve the career path you want to be in (that makes you happy). Be happy in life, make dreams come true and when the time is right get happily married (Turkish-background girl, 50.2).

No girls express desire for marriage above career, suggesting that this 'ethnic distinction' (Young, 1985) may have faded. However, in an interview Hasna, a Turkish-background girl, contrasted her career goals to other probabilities, suggesting that in five years she will "probably [be] married with twenty kids...I doubt if I'll be a lawyer or a doctor, but that's my dream". For their part, some Turkish boys show lesser adherence to cultural traditions, instead emphasising sporting prowess and celebrity, pathways notable for their lack of reliance on educational credentials.

³ Technical and Further Education College. These institutions provide vocational education to school leavers, but are also now becoming involved in the delivery of school-based programs.

Turkish background students, particularly in the two private schools, also distinguish themselves by the constant theme of 'trying hard' 'staying focused' and 'doing your best' as elements of a successful life. The following example illustrates the stock placed in the power of dreams and effort:

Study really, really hard, do all homework, dont watch TV at all, spend money on books only [sic]. Aim high. Believe in yourself. (Turkish background girl, 2.1).

Resilience is also a quality which emerges in some responses:

I'd say that to have a successful life you should try your hardest and never give up. Try everything once, if it doesn't work out for you straight away, give it time it [sic] will come around. Just stick at what your [sic] doing and you'll make it one day. Time heals all wounds, just be patient and everything will work out (dominant language-background girl, 458.8).

However, while many students have internalised this voluntarism, for others the mantra becomes unwelcome external pressure:

If you push someone of doing, something, that person is to be pressured and will get sick of the thing so don't pressure someone of doing something, let them do something if they want (Turkish-background girl, 197.4)

When burdensome expectations are joined by social sanctions, despair can take over:

To me life is a waste of time, we get hurt and judged all our lives, to me being happy at what ever I wont [sic] is all that will matter" (dominant language-background girl 226.4).

Emphasising personal satisfaction over the estimation of others, or any other criteria for success, appears to be the last refuge for students faced with limited options and fear of disappointment. It is a way of making the best of one's uncertain lot in a situation of relative powerlessness, which the

'voluntarist' students attempt to overturn by emphasising the power of their personal effort. The voluntarist perspective reflects that identified by Hartley in the 1980s: "comments from students indicated that most were either relying on luck, or trying by self-motivation to live up to their parents' aspirations for them" (1988: 113). However, by the end of year 10, students must come up with some concrete answers in consultation with teachers as to what they understand their future to hold.

Advice from school

Serious career planning begins in year 10⁴, when students also undertake two weeks of work experience. The Managed Individual Pathways program (MIPs) operates in all Victorian state schools to help smooth the transition to further training and work of students aged 15 and above. Each school sets up its own careers guidance procedures, which typically include information sessions, individual counselling, and opportunities for students to set goals and investigate fields of interest. Students are assisted, to take the expression used by one school, "to develop a personalised VCE⁵ course that meets their career and further education aspirations".

As part of the process, teachers advise students as to their academic strength and prospects, but choices are framed primarily around the concept of student interest, and school recommendations are only definitive in the case of mathematics. In written guidelines, advice to students is only explicitly couched in terms of their academic capabilities in guidelines for the Victorian Certificate of Applied Learning (VCAL), which was first introduced in the year of this study and concerns only a handful of students in the sample.

Careers teachers in this study report that despite Mapped individual pathways (MIPs), many students remain unclear about the pathways they will follow. Those who do have a clear idea are identified as being those who are most assiduous in their work and most likely to succeed in their goals. The MIPs process relies, in part, on students and families undertaking their own research into the requirements for entry to the occupations which interest them. The array of pathways and courses, students indicate, appears

⁴ Equivalent to *seconde* level in France.

⁵ Victorian Certificate of Education, see Appendix 2 for definitions of educational terms.

daunting. Prestwick Secondary College, for instance, lists 42 websites on its careers guide for students to navigate in order to inform themselves of options and course requirements. It is easy to see how this approach may not reach some students who undertake this process with a view to merely satisfying the demands of their teachers.

Discussion with teachers suggests that there is some discrepancy between what students tell teachers for MIPs and what they say they would like to be in the survey for this study. The VCE co-ordinator at Mayfield suggested that students may have responded on the surveys with their “secret desires” that they dare not reveal to the school for fear of them being destroyed. The existence of this discrepancy is supported by the fact that close to 1 in 5 students who ‘would like to be’ a doctor, lawyer or engineer is not planning on attending university at the end of year 12.

Careers teachers indicate that they take great care not to shatter students’ hope too early, aiming to convince students over time, as their results over the VCE accumulate, of realistic options. At Westhill College, the VCE co-coordinator notes that students come to careers counselling aspiring to occupations where “you can tell from the results that they will have no hope of doing that”. He cites the example of student aspiring to law and who “probably needs to look at plan B” but remained stubbornly focused on “the dream”. He estimates that only one student every five years might gain entry to the ‘high ENTER⁶ score courses’ such as law and medicine at Melbourne University. The careers advisor at Mayfield agrees that students who aspire to ‘high ENTER’ courses such as law at the beginning of VCE lower their aspirations over the course of their studies.

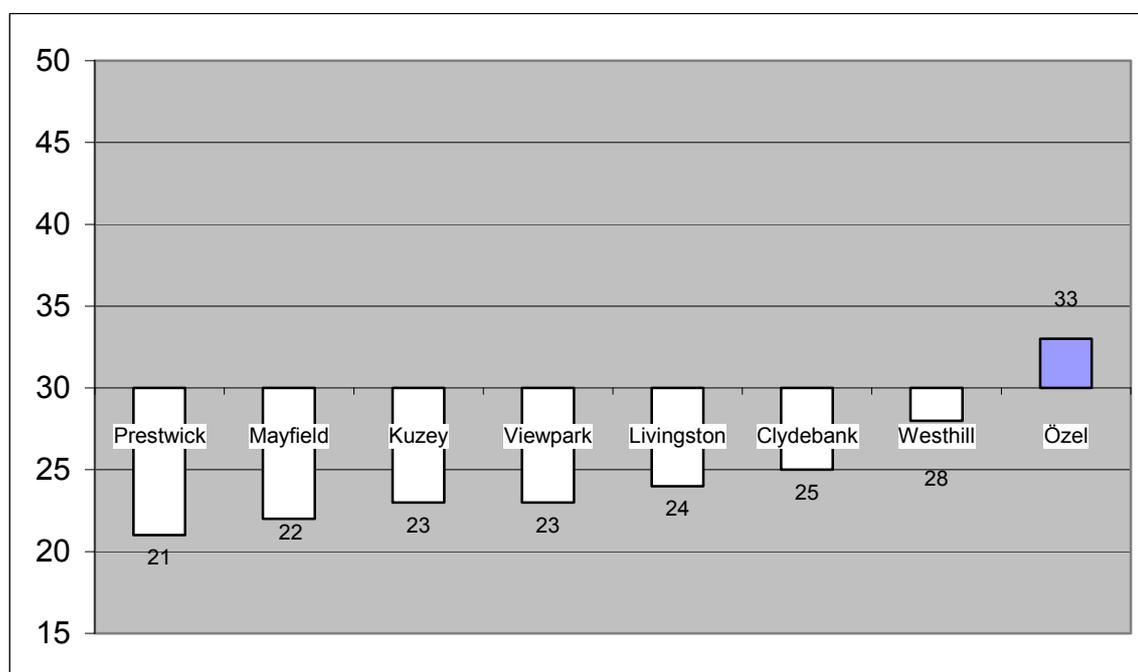
Indeed outside of Özel College, only Westhill and Clydebank had any graduates from the year of the sample with median study scores which would allow them to contemplate medicine or law, and they accounted for only 3 per cent of students (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority, 2004). At Özel, the sole school in the sample with an overall grade median above the state median of 30 (Figure 6.1), 14 per cent of students achieved median study scores above 40, which is the score required to achieve entrance to

⁶ Equivalent National Tertiary Entrance Rank, a score derived from examination results and used by tertiary institutions to determine access.

training for the high status professions (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority, 2004, 2005).

Yet even at Özel, which is academically selective⁷ and focused on examination results, teachers feel that students are over-confident. Unlike in other contexts, teachers at Özel communicate to students the examination results and ENTER scores they believe they will achieve. Placing a figure on students' projected outcomes points to Özel's unique (in this study) focus on quantifying and maximising ENTER scores.

Figure 6.1 School median study score out of 50 (state-wide median = 30)



*data for year of sample unavailable from Kuzey, data for this school comes from the following year.

Source: (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority, 2004, 2005).

Note: State-wide, 8% of students receive median enter scores above 40. An individual median study score of 40 would translate into an ENTER score of around 95. To gain entry to law or medicine at Melbourne University, students would require an ENTER above 98.

⁷ New students must meet academic requirements to gain admission; students who have come up through the school must also reach a minimum level to pass from year 10 to VCE. This is not the practice of other schools, where promotion through the year levels is virtually automatic.

Future career ideas

At first glance, the occupational aspirations of students in the study appear to conform to a fairly traditional working class pattern. They are strongly gendered and focused on the most visible occupations. However some distinctive patterns also emerge along ethnic lines, as I will show later. Eighty-nine per cent of students at year 11 in the sample are able to identify what they would like to be in the future and 53 per cent also supply an alternative response⁸. Just over a third of students express a desire to do “whatever makes me happy”, indicating both a lack of clarity about specific career directions and a desire for personal satisfaction beyond purely instrumental concerns.

Boys more often stick to specific occupations than girls, who more often hope for ‘whatever makes me happy’ (30% of boys, 39% of girls), however only around 12 per cent solely record this response. Of the remaining students who name at least one occupation, the most common desire is to be a business owner (Table 6.1), which brings with it the attractions of financial rewards and being one’s own boss. This is more appealing to boys than to girls and fits with the greater interest amongst boys for pathways less dependant on academic study.

There is also strong interest in those professions which require the highest academic results. Teaching, nursing, medicine and law are the most popular professions with girls, while boys are more focused on engineering and architecture. This may in part be due to the fact that these occupations are specifically listed in the questionnaire, while others are put in general terms or require a response to the open-ended part of the item.

Traditional blue-collar occupations are far less popular, although trades retain their appeal for a fifth of boys. Economic changes have rendered occupations traditionally reached directly from school less stable and less desirable. The VCE co-coordinator at Mayfield reports that this results in some students who have left school returning when they are either unsuccessful in finding work or dissatisfied with the work they find.

⁸ Appreciating that many students have not made a final decision about what they would like to do, the survey allowed them to provide up to two responses. Students were not required to rank their responses, so the second response represents an equal alternative rather than a lower preference. For this reason they have been combined for analysis.

Table 6.1 Popularity of selected occupations by gender (first and second options combined, percentages shown)⁹.

Occupation	Males %	Females %	Total %
Most academically demanding			
Teacher/scientist	10.1	19.5	15.1
Engineer/architect	19.7	5.5	12.2
Lawyer	4.5	17.0	11.1
Nurse/ other health professional	3.4	16.5	10.3
doctor/dentist/optometrist	6.2	12.0	9.3
designer	2.8	6.0	4.5
Business			
business owner	19.1	12.0	15.3
business manager	9.6	8.0	8.7
Least academically demanding			
tradesperson	19.7	1.0	9.8
Sales or retail	5.6	4.5	5.0
technician	8.4	1.5	4.8
chef/hospitality	3.9	3.5	3.7
beautician/hairdresser	0.0	4.5	2.4
labourer	2.2	0.0	1.1
Clerical/receptionist	0.6	3.5	2.1
N	178	200	378

Amongst the most popular professions are those that students are likely to have most contact with (such as teacher) and those which carry the most prestige, such as law and the top medical professions. Girls are most drawn to these visible professions, being almost four times more likely than boys to hope to become lawyers and almost twice as likely to wish to become teachers, doctors, dentists or optometrists. This may reflect both their greater academic attachment and the greater motivation for social approval identified in girls' definitions of a successful life.

If we compare the choices of students in the sample to the top 15 courses attended by school leavers state-wide (Table 6.2), we can see that the ideals of year 11 students in the study are far removed from main courses on offer to school leavers. Girls in particular are likely to be destined for more generalist courses. Only business related courses and nursing maintain their popularity when we pass from desires in the sample to state-wide enrolment in further study.

⁹ Because each category is not exclusive, the total of percentages may be greater than 100. Students who did not provide at least one specific occupation are excluded from the table.

The data in Table 6.2 also indicate that the gender divisions in the sample conform to broader social trends which relate to views as to what areas are 'appropriate' for girls, and those fields where their prospects of finding work have historically been greatest. Hence we see girls predominating in arts courses, health related courses and hospitality, and boys in management, technology and engineering related courses.

Table 6.2 Year 12 completers in university or TAFE/VET study: course of study by gender (State of Victoria)

Course of study	Males (%)	Females (%)	Total (%)
Arts (general)	7.2	13.5	10.7
Business and Management	8.2	7.5	7.8
Nursing	0.6	6.3	3.8
Other Management and Commerce	8.4	5	6.5
Food and Hospitality	1.8	4.2	3.2
Science (general)	4.1	4.1	4.1
Other Health	1.2	3.6	2.6
Human Welfare Studies and Services	0.3	3.6	2.2
Teacher Education	1	3.3	2.3
Graphic and Design Studies	3.1	3.1	3.1
Communication and Media Studies	2.8	2.9	2.8
Sport and Recreation	4.2	2.2	3.1
Accounting	3.4	1.9	2.6
Other Engineering and Related Technologies	3.9	0.6	2.1
Electronic or Electrical Engineering and Technology	5.1	0.3	2.4

Source: (Department of Education and Training, 2006: 31)

The narrow social intake of the schools means that we find little influence from students' economic background on their aspirations, although interest in medical sciences declines slightly for more disadvantaged students (Table 6.3). The most striking distinction based on socio-economic status is the greater acceptance of 'whatever makes me happy' amongst students from relatively more disadvantaged backgrounds. Thirty-eight per cent of the children of the unemployed and 35 per cent of students from blue collar households would be satisfied with anything which makes them happy compared to 28 per cent from more advantaged backgrounds. In all, just 5 per cent of middle-class students provided this response alone compared to 13 per cent of students from less blue collar households and 16 per cent of the children of the unemployed.

The most economically vulnerable students are thus perhaps least clear in their goals.

Table 6.3 Popularity of selected occupations by socio-economic status¹⁰

Occupation	Unemployed, Pensioner %	Blue collar, unskilled %	lower middle class and higher %	All students %
Most academically demanding				
teacher/scientist	11.9	17.8	13.5	15.1
Engineer/architect	16.5	8.9	13.5	12.2
Lawyer	9.2	12.2	11.2	11.1
nurse/ other health professional	11.9	9.4	14.6	11.4
doctor/dentist/optometrist	8.3	7.8	13.5	9.3
designer	4.6	5.0	3.4	4.5
Business				
business owner	11.9	18.9	12.4	15.3
business manager	4.6	10.0	11.2	8.7
Least academically demanding				
tradesperson	6.4	11.7	10.1	9.8
sales or retail	3.7	6.7	3.4	5.0
technician	7.3	5.0	1.1	4.8
chef/hospitality	1.8	4.4	4.5	3.7
beautician/hairdresser	2.8	2.8	1.1	2.4
Labourer	1.8	1.1	0.0	1.1
N	109	180	89	378

Of those students who do name an occupation, the only sign of lowered aspirations amongst the children of the unemployed is a more frequent desire for swifter entry into the workforce as a technician. Yet even students who aspire to careers which require little or no further training are anxious to avoid the occupations of their parents. On this point, ethnicity begins to emerge as a line of distinction. A jocular exchange from an interview with students at Mayfield College illustrates this: Halil began his response to my question about what he would be doing in five years with “probably working...”, at which point Hasna whispered “in a factory” to general amusement. “I’m not gonna be like my dad working in a factory” he retorted. He finished his answer that he hoped to be working with cars only to be interrupted a second time by Steve: “Stealing cars isn’t a job Hasy”. This

¹⁰ Because each category is not exclusive, the total of percentages may be greater than 100. Students who did not provide at least one specific occupation are excluded from the table.

exchange, although in a humorous register nevertheless may reveal both the desire of Turkish-background students to distinguish themselves from the occupations of their parents, and the constant threat of a humiliating relegation to just such a fate, or worse (stealing cars).

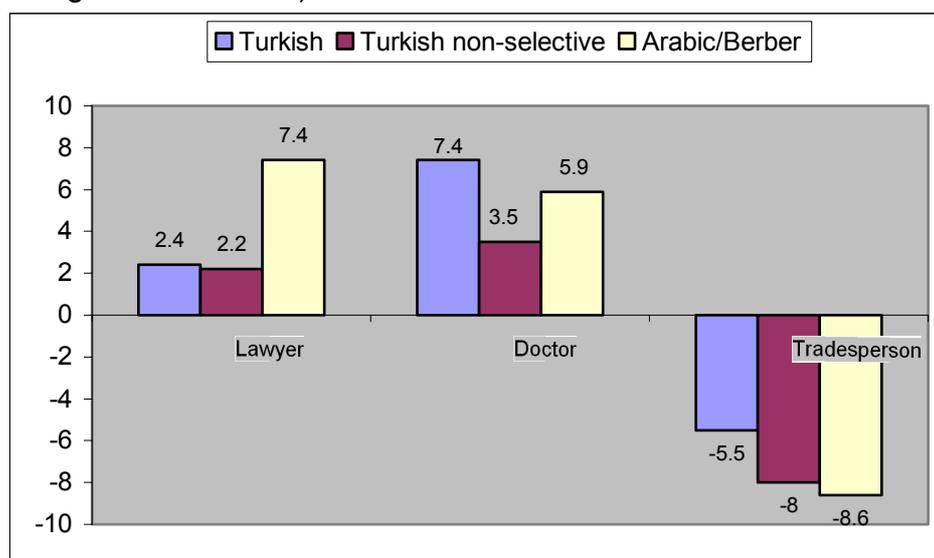
Turkish- background students are also less likely than their peers to be content with “whatever makes me happy” and, together with Arabic/Berber-background students, have a sharper focus on the professions, particularly top medical professions, engineering and architecture (Table 6.4, Figure 6.2). Students from both groups are also more likely to aspire to owning a business, but also to being a business manager.

Dominant language-background students are less reluctant than their minority background peers to consider traditional blue collar occupations, pointing to stronger identification with parents’ working lives and educational careers. Economically uncertain but glamorous artistic pursuits also appeal more frequently to dominant language-background students. This suggests that orientation to the forms of social approval conveyed by both mass media and high culture discourses is stronger in this group. It is important to recall that final decisions have not yet been made at this point in students’ schooling, so it may be expected that the aspirations expressed are somewhat fluid.

Table 6.4 Popularity of selected occupations by ethnic background¹¹

Occupation	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other %	All students %
Most academically demanding					
teacher/scientist	19.3	9.9	6.5	21.1	15.1
Engineer/architect	5.0	15.7	23.9	12.7	12.2
Lawyer	10.0	12.4	17.4	7.0	11.1
nurse/ other health professional	12.1	10.7	8.7	7.0	10.3
doctor/dentist/optometrist	5.0	12.4	10.9	11.3	9.3
Designer	2.1	3.3	2.2	12.7	4.5
Business					
business owner	14.3	16.5	19.6	12.7	15.3
business manager	5.0	13.2	8.7	8.5	8.7
Least academically demanding					
Tradesperson	12.9	7.4	4.3	11.3	9.8
sales or retail	5.7	5.0	2.2	5.6	5.0
Technician	3.6	3.3	10.9	5.6	4.8
chef/hospitality	5.0	2.5	4.3	2.8	3.7
beautician/hairdresser	3.6	1.7	2.2	1.4	2.4
Labourer	1.4	0.0	2.2	1.4	1.1
N	140	121	46	71	378

Figure 6.2 Popularity of selected occupations by ethnic background (difference in percentage points from choices of dominant language-background students).



Dominant language baseline: Lawyer: 10%, Doctor/Dentist/Optometrlist: 5%, Trades: 12.9%

¹¹ Because each category is not exclusive, the total of percentages may be greater than 100. Students who did not provide at least one specific occupation are excluded from the table.

An important factor in the formulation of aspirations amongst Turkish, and a small number of Arabic/Berber-background students, is their attendance at private schools catering primarily to the Turkish community. Kuzey College was founded on the basis of following Islamic precepts, and accepts all comers. According to a teacher at the school, the value that parents see in Kuzey is its role as a place where religious and cultural values will be respected: modesty between the sexes, provision of a space for prayers, and halal food.

By contrast, Özel College is somewhat academically selective and focused on examination results. In interviews, students at Özel expressed acute awareness of high hopes from both parents and the school. One student, Abdullah, reported that in five years time he would hopefully be “educated and thankful I went to this school”. Engineering and accountancy were his chosen fields, with a preference for Melbourne University (seen as a ‘good’ university). Meanwhile Nilay’s aspirations apparently encompass every possible angle of success and professional prestige:

Firstly I’d like to become a doctor, and along with that I’d like to do a double degree. I’m interested in finance and building so I want to get into that as well and hopefully earn some money and actually establish a business or something (Nilay, Özel College, male).

Not surprisingly, students at this school consider that stress and pressure were the major obstacles standing between them and their VCE success. We might expect that these students have higher aspirations than their peers in other schools. However, once students from Özel have been taken out of the Turkish background group (Figure 6.2 above), the remaining students are just as keen on law and are even less interested in the trades, but not quite as focused on medicine.

Parents' hopes

Parental hopes have been understood as driving higher aspirations amongst migrant-background students and lower aspirations amongst working-class students in much previous research. While aspirations are high compared to the outcomes students receive from schooling for all groups, Turkish-background parents stand out as being particularly invested in high status occupations for their children, an investment which does not always transfer into investment in the same dreams amongst their children.

The students in the sample were asked to report what they understood their parents' hopes to be in order to investigate this proposition. Seventy per cent of students offered at least one suggestion of what their parents would like them to become, while 30 per cent offered a second suggestion. One in five respondents believe that their parents simply hope for 'whatever makes them happy', this belief being most prevalent in the dominant language-background group (28% compared to 16% of Turkish parents and 12% of Arabic/Berber parents).

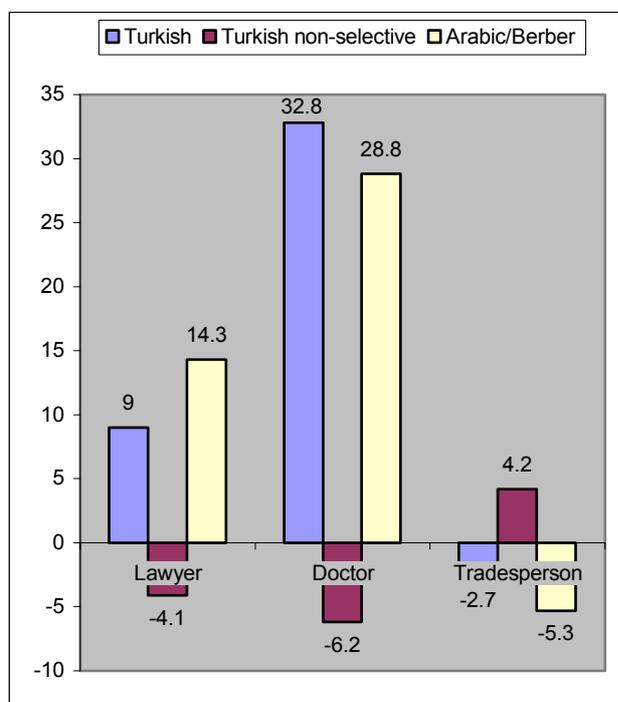
Of those parents who have left their children with an impression of what they hope for them, these aspirations are even more highly concentrated on the professions than are students' own aspirations (Figure 6.3).

At Westhill College, the VCE coordinator confirms that parents are keener than either the school or students that their children complete VCE. He counsels students who wish to leave to come up with arguments and alternatives, such as TAFE, in order to convince their parents. He also mentions that some parents are reluctant for their children to leave school because of the loss of welfare payments ("they stay here not to study, but just to have something to fill up their time") and described some of the work of teachers as "babysitting". He cites the case of a student has not handed in any work and failed all units, but whose parents are still negotiating with the school about what VCE subjects he could complete the following semester.

A narrow aspirational horizon is most marked amongst Turkish and Arabic/Berber parents. Close to half of Turkish-background students and over 40 per cent Arabic/Berber-background students believe that their parents hope they will become a top medical professional. A quarter of Turkish-

background students and 30 per cent of Arabic/Berber-background students also think that their parents aspire to law for them (Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3 Occupations hoped for by parents by ethnic background (difference in percentage points from choices of dominant language-background parents).



Dominant language baseline: Lawyer: 16%, Doctor/Dentist/Optometrlist: 13.3%, Trades: 5.3%

Clearly, medicine and law hold a special place in the family aspirations of some ethnic-minority groups which exceeds even students' own investments in these fields. Hanan (a teacher at Kuzey College) notes of these families that many have a narrow view of liberal professions as the only viable professions. Ignorance of other career options and the fact that most students are still formally 'in the running' for high stakes courses may play a role parents' high aspirations.

Students attribute their parent's high hopes to their own educational backgrounds:

The majority of Turkish parents want their kids to be educated because they don't come from a very educated background. My parents in particular: Mum only went up to grade five, that's the highest in my family so far. And so they

really try their best to provide the best for us, financially and emotionally (Halide, female, Özel College).

These hopes are internalised in the desires of some students:

I intentionally picked an occupation that tests your intelligence, and I intentionally picked a course that has a high ENTER, around 95. Because my whole family, they're all labourers, they're not very intelligent, even the generation that's brought up now, my cousins, they're not very intelligent. They've given up school and everything. I figured that if I'm gonna start, I may as well start from me, and then hopefully then my children can also become intelligent (Muammer, male, Turkish-background, Özel College).

However, at Livingston College, girls report that parents attempt to motivate them but

Because they're not educated, they don't know how hard it is really. It's just, like, 'get ninety'¹² or 'get this mark' and they don't know how hard it is to achieve that mark" (Cemre, Turkish-background).

As a consequence, high parental hopes can provide unwelcome pressure. Students also mention parents' lack of understanding of the difficulties of study arising from their poor ability to communicate in English.

This point is reinforced by Saniye (Livingston), who is unsure about the difficulty of gaining a high ENTER score. When asked about whether she could get advice from her family on this, she reported "nup, no-one's anything in my family [laughs] they're all dole bludgers". "That's how my family is too" rejoined Solmaz:

That's why they want us to study and do something. Cos most of the people in this school, they're nothing because most of them don't know English and stuff, like their parents, and they force their children to do stuff. (Solmaz, female, Turkish-background, Livingston College)

¹² A university entrance rank (ENTER) of 90 out of a highest possible score of 99.95.

Such comments show how Turkish-background students have an added sense of obligation to their parents placed on them. This is often expressed in terms of family loyalty and respectfulness. As one Turkish background student noted in his description of a successful life, “live the way you want to, but respect perants and older [sic]. And follow religion” (53.2).

Cemre and Solmaz’s comments also reveal that despite their high aspirations, parents find it difficult to take concrete actions. Hanan laments that at Kuzey College, due to lack of financial support or parental permission, few students participate in extra-curricular activities, such as debating. At other schools too, activities outside of school, particularly those which are outside of the local area, (such as excursions to the city) are viewed with suspicion and some anxiety by parents.

Sources of support and information beyond school

Within the family, it is evident from student comments that advice available to students may be limited. This reflects previous research highlighting language difficulties and misunderstandings of the workings of schooling amongst migrant parents. Students most often turn towards their mothers (or guardians) for help planning their VCE and career (Table 6.5). Over half of students receive help from their mothers, receiving counsel less often from fathers. As few mothers participate in paid employment and many have had their studies cut short, or lacked opportunities to study, this advice is unlikely to be well-informed.

Table 6.5 Help received from various sources with planning VCE and career by ethnic background

	<i>Help from mother %</i>	<i>Help from father %</i>	<i>Help from brother %</i>	<i>Help from sister %</i>	<i>Help from relatives/friends %</i>
Whole sample	50.1	39.7	12.5	17.0	27.7
dominant language	67.8	38.5	6.3	10.9	29.3
Turkish	38.3	42.3	14.1	20.1	25.5
Arabic/Berber	35.3	33.8	17.6	27.9	20.6
Other	46.7	42.2	17.8	15.6	33.3

Note: the percentages represent show what proportion of students from the category listed in the row receives help from the source listed in the column.

Students from ethnic-minority backgrounds more frequently receive assistance from siblings, particularly sisters. Turkish and Arabic/Berber families appear to be similar in this regard. An example of students' lack of knowledge, but also the information siblings can provide is shown by the discussion on ENTER scores amongst a group of students, only one of whom had an idea of the score required for their desired course. Esma (Turkish-background) reported that she aspires to study law, which she believes will require her to "study a lot harder than now. Next year I'm gonna full on study". Other students then questioned her about what enter score is required for law, speculating that it must be above 90¹³. In reply, Esma revealed that even though she does not believe she could get the marks, her strategy is to enrol in another degree and transfer. Murat (Lebanese-background) was able to draw on the experience of his sister to advise her "trust me, if you say transfer, you'll never do it, that's what happened to my sister". Esma rejoined that her second strategy is to go to Queensland, where she believes you did not need an ENTER score to enrol in law, with the hope of transferring to a 'better' university after working hard in the first year¹⁴.

Beyond family, many students are also unable to draw on broader social networks for information on the professions they aspire to, as Table 6.6 shows. Twenty-two per cent of students know no-one with the type of job they are interested in, while a further 28.5 per cent know "one or two, but not well". Just under a quarter (24.1%) feel that they know "quite a few" people in the line of work that interests them. This figure rises to 28 percent amongst those students who do not plan to go on to university study, and sits at 20.9 per cent for students who do. High standardised adjusted residuals (>2) indicate that social contact with members of aspired to occupational fields is significantly lower amongst students who intend to go on to university, even though the chi-square for the whole contingency table is not significant.

¹³ The highest possible ENTER score is 99.95.

¹⁴ Esma's information was incorrect. After the interview I discussed entrance requirements for law with Esma. I was the first person to have studied law she had ever had such a discussion with.

Table 6.6 Social contact with people in aspired to occupational field

Number of people known in 'type of job' aspired to	Do not plan university study %	Plan university study %	Total %
Nobody	19.0	24.2	22.0
one or two, not well	25.5	30.7	28.5
one or two well	27.0	24.2	25.4
Quite a few	28.5	20.9	24.1
n	200	277	477

Chi-Square=5.63, p=.131

These data show that in the settings of this study only a minority of students who hope to study at university are able to draw on the advice and experience of people they know well. The situation is such that some students have difficulty projecting notions of success against the social backdrop of their experience, as one definition of a successful life demonstrates: "I don't know because I don't know anyone successful" (female Anglo background 123.3). The difficulties presented by a lack of a well-informed social network appear to affect all ethnic groups equally, and extend beyond the ranks of those who hope to go on to university. Their effects are nevertheless likely to be most severely felt by those who are attempting to gain entrance to tertiary education as this is the sector which is the focus of the most intense competition and which is amenable to, and dominated by, middle-class family strategies.

Plans for realising aspirations

Students' immediate plans beyond school are generally congruent with their high occupational aspirations, with a majority intending to go to university (Table 6.7). Boys and girls differ significantly in their plans. Girls are more likely to plan to study at university, which we will see later in this section is a possibility only for a minority. Boys are much more likely to aim for vocational training than girls, and to consider joining either the police or army. The army and police offer the tempting prospect of immediate financial security as well as the potential for funded training. Together with apprenticeships and traineeships they count as some of the few occupational avenues which do not depend on results and personal financial sacrifice to further education¹⁵.

¹⁵ This category has been consolidated into the 'work full-time' category in other tables due to its small size and in order to match the categories used in other data sets I will draw on.

Difficulty paying for studies was mentioned by a number of students as a potential obstacle to studying, leading a small number of boys and girls to aim to combine work full-time with study.

Table 6.7 Plans beyond school by gender

plans beyond school	Male %	Female %	Total %
University	56.2	68.4	62.4
TAFE/VET	28.3	16.5	22.2
Apprenticeship/Traineeship	1.4	3.0	2.2
Defence Services or Police	6.4	1.7	4.0
Work full-time	4.1	5.6	4.9
Work full-time & study part-time	3.7	4.8	4.2
N	219	231	450

Chi-square=18.169, $p < .005$. 1 cell (8.3%) has expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.87¹⁶.

Table 6.8 shows that significant differences exist in the plans of students from different ethnic backgrounds. Turkish-background students are most likely to plan to attend university and, compared to other groups, shun vocational education. Dominant language-background students are more likely to be contemplating a direct transition to work or an apprenticeship/traineeship. This is consistent with their greater preference for trades and technical occupations for dominant language-background students presented earlier.

Table 6.8 Plans of students in year 11 by ethnic background

	Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other Backgrounds %	Total %
University	47.1	79.5	58.7	64.3	62.4
TAFE/VET	29.3	13.0	25.4	22.6	22.2
Apprenticeship/Traineeship	5.1	0.7	1.6	0.0	2.2
Work full-time	18.5	6.8	14.3	13.1	13.1
N	157	146	63	84	450

Chi-square=39.48, $p < .001$, 4 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.40.

Socio-economic status does not emerge as a strong line of distinction in students' plans, again emphasising the social homogeneity of the sample.

¹⁶ I have reported information on expected frequencies for Chi-Square tests when the minimum expected count is less than 1, or more than 20 per cent of cells have expected values below 5 (the conservative minimum requirement (Cochran, 1954)). The sample size is sufficient to satisfy Roscoe and Byers' more liberal rule of thumb that the average expected cell frequency should be at least 1 when the expected cell frequencies are close to equal, and 2 when they are not (Roscoe & Byars, 1971).

The only point of distinction is in the proportion of students seeking to enter the workforce directly, which doubles amongst the children of the unemployed (see Table A6.1 in appendix 2). The desire of the children of parents who are not working to immediately enter the world of economic activity is unsurprising in light of the financial insecurity they will have experienced at home, and perhaps also the imperative to contribute to the family's finances. Students with employed parents are slightly more likely to prefer apprenticeships and traineeships, and for some boys this offers the prospect of working with their fathers.

Binomial logistic regression (Table 6.9) allows us to examine the contribution of various attributes to the likelihood of students planning to attend university. In the first model, the reference category is the dominant language-background boy, who has a 34 per cent likelihood of planning to attend university. This likelihood increases by 10 percentage points for Arabic/Berber-background boys and more than doubles for Turkish-background boys to 73 per cent.

Girls are significantly more likely than boys to plan to attend university in all groups, with the likelihood strongest amongst Arabic/Berber-background girls (60%) and Turkish-background girls (83%).

As earlier results indicated, controlling for socio-economic status adds little, and being the child of unemployed parents only depresses the probability of aiming for university by a few percentage points for each background attribute taken into account.

Table 6.9 Likelihood of students planning to attend university (predicted probabilities expressed as percentages)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4 ¹⁷
Gender <i>(Ref: male) female</i>	47.8***	42.3***	18.2**	21.3**
Ethnic background <i>Ref: Dominant language</i>				
Turkish	33.6***	28.6***	12.3***	14.4**
Arabic/Berber	72.9***	68.8***	42.4***	31.2**
Other	45.6*	41.6*	19.9*	16.0
	53.6***	48.5***	23.4**	25.2**
Socio-economic status <i>Ref: unemployed</i>				
Blue collar		28.6	12.3	14.4
Middle and upper		32.1	15.9	17.6
		41.9**	18.9	20.3
Expected results <i>Ref: pass</i>				
Good results			12.3***	14.4***
Very good results			37.2***	42.8***
			50.1***	57.7***
School <i>Ref: Livingston</i>				
Kuzey				14.4***
Özel				76.9**
Westhill				37.7**
Mayfield				18.4
Clydebank				6.6*
Viewpark				10.1
Prestwick				13.0
intercept				24.4
	33.6***	28.6***	12.3***	14.4***
Nagelkerke R Square	.146	.157	.287	.357
Chi-Square	55.411***	59.921***	115.724***	148.260***

Reference category is indicated by italics. * p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01.

How to read the table: figures show the percentage change in likelihood of planning to attend university.

Socio-economic status has most predictive power for dominant language-background students. Compared to living in a household with an unemployed parent, living in a lower middle-class household increases the probability of aiming for university 13 points for boys and 14 points for girls. This increase is smaller amongst minority-background students, around 10 percentage points for Turkish-background students, boys and girls alike.

¹⁷ Although the inclusion of school mixes two levels of analysis, it provides some indication of school effect in the absence of the conditions necessary for hierarchical analysis. Very preliminary hierarchical modelling suggested between-school variance may account for around 80% of variance and within-school variance for 20%. For a discussion see Methodology p x.

The strongest influence on students' plans is their expected results, which, when taken into account, increase the strength of association recorded by the pseudo-R Square statistic from .157 in model 2 to .287 in model 3. There is a very large difference of 43 percentage points in the probability of having plans to attend university between students in the reference category (male, dominant language-background, lowest socio-economic status) who expect a pass and those who expect 'very good' results. The expectation of a mere pass dampens hopes of attending university amongst all groups, more than halving its likelihood. Turkish-background students are the most persistent in their plans to attend university, even when they do not expect good results. This is a reminder of the 'resilience' and 'persistence' mantras adopted by some Turkish-background students.

Beyond individual characteristics, taking into account the school students attend further strengthens the model, increasing the Nagelkerke R Square from .287 to .357. Even when individual attributes are controlled for, attendance at one of the two private schools in the model increases the likelihood of plans to attend university over and above those attributes.

The influence of parental education levels

Previous studies show that parents' educational levels also play a role in their children's aspirations; however they tend to have less predictive value for the children of particular parents who grew up under a different set of educational circumstances. This is indeed the case for the present study. Just over 80 per cent of students are unable to provide information on their father's education, and 88 per cent on their mother. The lower educational levels amongst the migrant-background families in the sample are likely to be due to lack of opportunity, which is most severely felt by women (Tables 6.10, 6.11 below). Around 30 per cent of Turkish and Arabic/Berber mothers never went past primary school. Few students from any ethnic group have university-educated parents, although fathers from smaller minority groups are most likely to be in this situation.

Table 6.10 Mother's highest educational level by ethnic background

mother's level of education	Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other Backgrounds %	Total %
None	1.2	2.0	10.3	3.4	3.2
Primary school only	0.6	28.9	16.2	8.0	13.1
some secondary	47.1	30.2	30.9	31.8	36.6
apprenticeship	2.9	0.7	0	1.1	1.5
technical/business	3.5	0.7	0	1.1	1.7
Completed secondary	23.5	28.2	20.6	22.7	24.4
University	9.4	4.7	8.8	14.8	8.8
Don't know	11.8	4.7	13.2	17.0	10.7
N	170	149	68	88	475

Table 6.11 father's highest educational level by ethnic background

	Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other Backgrounds %	Total %
None	1.8	1.4	8.8	2.3	2.8
Primary school only	1.8	20.9	13.2	11.4	11.3
some secondary	31.1	25.0	25.0	22.7	26.7
completed secondary	16.5	23.0	17.6	12.5	17.9
apprenticeship	15.9	3.4	1.5	5.7	7.9
University	10.4	15.5	13.2	20.5	14.3
technical/business	3.7	4.7	0	1.1	3.0
Don't know	18.9	6.1	20.6	23.9	16.0
N	164	164	68	88	468

In this sample, the distinction between incomplete and complete secondary education is not significantly related to students' plans for university study (Table 6.12).

Logistic regression shows that the relationship between intention to study at university and having a university-educated parent, which is the case for less than 1 in five students, indeed varies significantly. The likelihood of boys planning on attending university is almost doubled by having a university-educated father for dominant language-background students, but the impact is smaller for girls (32 percentage points). The increase is even more modest at 20 percentage points in the case of Turkish-background boys (from 72% to 89%), and 14 percentage points for Turkish-background girls (from 79% to 93%).

Similarly, having a mother who has completed university almost doubles the likelihood of English speaking-background boys aiming for university and raises it by 27 percentage points for girls. For Turkish-

background boys, having a university educated mother increases the likelihood 17 percentage points (from 71% to 88%), and the increase for girls is 12 points (from 81% to 93%).

Nevertheless, the likelihood of Turkish-background students aspiring to university remains extremely high relative to dominant language-background students regardless of parents' level of education. Arabic/Berber-background students appear to diverge both in the prevalence of university plans and the influence of parents' education from Turkish-background students. This may be attributed in part to their greater concentration in the state schools, but beyond this represent a less intense focus on 'the professions' and aversion for 'the trades'.

Table 6.12 Likelihood of planning to attend university by ethnicity and parents' education (percentage probabilities)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender			
<i>(Ref: male)</i> female	47.8***	43.63**	45.10**
Ethnic background			
<i>Ref: Dominant language</i>	33.6***	34.45***	31.22***
Turkish	72.9***	71.40***	70.82***
Arabic/Berber	45.6*	41.65	41.49
Other	53.6***	47.58*	43.03*
Father's education			
<i>Technical or incomplete secondary</i>		34.45***	
Completed secondary		38.18	
University		64.76***	
Mother's education			
<i>Technical or incomplete secondary</i>			31.22**
Completed secondary			36.14
university			58.48***
intercept	33.6***	34.45**	31.22***
Nagelkerke R Square	.146	.175	.165
Chi-Square	55.411***	54.473***	55.28***

Reference category is indicated by italics. * p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01

Subject choices

On the pathway to their goals, students must choose six subjects to study in year 11, five of which they will continue with into year 12. They are free to pick and choose from any of the subjects offered by the school, a choice which is rather limited in the smaller schools. The number of options ranges

from just 11 subjects at Özel and Kuzey to 38 options at Westhill. The ‘softly softly’ approach of teachers and lack of alternative sources of informed advice result in subject choices which appear to jar with aspirations.

Subject choices are far from neutral in planning for the future. Teese has shown that the traditional academic subjects serve as the privileged pathway of academic success, but also that mastery comes most easily in the contexts where this curriculum has been shaped over time – university faculties, established private schools and selective government schools (Teese, 2000). Amongst these traditional subjects are the physical sciences, which offer the additional advantage of being ‘scaled up’, meaning that final examination results are boosted in the calculation of university entrance ranks (ENTER scores).

Mathematical methods, specialist mathematics (the highest level of mathematics), physics and chemistry are also prerequisites for a number of university courses, making them essential to students wishing to pursue these courses or to keep their options open. The subjects required for entry to the medical, dental science and physiotherapy courses at the University of Melbourne, for example, are English, chemistry, and one of mathematical methods, specialist mathematics or physics (University of Melbourne, 2005).

Yet many students in the sample shy away from these subjects, even when they are prerequisites, or would facilitate access to the professions they aspire to. Less than half the students who would like to enter health and medical professions choose chemistry or mathematical methods, while less than a third will attempt specialist mathematics in year 12¹⁸ and just 1 in 5 students is enrolled in physics (see Figure 6.4 below).

Students seeking careers in engineering, architecture or accounting, where high level mathematical skills are required, are no more likely to attempt specialist mathematics. Only physics is less popular, despite its obvious relationship to such professions.

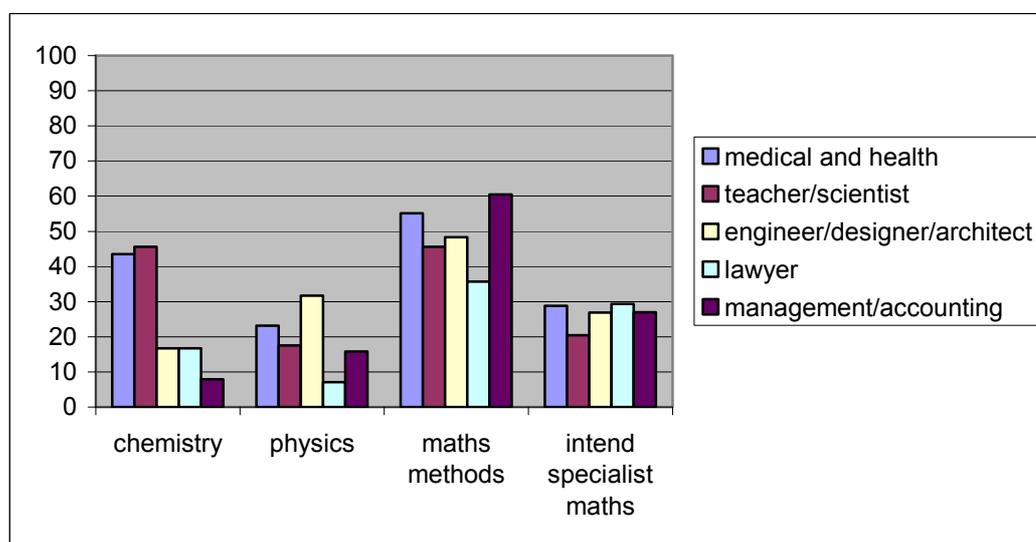
The chances of students combining science subjects are even slimmer. Twenty per cent of aspiring health professionals study chemistry,

¹⁸ This subject only exists at year 12 level. Students were asked ‘do you plan to study specialist mathematics next year?’

mathematical methods and physics, a figure which falls 10 per cent for those aspiring to the other professions listed.

Even though admission to Law does not require the study of physical sciences, they are generally popular choices with aspiring law students because they offer the greatest opportunities for maximising ENTER scores. In the sample, however, the students who should be the strongest and most capable are largely absent from these most academically demanding and rewarding subjects.

Figure 6.4 Enrolment in sciences by occupational aspiration (percentages)



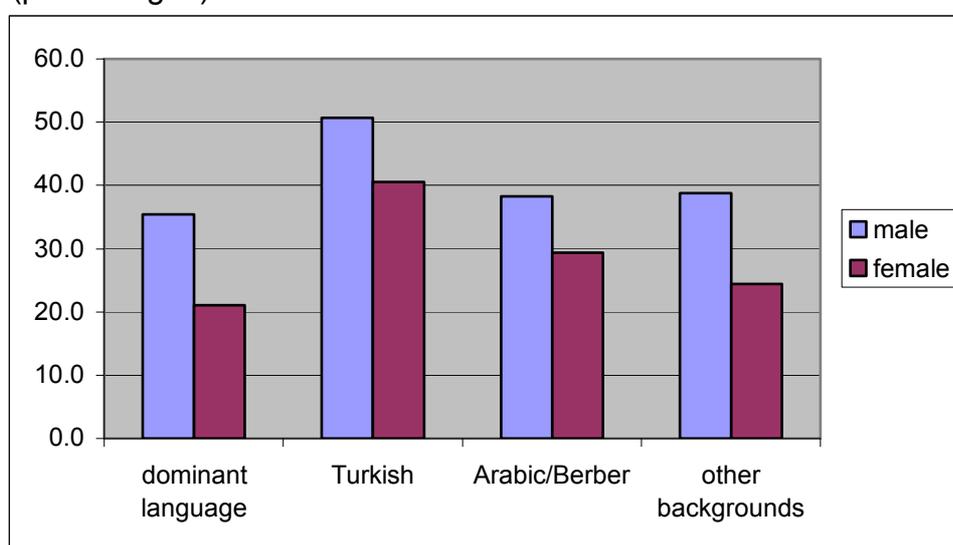
Beyond mathematical methods, two other mathematical subjects are offered to year 11 students. General mathematics, taken on its own, is a 'lower' level of mathematics and foundation mathematics is a practical option for students who will not continue with their mathematics studies beyond year 11. At smaller schools, different levels of mathematics are taught in the same classroom. During the administration of the survey, many students were indeed unclear about which mathematics they were studying, and many were unaware even of the existence of specialist mathematics, the most advanced level of mathematics in the VCE. This is an astounding situation, which would be unthinkable in the fortified sites at the 'centre' of the system.

In all, 82 per cent of students are enrolled in at least one mathematics study, with little difference based on gender. However Boys are more

frequently enrolled in mathematical methods (41% to 29%), with girls studying further mathematics on its own more often (39% to 27%) (differences are significant in both cases: Chi-square $p < .005$). Only 15 per cent of students are enrolled in Foundation Mathematics, the figure being similar for both genders.

The choice of mathematical methods is also more frequent amongst Turkish-background students (46% to 28% of dominant language-background students), consistent with the pattern of greater male participation persisting across groups (Figure 6.5).

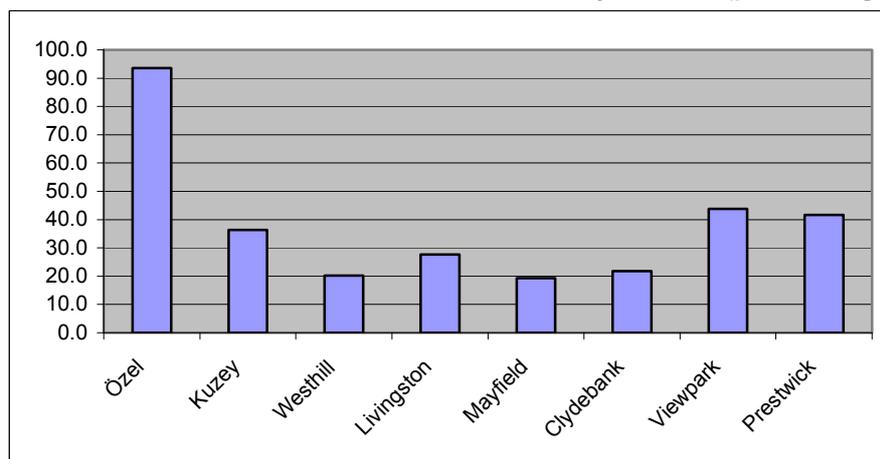
Figure 6.5 Enrolment in mathematical methods by ethnic background and gender (percentages)



The high participation rate is partly indicative of the school level choice made at Özel to focus on mathematics and sciences (Figure 6.6). At this school, attended by 10% students in Australian sample, choice has effectively been taken away from students in order that resources may be more tightly focused on select areas in the curriculum. Elsewhere participation is low, far below the levels that might be expected if students were concretely putting in place their aspirations.

If Özel is removed from the sample, ethnicity is no longer a significant dividing line in participation in Mathematical Methods, with around 29 per cent of all students involved in its study.

Figure 6.6 Enrolment in Mathematical Methods by school (percentages)



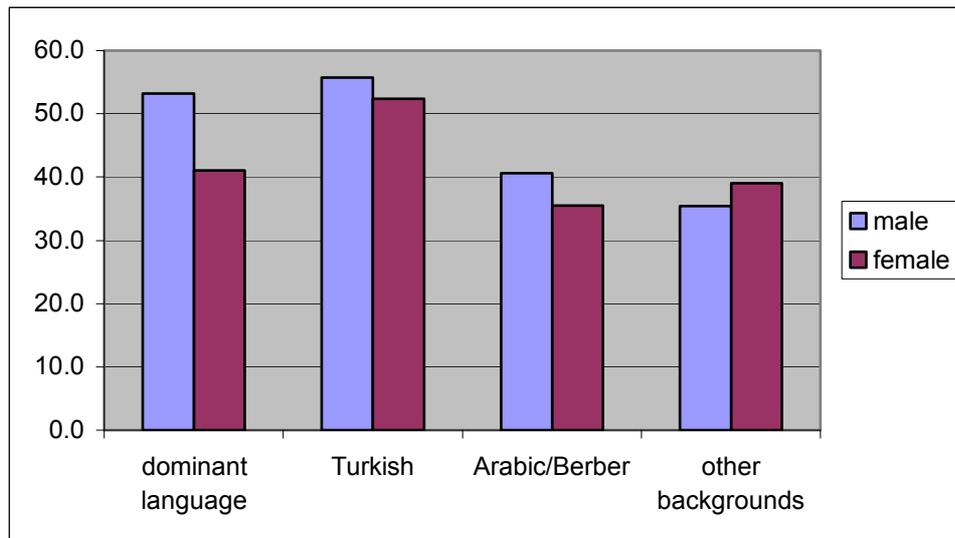
Participation in Vocational Education and Training subjects

Participation in Vocational Education and Training (VET) subjects offered by schools is indicative of a desire for practically oriented subject content. VET is offered at all schools except Kuzey. At this school, some boys, particularly those who were already assisting their fathers in the automotive trades, were resentful that Kuzey did not offer VET options. These students were disruptive in class, according to their English teacher, and some eventually did leave the school mid-year to take up VET options with other institutions.

At Özel College, many students complete Information Technology as a VET subject as part of a school strategy to maximise examination results by concentrating resources on areas perceived by staff as less dependent on cultural capital.

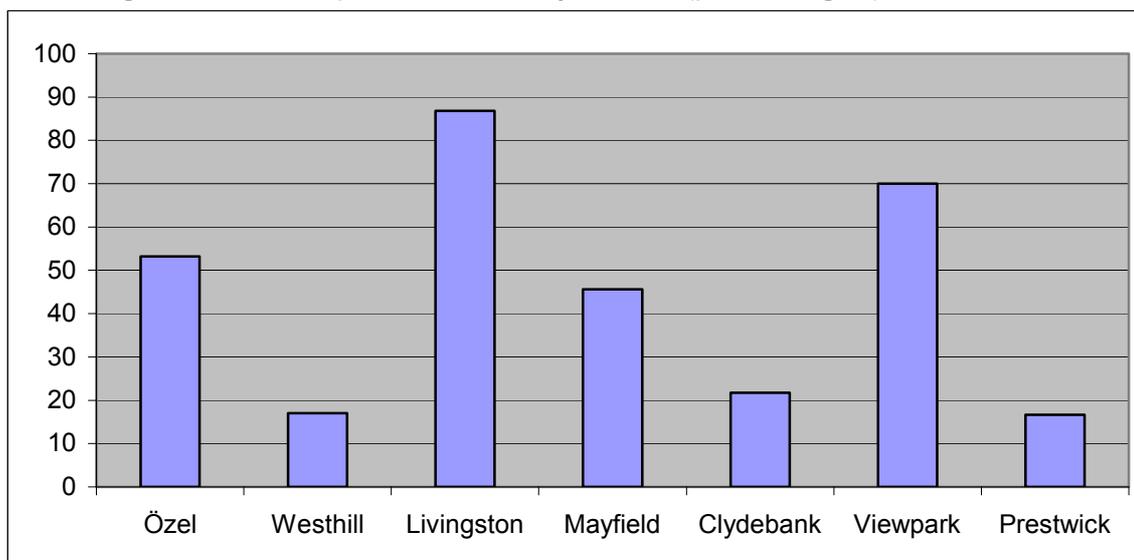
At schools offering VET subjects, boys take up these options more often than girls overall (49% to 43%), but less frequently than girls in the Turkish-background group, who use these options most heavily (Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.7 Participation in VET by background and gender (percentages, excluding Kuzey College)



The breadth of VET subjects on offer varies from school to school and this is likely to affect popularity. However this difference alone is insufficient to explain variation between schools (Figure 6.8). Uptake of at least one VET subject is close to universal at Livingston College, where 87 per cent of students are involved. However at Westhill College, which like Livingston offers the new, vocationally oriented, Victorian Certificate of Applied Learning (VCAL), less than 20 per cent of students participate in VET. While participation is connected to interests and occupational aspirations to some extent, for some schools and some students, VET is merely a refuge from yet more irksome academic studies.

Figure 6.8 Participation in VET by school (percentages)



Motivations for subject choices

The logic of instrumentalism and taste which sees able students favour traditional academic subjects is abandoned in favour of the logic of survival in the contexts of this study. Instead of students choosing those subjects which both advantage them strategically and play to their tastes (as occurs in privileged settings) students select those subjects they hope they can manage. School may be merely the lesser of two evils, as the following comment reveals:

I would choose to stay at school 'cause I'm a type of girl that does not like school and was going to drop out but in that two weeks work experience I realised that theres nothing better than school [sic]". (Female, Turkish background 219.4)

This logic of survival is manifested by the factors students consider in subject selection. As Figure 6.9 below shows, over a third of students in the study choose 'whichever subjects I found interesting'. In this they are following the advice their careers teachers repeated to me. In further discussions, interest appears to be reduced to 'manageability'.

A similar number choose those subjects with a view to gaining access to their desired course at the end of Year 12. Of these, the majority choose subjects they considered will 'maximise my chances of getting into the course

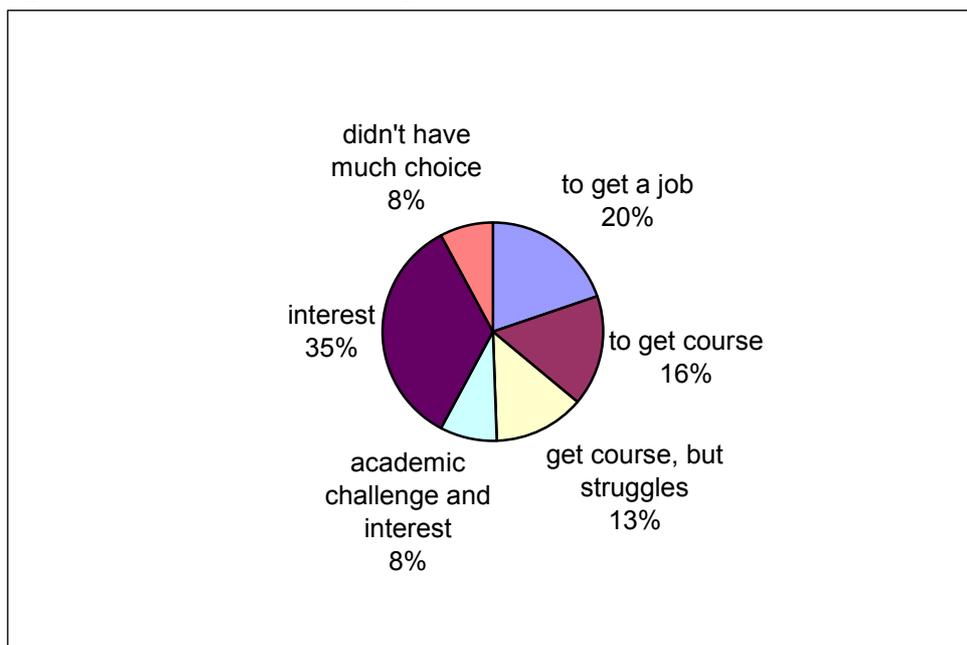
I want, regardless of their interest', and the remainder select such subjects 'even though I often struggle with them'. Interest only combines with academic challenge as a motivation for subject choice in 8 per cent of cases (Figure 6.9).

A fifth of students of students select subjects that will give them the best chance of getting a job as soon as they leave school, despite only 13 per cent planning to actually enter the job market directly. This discrepancy may be accounted for by students who are hedging their bets by keeping an eye on job prospects even as they aim for further study.

The term subject choice is a misnomer for 8 per cent students, who feel most constrained by the limited offer available at their school. Their sentiment is unsurprising in light of the small size of most of the schools and narrow range of subjects they are able to offer. Abdullah, a Turkish-background student at Özel, reflects on this restriction:

If you don't do physics, you have to do PE, and if you don't do chemistry, you have to do business management, and it's compulsory to do general maths and maths methods as well!

Figure 6.9 Motivation for subject choice



Rather than following ethnically distinctive patterns, motivations for subject choices appear to be most strongly aligned with post-school plans.

Table 6.13 Motivation for subject choice by post-school plans

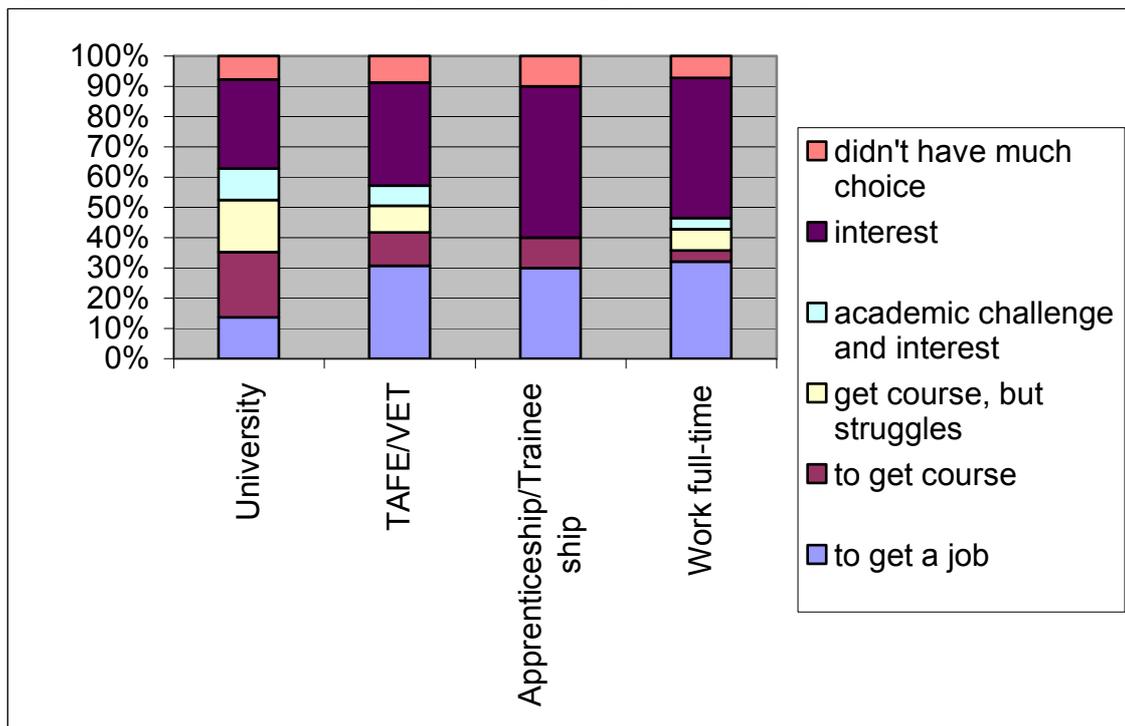
	University %	TAFE/VET %	Apprenticeship/ Traineeship %	Work full-time %	Total %
to get a job	13.8	30.8	30.0	32.1	20.2
to get course	21.6	11.0	10.0	3.6	16.7
get course, but struggles academic challenge and interest	17.1	8.8	0.0	7.1	13.6
Interest alone	10.4	6.6	0.0	3.6	8.5
didn't have much choice	29.4	34.1	50.0	46.4	33.1
	7.8	8.8	10.0	7.1	8.0
n	269	91	10	56	426

Chi-Square=42.925, p<001. 8 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5.

As Table 6.13 and Figure 6.10 show, for students hoping to exit school swiftly, maintaining interest is the primary motivation for subject choice (concerning almost half of students), although many also chose on the basis of what will help them get a job. Conversely, students choose subjects that they think will help them gain entry to the course they want most often when this is a university course. Students in this situation are also more likely to persist with subjects they know that they struggle with.

Recourse to choice based on interest, which may be read as 'manageability', is more prevalent amongst students looking to leave academic studies behind most quickly. One thing which is clear to many such students is which subjects they cannot stand or cope with. At the student interview at Livingston, Saniye's introduction of herself finished with "and I'll be dropping chemistry next year" to the group's amusement. Indeed each student in the group interview had already make up their minds which subjects they were dropping, and for a common set of reasons: I hate it, I don't need it for what I want to do, I hate the teacher.

Figure 6.10 Motivation for subject choice by post-school plans



Most students interviewed select subjects without regard for ‘subject loadings’, which are frequent topics of discussion even amongst more junior students and their parents in socially privileged neighbourhoods. Saniye, for example, commented “at the school they don’t explain much about university... they don’t explain much about how scores are lowered or boosted” (Livingston). However, at Özel, the school takes the position that because families wish to maximise their children’s scores for university, they should focus all energy on subjects which are scaled up. Mathematics related subjects are favoured because they are perceived as being less reliant on cultural capital than social sciences, and hence students are not disadvantaged by their backgrounds. Effort is seen as playing more of a role than home culture in these disciplines (Hikmet, Teacher at Özel).

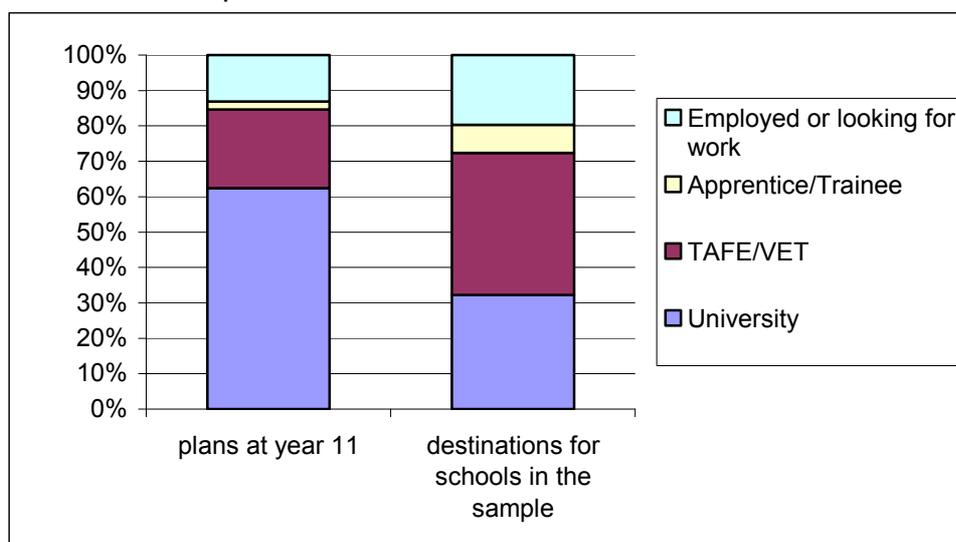
Another strategy used to maximise ENTER scores at Özel College is to enrol all year 11 students in at least one Year 12 subject: either Information Technology or Language Other than English (Turkish). This allows for more subjects to contribute to the score and lightens the burden on the final year of school, as well as giving them an idea of how Year 12 works. In this case, personal preferences are subsumed to a collective strategy which is

dependent on an academic level which is not attained at other schools in this study.

Plans versus destinations

As the VCE study scores reported earlier in the chapter suggest, a large gap exists between aspirations and destinations. Figure 6.11 and Table 6.14 below contrast the intentions of students in their second last year of school, when the study was conducted, and the post-school destinations of students from the schools in the sample. We can see that only half of students who aspire to university are able to follow this pathway, with the remainder being forced onto the job-market or into vocational training. Only half of the students who end up in work or vocational training contemplated these destinations at year 11. There is indeed massive unmet demand for tertiary studies in this sample of students.

Figure 6.11 Plans of students in year 11 and total post-school destinations for the schools in the sample¹⁹



Source of destinations data: (Department of Education and Training, 2006)

These destinations give an indication of the dramatic adaptations students are forced to make over the course of the final year of schooling and once examination results are known. Only at Özel is the transition to university realised. Ninety-four per cent of its graduates from the year of the study

¹⁹ Some missing data has been taken from the preceding year (Prestwick) and the following year (Kuzey).

continued on to university. The other schools sent well below the state average of 43.1 per cent of students to tertiary study (see Table 6.14). In compensation, participation in vocational training at all of the schools in the sample (bar Özel) is much higher than the state average of 23.4 per cent. Three of the schools also exceed the state average of 10 per cent of students entering apprenticeships. This points both to the deflection of university aspirations and the polarisation of students with a small group (of boys mainly) focused on blue-collar occupations.

Table 6.14 Destinations of school leavers by school for the year of the sample

School	Applicants receiving university offers %	Applicants receiving TAFE/VET offers %	Applicants receiving any tertiary offer %*	University enrolled %	TAFE/VET enrolled %	Apprentice/trainee %	Employed %	Looking for work %	Deferred %	% Satisfactory VCE completions
Özel	0	0	100	94	0	0	0	0	6	100
Kuzey (05 grads)	5	90	95	7	87	7	0	0	0	100
Westhill	46	53	90	35	28	12	17	5	4	95
Livingston	20	67	87	17	52	4	10	10	6	96
Mayfield	33	61	89	30	33	19	4	11	4	92
Clydebank	27	61	88	23	44	8	13	8	5	89
Viewpark Prestwick ('03 grads)	32	55	79	18	35	14	26	8	0	96
whole state boys	38	52	90	35	43	0	14	7	0	95
whole state girls				40	23	14				
Whole state total				46	234	7				
				46	24	7				

Table adapted from (Department of Education and Training, 2006) and (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority, 2004, 2005).

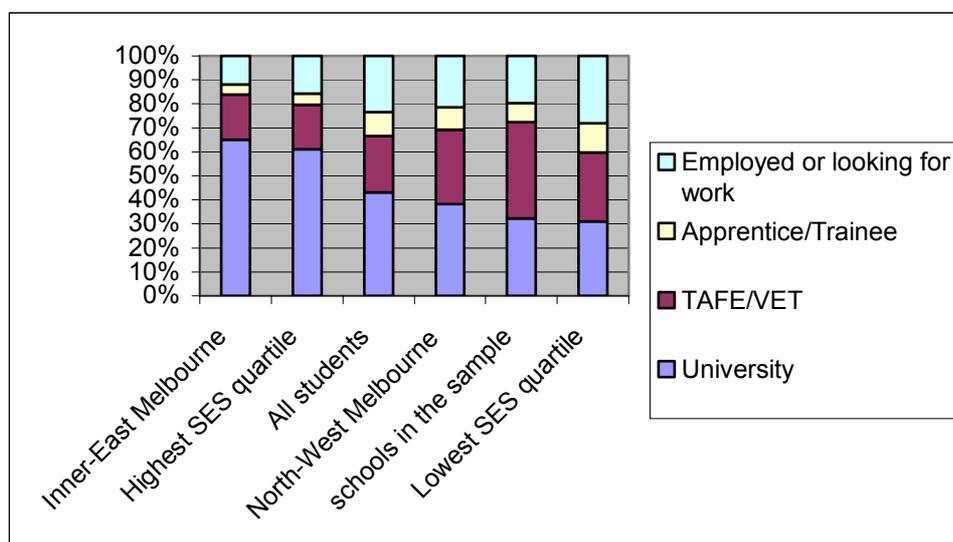
*Note: The percentage of tertiary applicants that received any tertiary offer (University and TAFE/VET Offers) is not equivalent to the sum of university and TAFE/VET offers because some applicants receive multiple offers. Such applicants are counted only once.

The students in the sample do not stand out particularly from their peers attending other schools in the same region ('North-West') (Figure 6.12), but attend university even less frequently than their neighbours. By contrast,

their desires are matched only by the destinations of the most privileged students in the state, students in the 'Inner-East' region (Figure 6.12, column 1) where the advantages of historically powerful schools are so great that they outweigh the advantage of high socio-economic status alone (column 2).

The main distinction between the destinations of students from schools in the sample and the lowest socio-economic status group as a whole lies in the greater use of vocational training. This again suggests that the strong desire for higher level studies observed in career aspirations is deflected towards vocational training by virtue of low achievement.

Figure 6.12 Destinations of school leavers by various background characteristics



Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that Turkish-background students are amongst the most poorly placed to develop and co-ordinate their aspirations through concrete actions. In the first instance, teachers do not, at this point in students' academic careers, challenge their 'fantasy' aspirations. Some students may be too shy or fearful of ridicule to share their dreams with teachers. Yet even when teachers are aware of aspirations to medicine or law, they seek to play a game of 'wait and see'. Teachers' lack of faith in the ability of students to reach 'fantasy' aspirations is reflected by the fact that they do not advise students towards those parts of the curriculum which are prerequisites for particular careers, or advantageous in the struggle to gain

access to university courses. The maintenance of fantasy aspirations is dependent upon the double-game that teachers are forced to play when the official messages of the system are not borne out due to the poor outcomes it delivers. This process does not appear to be unique to Turkish-background students, and is enacted in a somewhat similar way in the case of the mainly Lebanese-background students who make up the 'Arabic/Berber' category in the sample.

Students of both Turkish and Lebanese background who have little social contact with university graduates or members of high status professions do not have other sources of advice in selecting their subjects, and so find themselves further from their dreams by virtue of their location within curriculum offerings. As one year 12 co-coordinator put it, "students don't know, but don't know that they don't know, and so don't ask" (Joy, Mayfield College). Rather than choosing the subjects that will enable them to construct an occupational pathway, students select subjects which they think will give them the best chance of survival within the system: the 'easy' subjects. Yet even in those parts of the curriculum which have been developed with the 'new' student populations in mind, students struggle and fail to realise that they are struggling, as the next chapter will show at greater length.

The mismatch between dreams and outcomes is only partly bridged in the instance of Özel College. At this school, individual choice and taste have been sacrificed for relentless exploitation of a narrow curriculum base. This is enabled by academic selectivity, but also, as I will explain in the following chapter, through the virtual doubling of the amount of time students spend at school.

The result of the combination of high hopes, weak prospects, and poor appreciation of these prospects, is that many students have only vague notions of how to achieve their lofty goals. In their perspectives, students resemble *collège* students in France, who Felouzis identifies as holding fantasy aspirations by virtue of the remoteness of real career planning (Felouzis, 1994). In both cases, the deferral of academic judgment combined with studies not directed to a particular occupation or field, result in 'the dream'. Turkish girls appear to be the most susceptible to this phenomenon, and this is related to their heightened sensitivity to the wishes of their parents.

For some students, particularly boys and the children of unemployed parents, the daily struggle of school has sent a clearer message and they are prepared to look for any way out. For many of these students, the blue collar occupational pathways of their parents and neighbours provide concrete examples to follow. The students who appear to best fit the mould of social reproduction at least face the future with the security of knowing where they are headed and how they will get there. This predominantly male fragment of the student population most resembles students in the French system, who are clearly directed towards blue-collar professional identities from the start of senior secondary school.

Chapter 7. Managing Schoolwork in Australia

We saw in the preceding chapter that, in their aspirations, students keenly recognise the rewards education can bestow. Also, that they are generally without the practical knowledge or resources that would enable them to put into place the strategies which are effective in other, structurally dominant locations. Similarly, students are often bereft of resources that would enable them to gain a clear view of their degree of mastery of the curriculum, and hence many sustain the illusion of coping even when they are academically weak. Turkish-background students appear to be particularly vulnerable to this logic.

In the settings which concern us here, students' understanding (or misunderstanding) of the meaning of schoolwork, its value, interest and difficulty, tends to afford them an over-optimistic sense of themselves as learners. Student engagement is sustained to the extent that the demands of the curriculum may be reduced through pedagogical accommodation. Teachers are drawn to such accommodations as they seek to maintain the legitimacy of the education system and its meritocratic promises in the eyes of students who have a weak connection to the curriculum.

In this chapter I will show that the 'illusion' of coping is more easily sustained in English than in mathematics, where the curriculum is more resistant to local accommodation and recontextualisation. Turkish-background students, who are the most committed to school as the vehicle for future happiness, are in the weakest position to distinguish the distinctive ways of understanding objects of academic knowledge that would enable them to effectively perform as mathematicians or writers. Their parents have the least direct experience of the cognitive and cultural dimensions of the role of student, and parental encouragement therefore tends to focus students on persistence and retention within the system as signs of scholarly success. By contrast, the alienation of non-migrant parents from their own, often negative and fore-shortened, school experiences is reflected in the greater cynicism and disengagement of their children.

At play in many students' engagement with schoolwork is misrecognition of the powerful distinctions between the forms of interaction and intellectual posture required in academic and non-academic contexts. Many students fail to recognise the specific requirements of a given academic situation and cannot execute these requirements in legitimate form. Recognition and execution of legitimate forms or codes is socially structured by what Bernstein terms 'recognition rules', which establish legitimate relations between different forms, and 'realisation rules', which control legitimate relations within given forms of interaction (Bernstein, 1996: 19). Students must master these rules in order to be able to 'switch' between 'everyday' and specialised scholarly interactions if they are to perform the role of student legitimately.

It is not necessary to subscribe to Bernstein's entire analysis to recognise the importance of the distinctive roles and 'orders of relevance' called forth in pedagogical relations¹. In this chapter I will show that the way students interpret academic tasks and the 'role of student' in English and mathematics classes tends to undermine their ability to play these roles in ways which are institutionally rewarding. In often going unchallenged, particularly in the English classroom, these 'misunderstandings' serve to sustain idealised visions of coping amongst Turkish-background students in particular.

Language

Language is a central part of everyday identities and practices, but is also central to the specialised functions students must perform at school. At the level of choice of language, bilingual students show a strong awareness of connections between social relationships and forms of speech. However, as they recontextualise their life experiences into the academic discourses required of them as students, they show less awareness of the distinctive 'orders of relevance and relation' they entail (Bernstein, 1972). I will start here

¹ I do not assume that distinctive linguistic codes characterise the social interactions of various social classes in Australia, although there is some evidence of this in students' utterances and in the literature (Hasan & Cloran, 1990), but rather that there is a difference in students' understandings of when to switch to linguistic variants which Bernstein associates with 'elaborated' codes.

by outlining the bilingual practices of Turkish-background students before turning to the specific linguistic demands of academic tasks.

Bilingualism appears to many Turkish-background students to be a burden rather than an advantage in their engagement with the academic world. Many students find that moving between Turkish at home and English at school is difficult. Some also find that having the possibility of switching to Turkish at school (through the availability of Turkish-speaking peers and sometimes teachers) means that they do not force themselves to better master the demands of monolingual communication in English. For example, Alev and Cemre (Özel College) observe that they find studying English difficult because they always speak Turkish at home, and hence their Turkish is better than their English. Further, in the school environment they always switch between one and the other if they have difficulties with expression. The vibrancy of practice of Turkish reflects the strength of ethnic identity and community in the lives of students, but it is also a source of anxiety for them in the academic setting because it is perceived to be self-limiting.

The strength of the Turkish community in Melbourne's north means that students can use Turkish in a range of social situations. The same is true to a lesser extent for Arabic speaking students. Indeed, Turkish and Arabic (and occasionally Berber) are the languages of choice for four fifths of students from those backgrounds when speaking with their parents (see Figure 7.1).

The sizes of the Turkish and Lebanese communities in Melbourne's North support the widespread use of languages other than English with relatives and family friends as well as parents (around two thirds of students) (Figure 7.2). The smaller proportion of students from other backgrounds who use a language other than English in these circumstances (just under 60%) reflects the more recent arrival and smaller size of other language communities in Melbourne's north.

This strength of community is evident in the maintenance of the larger community languages in interactions amongst members of the second generation. Although the majority of students predominantly use English when communicating with siblings (Figure 7.3), a significant minority (one-third of Turkish speakers, over 40 per cent of Arabic/Berber speakers) mainly use a community language with siblings.

The development of schools aimed at Turkish and Muslim students, and the critical mass of Turkish students in some state schools means that Turkish is also frequently used in schools. Forty per cent of students use Turkish often with friends and classmates, while 35 per cent of speakers of Arabic and Berber (mostly of Lebanese origin) are in a similar position (Figure 7.4).

Beyond use for socialising, languages other than English are used for discussing schoolwork and in literacy practices outside of school. Close to a third of students in the two main migrant groups use a language other than English to talk about schoolwork (Figure 7.5). A slightly smaller proportion of students use a language other than English for reading and writing outside of school (Figure 7.6).

Legend:

all the time often

Figure 7.1 Use of a language other than English with parents (%)

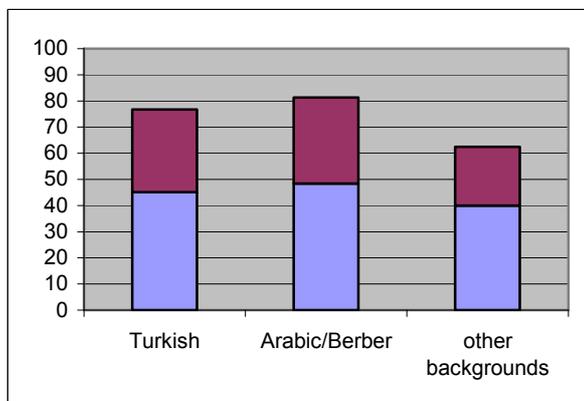


Figure 7.2 Use of a language other than English with relatives and family friends (%)

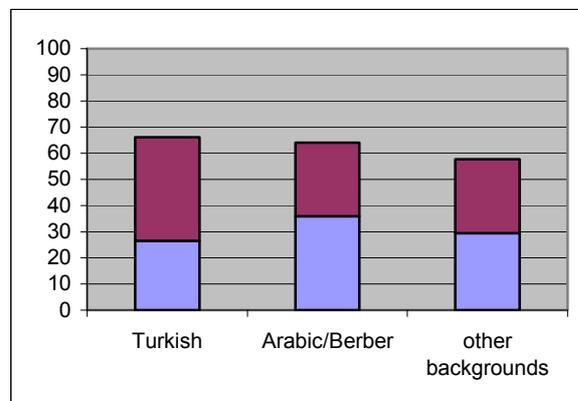


Figure 7.3 Use of a language other than English with siblings by background (%)

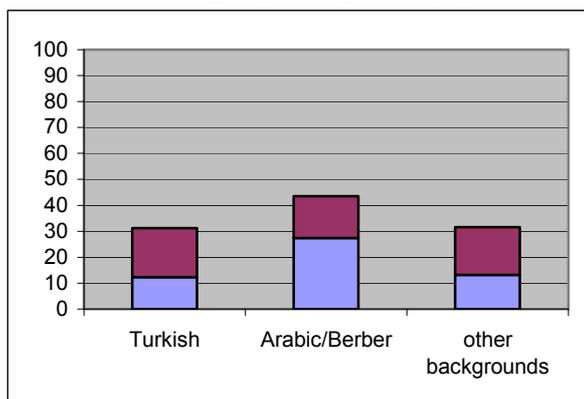


Figure 7.4 Use of a language other than English with friends/classmates by background (%)

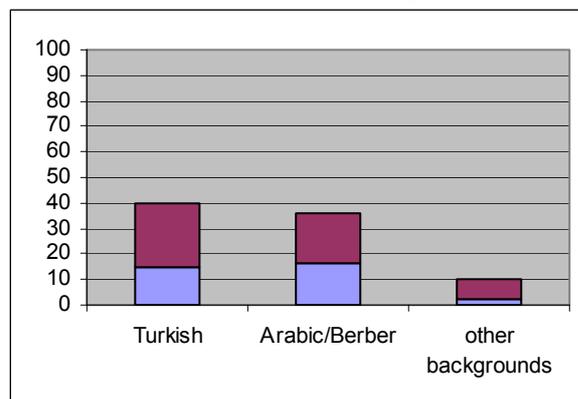


Figure 7.5 Use of a language other than English to discuss schoolwork by background (%)

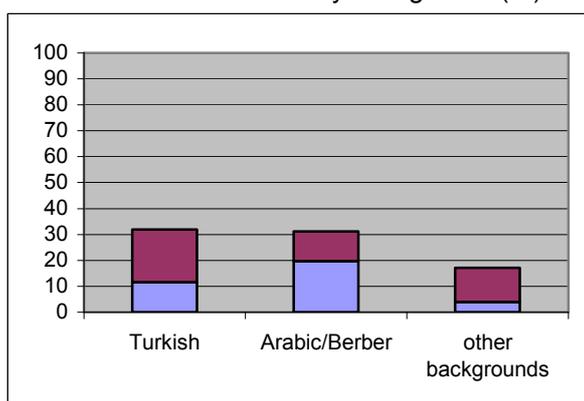
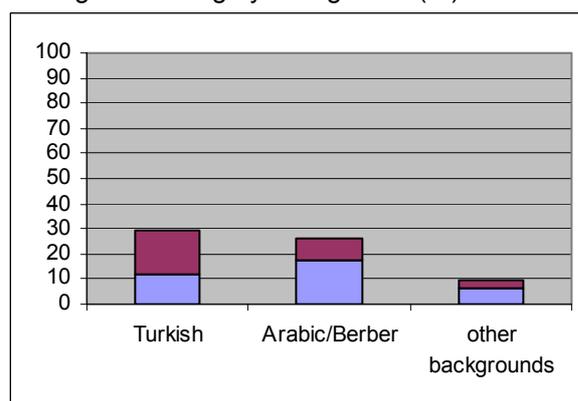


Figure 7.6 Use of a language other than English for reading and writing by background (%)



My own observations confirm the frequent use of languages other than English at school. Code switching was observed amongst students at Livingston and Özel, and also between students and teachers at Özel. At

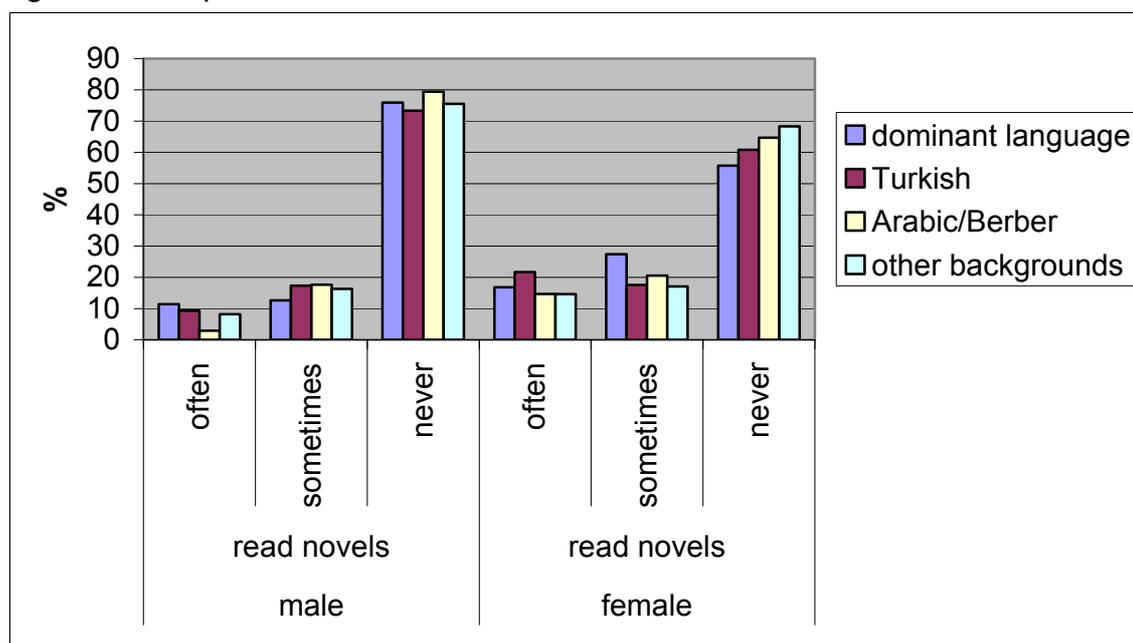
Özel, Turkish forms of address (*bey* and *hanım*) are retained for teachers in loudspeaker announcements (e.g. “Devlet *bey* to the general office”). Some first generation teachers also speak English inflected with Turkish forms, such as the generalised use of the present continuous.

Closely tied to anxiety about the prevalence of communication in community languages is concern about lack of high culture, particularly literary culture amongst students. Within the working-class contexts this study is concerned with, as we saw in the previous chapter, parents’ education levels are indeed lower amongst the migrant-background groups. Despite this, Turkish-background students are *more* likely to live in a home where “books are read and discussed” than dominant language-background students. Just 23 per cent of students from the dominant language-background group live in a home where books are read and discussed compared to 35 per cent of Turkish background and 27 per cent of Arabic/Berber background. Students from smaller ethnic-minority groups are least likely to live in a home where books are read and discussed (15%).

These figures tend to counter the notion of greater proximity to academic culture amongst dominant language-background students entertained by some Turkish informants. However, it was suggested to me by a researcher from the Turkish community (Benal Kecali) that many Turkish parents are inept in their attempts to support their children at school with reading materials, purchasing unwieldy and expensive encyclopaedia sets, for example. These efforts, on their own, are likely to yield little benefit to students, beyond impressing upon them their parents’ desires for academic success.

Students themselves are not great readers of literature, regardless of ethnic background. Between 3 per cent (Arabic/Berber-background boys) and 22 per cent (Turkish-background girls) of students claim to often read novels outside of the curriculum. The most important influence on reading appears to be dominant gender stereotypes about appropriate interests and activities. Girls are more inclined than boys to read novels outside of the set school texts, with in all 40 per cent reading novels at least sometimes compared to 25 per cent of boys (Figure 7.7).

Figure 7.7 Proportion of students who read novels outside of schoolwork



In all, student anxieties about bilingualism relate to their perception that each language subtracts from the other, and that the forms which they speak are of little benefit in the world of school. This contrasts with the reinforcement of a scholarly persona gained by students who gain proficiency in a 'foreign' rather than a language of migration in the course of their schooling (most often French in Victoria).

Spoken English

Linguists agree that children from minority-language backgrounds lose time and self-confidence when they begin school as they struggle to understand what is happening in the classroom (Lightbown & Spada, 1999: 164). However the view that the second generation's language acquisition is not sufficient to meet the academic demands of schooling has also been characterised as a 'pseudo explanation' (Laparra, 1990).

For funding purposes, acquisition of the dominant language is understood to occur automatically for the children of migrants, and within seven years of arrival for those born overseas. The official guidelines for schools suggest that there may be some language adjustment difficulties

amongst second generation students beginning primary school, but none at the secondary level (McKay, National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia, Language Testing and Curriculum Centre & Language Acquisition Research Centre, 1992).

While the second generation students in the study speak in a broader accent and use more non-standard forms than their teachers, the spoken English of students generally falls within the range of variations found in the local non-migrant population. Features of the style of speaking associated with the second generation, which has come to be called 'wogspeak' (Warren, 1999), may be found across the populations of the schools in the study, but more marked in the migrant background students.

The predominantly Turkish and Lebanese-background students in this study only very rarely use forms that would be considered unacceptable by all speakers of English. *Dünya* (Livingston College), for example, puts homework in a plural form: "we never had homeworks in years seven, eight, nine, ten".

More common 'errors' are non-standard forms that are accepted in informal settings, but disqualified in formal settings, such as double negatives, and use of the past participle in place of the simple past form. The following statement by a dominant language-background student provides an illustration: "I've never, like, *came* from school and went home and straight away *get* into stuff" (Sam).

Such forms are negatively judged by teachers, and even their own speakers, however non-standard usage does not indicate any lack of sophistication or grammatical knowledge, as Labov has demonstrated in the context of 'Black' English in the United States (Labov, 1972). It does, however, point to the 'identity work' students must perform to make the transition to formal and academic registers. By identity work I mean the revised self-vision students must develop in order to inhabit and project an authoritative and competent 'writerly' persona.

Literacy, legitimate language and language acquisition

As Bernstein has noted, the "eliciting speech context" provokes different reactions according to social position. Similar situations elicit linguistic

responses in middle class students which are more linked to the demands of schooling for 'universalistic' expression (Bernstein, 1972: 168). Responses recorded on the survey instrument shed light on students' discomfort with the conventions of written language, and suggest that differences between Turkish and dominant language-background students in the appreciation of their linguistic capabilities are not translated into distinctive writing practices.

Students were asked to provide a written response to the question 'if you were asked in a radio interview to describe your idea of a successful life, what would you say?' Although the hypothetical specifies an oral response, the context of the question is that of a classroom writing task undertaken for an academic study. Virtually no students engage with the hypothetical scenario by presenting responses which indicate the conventions of a radio interview, although one or two wrote "I would say 'no comment'".

Instead, students conceive of the task set for them in two distinctive ways, which cut across ethnic lines. The vast majority of students interpret the task as merely supplying information and show little attention to, or perhaps awareness of, academic conventions. A smaller group of students present their responses in a formal, school-like style, with attention to impressing the reader with their skill as writers. Writers who provide the former style of response typically use non-standard forms such as "gona" for "going to". Such mistakes are made by non-migrant background and migrant-background students alike. In the following example, the student phonetically spells non-standard pronunciations and confuses homophones:

...To me being happy at what ever I *wont* is all that will matter. why *worrie* what's *gonna* happen in 20 or 30 years when you know in 60 years *your* dead (female, dominant language-background 226.4)².

Typically, such responses are in list form and do not seek to develop thoughts into a coherent structure or complete syntax:

² Original spelling and punctuation has been retained. Italicised words indicate the errors discussed.

Finish VCE, Get into Uni, Have a career and Be financially stable. (female, second generation Lebanese-background 462.8).

The following example from a Turkish background boy is more syntactically complex, but suffers more from grammatical confusion and lack of punctuation:

A successful life to me is to become what you have set to become your whole life since you were at school and to study really hard while you're going so you could live your life once you have moved in with a family. Then you could spend all the time with your family and kids (190.4).

Homophones present a particular challenge in making the transition from spoken to written language, and result in many errors:

I'd say that to have a successful life, I want to get into the *coarse* I want (which I dont *no* yet)... (female, Turkish background 9.1).

Beyond a non-academic interpretation of the task and difficulty with the transition from spoken to written forms, some responses do show features of incomplete English acquisition. The following example from a first-generation student shows uncertain use of tenses and fails to construct an accurate sentence or clause. In addition, the conventions of punctuation and capitalisation are missing:

earning money happy. have the job you liked (first generation Turkish-background boy, 463.8)

Some spelling also comes from the first language transfers (commonly, for example, '*Turkiye*' for Turkey). A small number of second generation students also show marked features of learners of English as a second language. One student is unable to approximate what appears to be 'concentrating' in her brief response, nor to co-ordinate the verbs in her phrase:

Keep it real and concentering (464.8, Lebanese-background girl).

For a small minority of second generation students, the difficulties are more severe. The following example displays incorrect word order, a missing verb, lack of cohesion between clauses and an incorrect conjugation:

I would say people that successful at School, at work, and I work hared at school my perent supports me my successful and my work at school (Turkish-background girl 221.4).

A number of responses present errors which are less clearly the result of incomplete language acquisition, but which are sufficiently ambiguous to raise the possibility. The following student trips up grammatically in a fairly complex sentence:

A successful life for a person is someone's life who has achieved it by hard work and is happy about their life (female, Turkish background 19.1).

One interpretation of both this example, and perhaps the preceding one, is that at least some errors come from a slow and interrupted recording of thoughts, with successive clauses being added onto incomplete fragments in the absence of re-reading. In the conversational context, meaning may not be adversely affected by such discontinuities; however such an approach to a written text severely limits its effectiveness and coherence. This is a serious limitation which places students in a position of grave academic disadvantage.

Not all students are so weak. A small number of responses take up a formal written style, and make use of a topic-sentence-headed paragraph structure. This is the kind of response that is rewarded in the context of writing for academic purposes, and can be found amongst migrant and non migrant-background students alike on only rare occasions. The following response provides an example of a cohesively organised piece of discourse, albeit one with numerous errors:

My idea of a successful life is to create a balance in the 3 components of life which are: the religious component, Physical component and Mental component. If you balance out these components then you will lead a successful life. And if you want to maintain your view on a successful life, it is important to keep in mind that it is not important whether or not you fail, it matters on how fast you get back up on your feet. This advice is coming from a student who has done bad on one of his tests at one stage but keeping my confidence I recovered in the other tests and moved on (male, second generation Turkish background 29.1)

This student has recognised that open-ended questions presented in school tasks generally seek the fullest possible answer in the form of complete sentences. He has drawn together a framework of general principles, an example, and a moral lesson learned from the example. These conventions are also recognised by some first generation students, who despite grammatical and syntactical errors, show greater comfort with academic forms than many of their peers.

The writing habits of students in the sample suggest that by far the greatest difficulties they face are those tied to the distance between non-standard vernacular English and the conventions of formal, written English. Only a few students show signs in their writing of the type of error which would be considered unacceptable in the spoken vernacular and which might signal incomplete language acquisition. This type of error includes incorrect ordering of words in a sentence, and confusion of gender and number in pronouns. What is most evident in student responses is their misunderstanding of the task presented to them as requiring no special or specialised display of the style, forms or structures specific to academic work.

The technical failings of students' writing stem from the same source as their 'failings' in overall form – failure to recognise the distance between everyday communication and academic performance. Even if students were to overcome all spelling and grammatical errors, technical prowess would not make them writers. To meet the demands of academic writing, students must abandon (albeit temporarily) those parts of their identities which are embodied

in familiar forms of communication. The role they must take on requires an important process of resocialisation, an act of identity transformation that schools see as beyond their means or fail to recognise as a key dynamic structuring pedagogical relations. The distance between identities formed through primary and peer socialisation, and the norms, values and perspectives embodied in the role of academic writer is greatest in the contexts we are concerned with here.

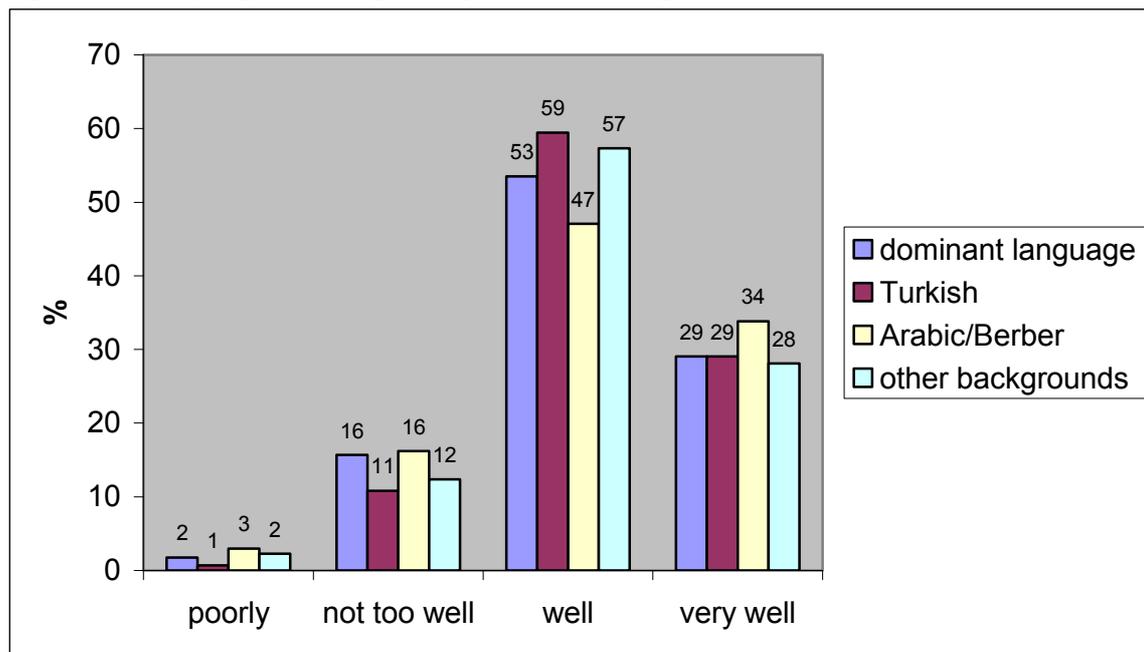
The way in which this distance is managed, as I will show below, varies according to the way in which difficulties with written language are understood. Turkish-background students (but also those from other non English-speaking groups) are more likely to interpret their difficulties as arising from their bilingualism, and for some this may be overcome through application to better mastering English. For dominant language-background students this interpretation is not possible, and instead many see themselves as 'just no good' at writing or as 'dumb'. By Year 11, many do not see much room for improvement of their writing skills - they are stuck with them - and so a more fatalistic attitude develops.

Reported coping in English classes

Surprisingly, given the difficulties with written expression presented above, a clear majority of students consider that they are coping well with English (Figure 7.8). This may arise in part from misrecognition of the specificity and distinctiveness of academic performance in the role of student, and the lack of sanctions confronting mediocre performances of scholarly tasks. Overall, less than a fifth of students report coping poorly, while between 28 and 34 per cent of students consider themselves to be coping very well. Students report coping with English at school at similar levels across ethnically defined groups (Figure 7.8). Girls are slightly more confident than boys, with 31 percent coping well compared to 28 per cent of males³.

³ These differences are not statistically significant

Figure 7.8 Coping with English by Ethnic Background



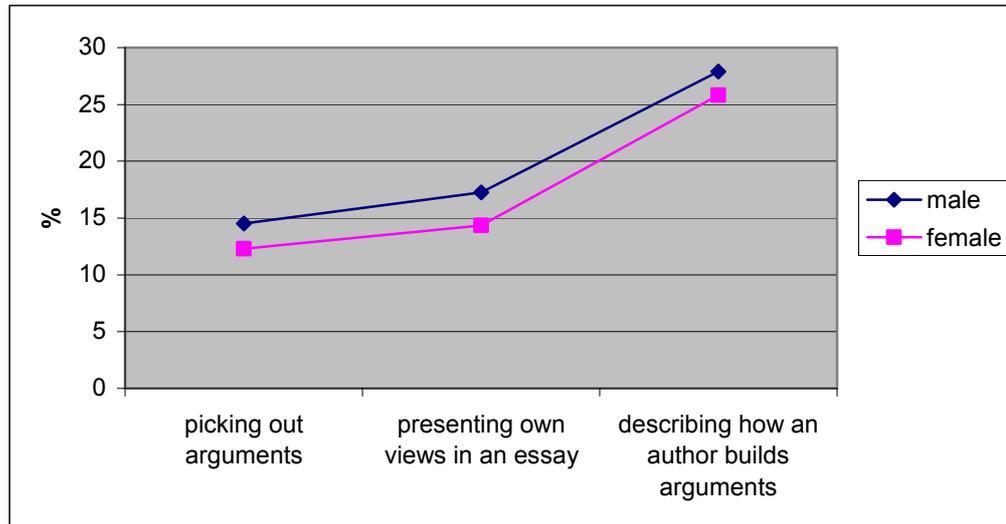
Comments made by an English teacher at Kuzey College reveal both the unrealistic self-evaluation students make at that school, but also the central place of gender in constructing a relationship to the curriculum. Hanan, an English teacher, considers that Turkish and Lebanese-background boys are not able to manage basic literacy, appreciation of poetry and prose, comprehension of newspaper articles, justifying an argument and public speaking. She considers students to be operating at a Year 9 or Year 10 level and that she is forced to adjust her teaching accordingly.

Hanan attributes the weaker position of boys to the wiser use girls make of their free time and their willingness to contact teachers outside of class for assistance, including by e-mail. Hanan reports that girls, unlike boys, 'buckle down' with a strong work ethic.

By contrast, the boys always need to be pushed along, and they "couldn't handle mainstream classes". She notes that many students at the school don't quite qualify for ESL (English as a Second Language), and so are 'stuck there' in mainstream English. Indeed across all the schools in the study, boys do find tasks in the English classroom slightly more difficult than girls (Figure 7.9). Fewer than 15 per cent of the sample consider that picking out arguments in a text is difficult (just 1% think it 'extremely difficult'). Slightly more challenging is the work of writing down one's own ideas on a text in the

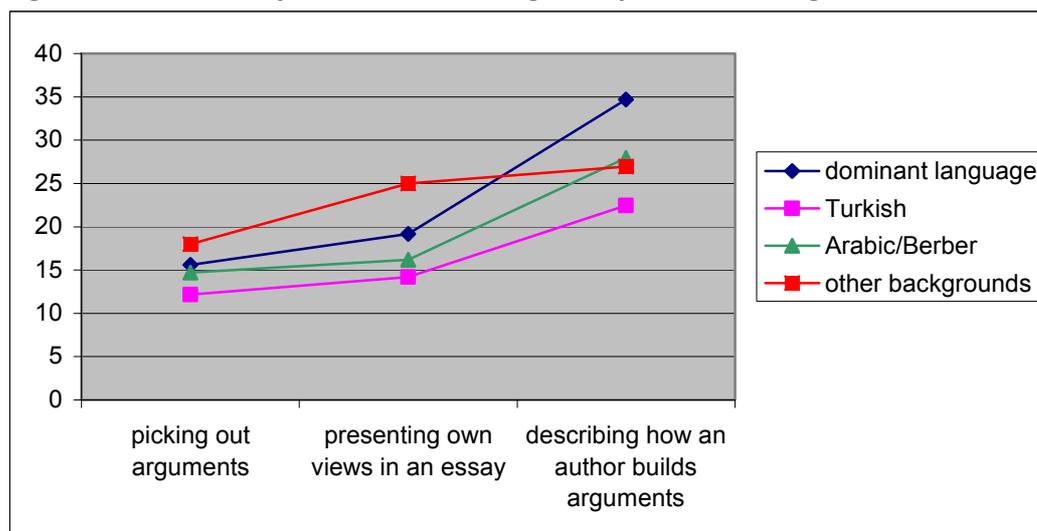
form of an essay, but most students remain confident in their ability to complete this task too. The most challenging task for students is analysing rhetoric, considered difficult by over a quarter of students. This task is perhaps considered difficult because it requires an awareness of technique and a meta-language for describing form.

Figure 7.9 Difficulty with tasks in English by gender



Analysing rhetoric is also the skill on which dominant language-background students feel least confident relative to their peers (Figure 7.10). All migrant groups show greater confidence in their abilities on this item, in line with their generally more optimistic self-perceptions. The private judgement of teachers and the institutional judgement of examinations suggest that students are again overestimating their academic levels.

Figure 7.10 Difficulty with tasks in English by ethnic background



The Westhill VCE coordinator considers that literacy problems are increasing due to the institutional assumption that students pass automatically from one year level to another in the junior years, often on the insistence of parents, and despite failing. The assumption of automatic promotion is, however, continued in VCE, with the coordinator informing me that he often reminds students that you have to work really hard to fail VCE⁴. Genuine attempts are generally recognised with a pass grade in assessment tasks.

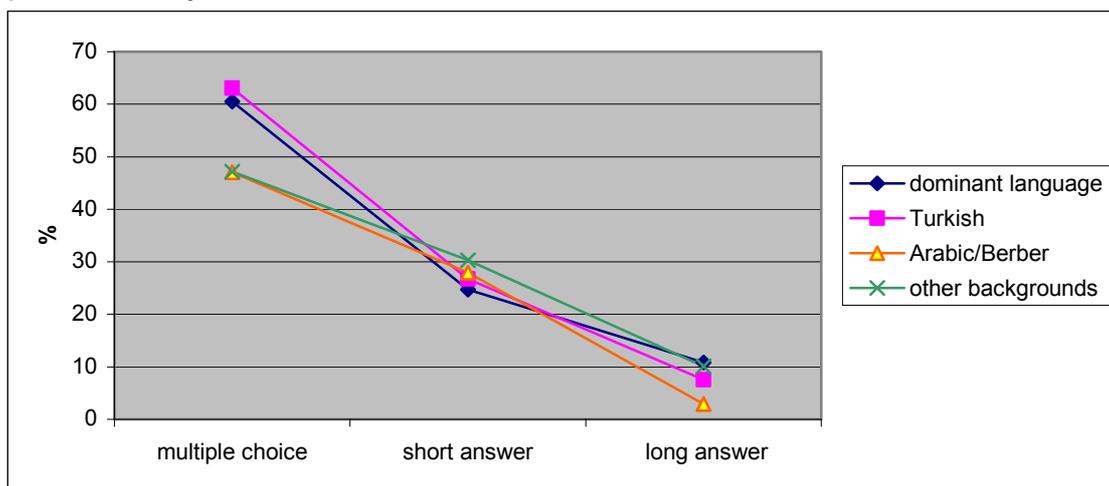
The greatest difficulty students report experiencing with written expression is in long compositions under examination conditions (Figure 7.11). As students move from multiple-choice questions to long-answer questions, the proportion who find the task 'easy' drops from over half to less than 1 in 10.

Comparisons by gender show negligible differences between groups of students in the degree of difficulty experienced with various types of examination question. However, as Figure 7.12 indicates, Arabic/Berber background students are more likely than their peers to encounter difficulties, particularly with long answers. Only 3 per cent of students from this group consider easy compared to more than 10 per cent of students from the dominant language-background.

⁴ Only Özel does not follow the practice of 'automatic' promotion. It does not allow weak students to attempt Year 11. Such students must either repeat Year 10 or leave the school.

The data on coping with various types of examination question suggest that despite students' general optimism about coping with English, when specific tasks are considered, they are less sure about their abilities. Further, when sustained demands are made of their writing abilities, students from all ethnic groups experience difficulties.

Figure 7.11 Proportion of students who find various types of examination question 'easy'



'Where the hell have all the numbers gone?': Reported coping with mathematics

I wish to turn now to how students feel they are coping in mathematics, which appears as an abstract and difficult necessity to many. Whereas teachers attempt to keep students' interest in English classes by focusing on texts and tasks which can be connected to student interests, in mathematics teachers seek to highlight the instrumental value of the subject. This strategy reaches its limits in the examples explored below.

Unlike other subjects, which students suggest are less problematic, mathematics is not a choice governed by taste and ability. Discussion in the group interviews was revealing on this topic. For D nya, mathematics is the most challenging of her subjects because she hates it and finds it boring, but needs it for her future. Saniye also considers that Mathematical Methods is difficult, unlike her other subjects, because

it takes me a while to understand it and, like, most of the stuff is really unnecessary and annoying cos we have to do it and its not going to help us in the future. Like 'x + 1', who cares about 'x + 1' in the future? Isn't it?⁵ It's not like you're going to go shopping and say 'x + 1'...

At this point in the interview she was interrupted by other students who felt that this example was not valid. One suggested that rather than shopping, mathematical skills would be useful for a job. But Saniye persisted: "whatever, it's just, like, really unnecessary stuff". This view was echoed by other students in the interview group. Ekin also considers mathematics hard and finds "there's no point to it". Sam, who admits to floundering in mathematics, confesses that he has given up even trying and never does the homework. Ekin (Livingston) complained of the teacher at the end of the interview

For maths, I don't understand the way he explains it...its like he's in another universe talking. I have to get Solmaz to explain it to me afterwards, then I understand. We listen, we know that he's talking, but we can't do it.

Ekin's comments suggest that beyond the difficulty of the material presented in mathematics, there exists a gulf in perspective and understanding which separates teacher from student. When a sympathetic friend is able to represent the same material in more intimate circumstances and at a less regulated pace, understanding comes more easily.

A key strategy used by students to rationalise the work they are asked to undertake in mathematics and bring it into their own 'universe' is to seek practical applications. Shopping is the example offered by Saniye. However, in the end, shopping stands as an example not just of the potential application of mathematical practice, but of the isolation of mathematical practice from her life. This suggests that at some point, the 'practical application' strategy breaks down. Dowling (2007) theorises the use of this strategy as the 'recontextualisation' of 'institutionalised' practices. His term 'institutionalisation' refers to

⁵ This is an example of transfer from L1 (first language), the Turkish *değil mi*.

The extent to which a practice exhibits an empirical regularity that marks it out as recognisably distinct from other practices (or from a specific other practice) (Dowling, 2007: 13).

Pedagogic action in mathematics involves casting a gaze beyond mathematics to recontextualise and re-locate non-mathematical practice (such as shopping) “so that it conforms to the principles of specialised mathematical practice” (Dowling, 2007: 13). It appears from students’ comments that the strategy of recontextualising the non-mathematical experiences of their own lives into mathematical practice is reaching its limits as topics become ever more advanced. The description of teachers’ explanations as belonging to ‘another universe’ is revealing of the difficulties students increasingly face in recontextualising institutionalised mathematical knowledge.

Students in more privileged settings are often expected to accept specialised academic knowledge on its own terms and without reference to external application from an early stage of their schooling (Teese, 2000). Such students are indeed more willing to play their part in submitting to the internal logic of mathematics with the certainty that it will pay off at some later date and may be appreciated on its own terms in the meantime. Teachers in middle-class settings are consequently less concerned to justify the content they teach before students who they can rely on to persevere with esoteric tasks.

The transition from basic operations to more sophisticated manipulations in mathematics is experienced as a shock by students who are used to recontextualisation and justification from teachers in the junior years. As the pedagogical strategy of recontextualisation is abandoned students must come to see themselves as technical and creative experts manipulating the forms and conventions of a specialized field of knowledge which is distinct from everyday ways of knowing. Unless students can develop this mathematical persona, they are forced to rely on the uncertain hope of the deferred value of mathematics for future employment. Students like Devlet thus find it increasingly hard to concentrate on the teacher’s explanations and grow to hate mathematics.

Even students who are at greater ease with mathematics feel that teachers rush through topics too quickly. For Paul (Westhill), the pace of mathematics classes is particularly difficult to manage if you miss a class. Bella (female, Italian background) adds that the teacher moves on in mathematics once some students have understood the concepts, leaving others behind.

Several students commented in interviews on the difficult transition from numbers and their arithmetical operations to the use of symbols to denote numbers. At Mayfield, Steve complains:

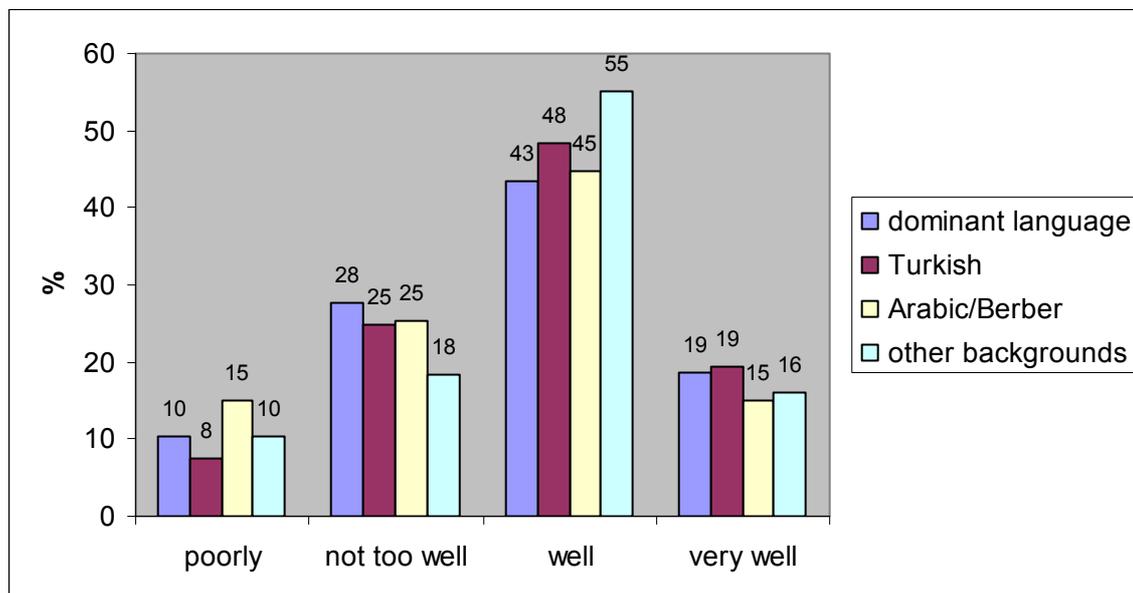
Everything in maths now is $x + y$ and x times y . It's like, where the hell have the numbers gone? We don't know because the teachers don't explain.

Steve's comments come four years after students are first introduced to elementary algebra. His exasperation is that of a student who feels that he is too far behind to catch up or make any sense of what is going on. He has missed a vital stage in the teaching of mathematical thinking, one which is so elementary that it has been assumed knowledge for the last three years of the mathematics curriculum. He has further missed the passage from the role of the pupil proficient in routine arithmetic to the role of the mathematical thinker undertaking creative, flexible and powerful operations with unknown numbers.

Belief that mathematics is relatively 'immune' to the influence of ethnic background because it does not rely on hidden cultural resources is reflected both in participation in mathematics (see previous chapter) and reported levels of coping (Figure 7.12 below). Minority-background students appear to enjoy a slight advantage in coping with mathematics. Whereas 38 per cent of dominant language-background students report coping 'not too well' or 'poorly', this figure drops to 33 per cent of Turkish-background students and just 28 per cent of students from the smaller migrant groups. Higher rates of reported coping may reflect migrant-background students' positioning of themselves as better suited to 'non-language based' curriculum areas, leading to stronger investment in mathematics. Much of this confidence in mathematics can be attributed to the hot-house environment created at Özel

College, which is ahead of all other schools in reported coping with mathematics.

Figure 7.12 Coping with mathematics by ethnic background



Another view of differences between groups can be obtained from a 'confidence in mathematics' scale calculated from four items responding to question 44 on the survey, 'how did you find mathematics this year (or in the last year you did mathematics)?'. The scale ranges from 4 to 16 and is based on level of agreement with four propositions presented⁶. On this measure, a one-way between-groups analysis of variance found no statistically significant difference based on ethnicity. An independent samples T-test did however show that boys have a slightly higher mean confidence ($M=10.89$, $SD=2.46$) than girls ($M=10.19$, $SD=2.55$), with a significant but small effect size, following the guidelines proposed by Cohen (1988) ($p>.01$, $\eta^2=.019$). This finding may reflect the influence of generalised gender stereotypes about the greater capacity and taste of boys for mathematics. Differences between schools are also significant when tested with a one-way between-groups analysis of variance, even though the magnitude of the effect is small to medium ($F=3.35$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=0.05$).

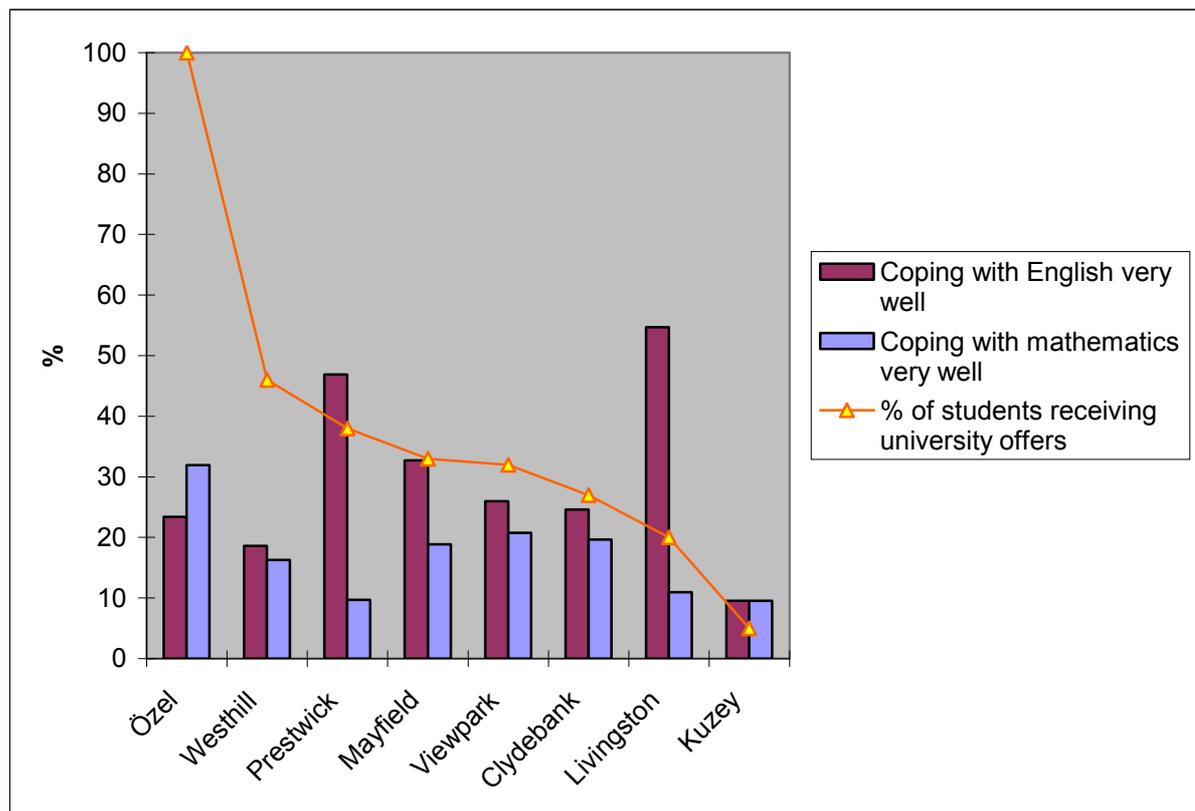
⁶ The propositions were: In mathematics this year... 'I was confident in my work', 'I helped other students with maths problems', 'I did not understand the purpose of much of the work' (recoded), 'I found the problems both interesting and challenging'.

Differences in the appreciation of mathematics and English

A comparison of coping in English and mathematics (Figure 7.15) reveals that these two subjects are considered quite differently by students.

The margin of protection of students' self-confidence available to schools appears less in mathematics than in English, with levels of reported coping lower at all schools except Özel (Figure 7.13). At Livingston, where students over-estimate their mastery of the curriculum in English, confidence crashes in mathematics. Elsewhere, the disparity is not so great, but persistent nonetheless. At Kuzey, where the two subjects are evenly placed, adding the coping 'well' responses returns this school to the pattern found at the other schools.

Figure 7.13 Coping with English and mathematics and university offers by school



The level of confidence in coping with English appears to be particularly inflated relative to performance measured by the percentage of students offered a place in a university course. For example, over half of the students at Livingston feel that they are coping 'very well' in English, yet only 1 in 5 receive examination results high enough to allow access to university.

At Kuzey, 8 out of 10 students consider that they are coping well, but less than 1 in 10 is able to make the transition to university. By contrast, the students at Özel, where results are higher, are less confident that they are coping well in English. It should be noted that the offers of university places at Özel College for the year of the study is for a very small and selected cohort of students, and is not repeated in other years at the same school.

Outside of Özel, students are more likely to be protected from the full demands of the curriculum, which may be weakly framed, and a sheltered climate created. This may limit students' ability to situate themselves within the broader system and allow for misrecognition of their level of coping relative to the full curriculum as it is enacted in 'fortified sites', to return to Teese's (2000) expression. However, adaptation of the curriculum and efforts to establish rapport with students are not always successful in boosting students' perception of coping, as at Clydebank College, where reported levels of coping with English are relatively low and offers of university places are correspondingly rare.

The fact that a protective environment appears to be more frequently possible in the English classroom than the mathematics classroom may be linked to the different pedagogical modes of the two disciplines.

With set texts and a cumulative program, mathematics is more strongly framed and forces students and teachers to march more to an external rhythm. In English, each new text and topic offers, to some extent, a fresh start. At the level of basic comprehension, texts in English do not require the level of technical expertise and cognitive abstraction that mathematical explanations require to become accessible. In English classes, many written texts are also made accessible to students through videos. It is thus possible for students to participate at some level in an English class by drawing on everyday knowledge, where similar participation in mathematics is not possible, especially if everyday experiences are discarded by a teacher working 'in another universe' in the eyes of students.

Success and failure are more readily and immediately determined in mathematics through the working out of a correct or incorrect result – always assuming students are able to grasp the tools to attempt such a task. In English, the level of success of analysis or interpretation is a more elusive

notion, the more so because in Year 11, English teachers are only required to report 'satisfactory' or 'not satisfactory' in the assessment of student work.

The system laid bare: Özel's strategic approach to the curriculum

At Özel College, the mathematics(weak)-English(strong) pattern does not hold. Here we may either accept the case presented by students and teachers that their English skills are indeed a weak point, or look to the implications of this belief for the pedagogical efforts of the school. Outcome measures for Özel presented in the preceding chapter indicate that its students are objectively better placed academically than their peers at other schools. The school's goal of competing for university places with middle-class 'Australian' students and supply of teachers willing to work extra long hours leads to regular additional classes after school and on the weekend in Mathematical Methods. A mathematics teacher commented that:

In this area there's not that much academic schools, and we are promoting academic achievement. So we can say that the standard of the lessons is higher.

As a result of the school's competitive focus, students are likely also to be more exposed to harsher judgements in the English classroom, as the school prepares and evaluates them by reference to the 'ideal' student assumed to be at the centre of the curriculum. This process may also be at work at Westhill, which also aspires to be academically competitive, and where reported levels of coping are similarly low relative to outcomes.

Özel shuns the diffuse and weakly framed curriculum favoured in comprehensive settings because it is identified as being unreliable and as producing unpredictable results. The collective strategy adopted by Özel is to focus areas of the curriculum where explicit pedagogies can be put in place and predictable examination results derived.

Teachers at Özel perceive students as facing difficulties resulting not only from the use of languages other than English, but also parents' poor educational levels, and the absence of books or encouragement to read in English in the home. Teachers suggest students would be no match for

students in the eastern suburbs in the competitive stakes of examinations if they attempted subjects perceived as requiring high levels of English skills, such as the social sciences:

In the southern or eastern suburbs, students who are Australians, who have educated parents, who have been encouraged to read, the English levels are very high compared to the students we have here...when they compete with them, even though they study very hard, they [Özel students] would not be able to get the top marks. [Whereas] If they are doing maths or physics or chemistry, their chances are more because they are not that much related to English (Hikmet, VCE co-ordinator).

In the comments cited above, we can observe a categorical conflation of 'Australian' with English speaking and English background. Use of the terms 'Anglo' and Australian interchangeably by interviewees at Özel and elsewhere reflects a culturally exclusive notion of national identity. The symbolic distinction between 'Australians' and 'wogs', 'Turks' or 'Lebs' (Lebanese), particularly in relation to literacy, plays an important role in beliefs about how students relate to the curriculum. This includes students' own ideas about what is appropriate for them, and the way they are judged and guided by those around them at home and at school. At Özel, this results in the strategy of narrowly focused efforts on mathematics and sciences described.

In the above comment, Hikmet contrasts Turkish-background students to the 'ideal' middle-class Anglo student, culturally, geographically and structurally remote from the context in which he must teach. However, the 'Anglo' students who share classrooms with Turkish-background students in Melbourne's north do not generally share the advantages of 'Anglo' middle-class home literacy practices or high levels of cultural capital.

The instrumental strategy of Özel College shows up the duplicity of the comprehensive model which hangs onto its most vulnerable users with promises of inclusivity while leaving them excluded from forms of participation which would attune them to the true operation of the system. Özel works the system in a way which acknowledges this duplicity. But does it operate any

differently to more traditional private schools, which are able to mask their instrumentalism in a cloak of tradition and Christian morality? In many regards, Özel operates on the only terms a competitive system will allow: by reducing learning to exploitation of the most accessible parts of the curriculum. The contradictory affirmations of comprehensive schools (recognition of failure in accommodation, but maintenance of façade of open possibilities) are laid bare by this strategic engagement with a system which depends on both failure and the consent of those it fails.

Özel recognises the identity overhaul required for students' transition into high performing, supple and confident scholars and acts almost as one of Goffman's (1961) total institutions, enforcing new norms and postures through high levels of control over students' lives.

At other schools, support for such a transformation is unavailable, nor would their students necessarily be able to bear it. Instead, these students who are more exposed to the elements must confront dissonance between school norms and those they are most comfortable with and habitually fulfil. Yet this dissonance does not appear to result in ineluctable alienation, still less in the integration of school-generated norms. Carrie Yang Costello has suggested that in instances of 'identity dissonance', individuals may not be aware of conflict in their roles "because the bulk of identity exists at levels other than the cognitive: it exists in emotional identities and in habitus—the nonconscious and embodied level of identity" (Costello, 2004: 140). Costello's study of graduate school students concluded that "many students underperform at professional school precisely due to a failure to adopt and display the expected professional identity, but do not realize the nature of their problem and seek ineffectually to improve their performance by studying harder" (Costello, 2004: 158). This may well be the case for low performing students with high academic self-esteem. As I will suggest in the following chapter, the wounds of dissonance are covered over somewhat by the social compensations offered by the school environment.

Schoolwork and class-room participation

In order to understand students' appreciation of how they are coping at school, it is necessary to turn to a closer examination of what doing schoolwork means to them. Turkish-background students may affirm that they are committed to their studies as vehicles of social advancement, but successful negotiation of schoolwork requires more than goodwill.

At the most elementary level, schoolwork consists of merely enduring the school day. According to the VCE co-coordinator at Mayfield, many students (and their parents) misunderstand education as "going to class, sitting class and then leaving school". For just over 20 per cent of students, schoolwork has little additional meaning (Table 7.1). Almost twice as many boys as girls do not see much use in their schoolwork (28% to 16%). This demonstrates a weaker connection to the curriculum amongst boys, who we have already seen are less likely to aspire to university or to read literature outside of school.

Table 7.1 Responses to the proposition "I don't see much use in schoolwork" by gender

	male	female	total
strongly disagree	23.9	24.8	24.4
Disagree	48.3	59.7	54.1
Agree	22.2	11.3	16.7
strongly agree	5.7	4.2	4.9
N	230	238	468

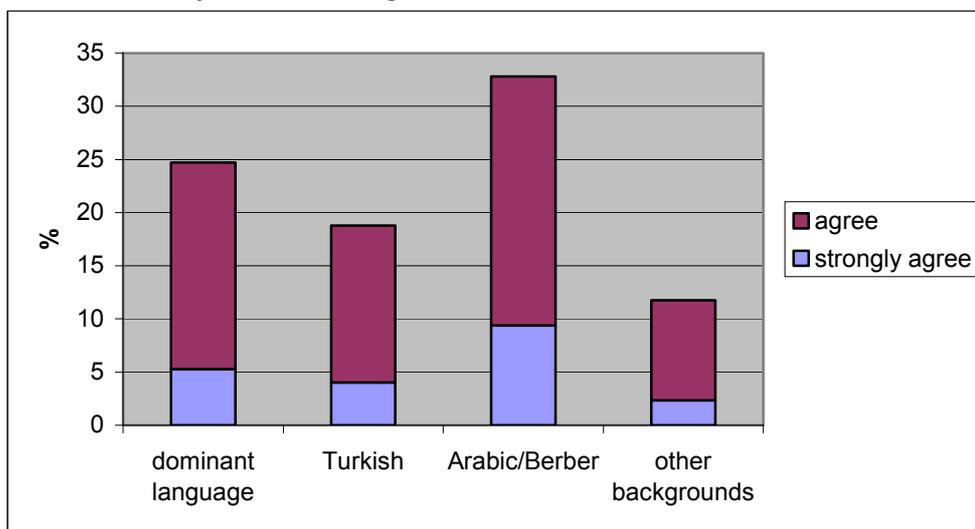
Chi-square = 11.581, $p < .01$. The distribution of responses is also significantly different when analysed using the Mann-Whitney U Test ($p < .05$).

On this measure of attachment to the curriculum, differences in responses between ethnic groups are only marginally significant (Kruskal-Wallis Test Chi-Square=7.214, DF=3, $p = .065$). Mean ranks suggest that Arabic/Berber and dominant language-background students are less likely to see much use in schoolwork.

Figure 7.14 shows that Turkish-background students, who share a similar aspirational profile to Arabic/Berber-background students, are more successful in maintaining interest in schoolwork. Less than 20 per cent of Turkish-background students 'don't see much use in schoolwork' compared to

a third of Arabic/Berber-backgrounds. Dominant language-background students occupy an intermediate position. From these data, we cannot conclude that high aspirations are uniformly transformed into interest in schoolwork across all migrant groups. In fact, the data suggest that this relationship is tenuous, and better maintained in some groups than in others.

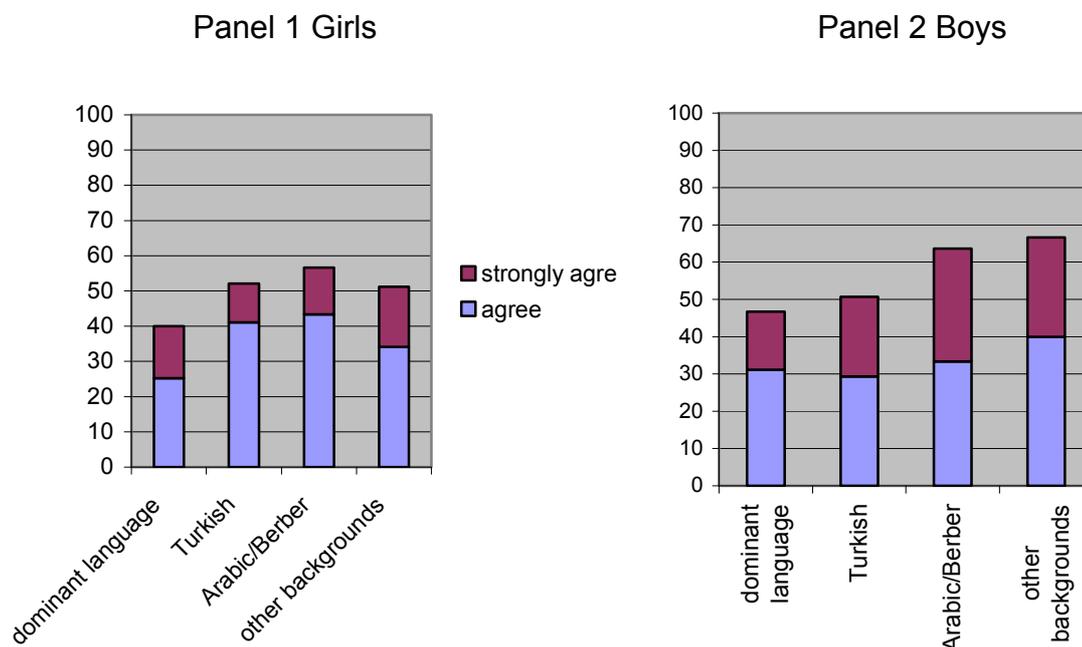
Figure 7.14 Agreement with the proposition “I don't see much use in schoolwork” by ethnic background



For Turkish-background students, the ‘interest’ identified in study may relate primarily to an external motivation, as approbation of members of the Turkish community is integral to a family’s social standing. The importance of parental approbation is indicated by the proportion of students who believe that ‘the most important reason to do well is to make my parents happy’ (Figure 7.15). There is strongest agreement with this statement amongst all migrant-background students, particularly boys.

This external impetus to study may not inspire application or intrinsic interest, but it does provide inspiration to *project* a certain studious self image, particularly to one’s family. Turkish-background students, who are strongly motivated do well in their studies in this way are also most likely to project an ‘idealised’ version of their performance of the role of student, to use Goffman’s (1969) terms, in order to ‘maintain the dream’.

Figure 7.15 Responses to the proposition ‘the most important reason to do well is to make my parents happy’ (percentages)



Chi-Square: Girls=7.5, $p > .1$; Boys=15.3, $p < .1$. 1 cell (6.3%) has expected count less than 5.

Motivation and effort

When school becomes something to be *endured* rather than enjoyed, or at least seen as work with a purpose, motivation is difficult to maintain. This sentiment is presented by Sam, a dominant language-background student at Livingston College. He considers that

The hardest is being motivated to continue to try your best, rocking up every day, keeping up your studies. I think it all comes down to motivation.

Maintaining concentration and attention is difficult when intrinsic interest is low, agrees Shona, who “blanks out” during the boring “veggie maths classes”⁷.

⁷ ‘Veggie maths’ is a disparaging term used by students, suggesting that this course is suitable for individuals in a vegetative state.

In interviews, motivation emerges frequently in teachers' explanations of student difficulties. The VCE coordinator at Westhill nominates lack of student motivation as being the biggest obstacle to learning, particularly when tasks do not form part of the official assessment program:

They don't tend to focus, as a group they don't listen to the teacher. And then they want to have their own explanation of what the instructions were and what the point was the teacher was making.

A teacher at Kuzey College considers that students are not motivated to participate in class because they are not confident in their work, and therefore do not show pride or interest in their work. This challenge is compounded by the fact that students are reluctant to admit to any difficulties. For Turkish-background students this is connected to the pressure they feel from families to perform:

Try your best at school, keep up to date with homework, never miss one homework task. Respect others and your family they only do the best for us. Do the best of your abilities (female, Turkish background 3.1).

Students are also hampered by believing that if they do not at first understand a concept it is because they are dumb, in the view of the VCE coordinator at Mayfield. According to her, students do not realise that some concepts require "anyone to take a couple of times, maybe even to read it twice. But they won't even go that far". Students struggle to recognise that "engaging with work will actually improve their understanding and ultimately improve their enjoyment". An alternative student explanation is that "the teacher's bad", but in either case, students do not appreciate that "its difficult work which requires intellectual engagement".

In the sample as a whole, half the students agree that "some students do badly because they are just basically no good at certain subjects", with a further 14 per cent agreeing strongly. Turkish-background students are least likely to accept this proposition, with twice as many strongly rejecting it than in other groups (10 per cent compared to around 5 per cent of other students).

Sixty-seven per cent of dominant language-background students agree that some students are basically no good at certain subjects compared to 61 per cent of Turkish-background students.

Some of this difference may reflect the voluntarism expressed by some Turkish-background students reported in the previous chapter. By contrast, the greater prevalence of defeatist or determinist attitudes in the dominant language-background group may in part reflect the legacy of cynicism left by their own parents' difficulties in the same education system.

Most importantly, these understandings are formed at the level of the classroom and of the school. Özel's mobilisation to force students through a narrow section of the curriculum by dint of sheer will-power, enabled by some academic selectivity, instils in its students a strong sense that time spent applied to studies will eventually be paid off with good results. At other schools, where fewer students are able to carry off this kind of mobilisation, the determinism felt by many limits them to reliance on luck. If concepts come easily, they can proceed, but otherwise many students abandon any attempt at learning. Without a critical mass of students 'who work', weaker students are unable to form a clear understanding of how to engage effectively with their studies. As a consequence many students believe that only students to whom learning already comes easily can study. This belief is aided by the confidence many students have that in surviving or enduring with the daily routine of school without study, they will be able to achieve reasonable results.

These processes are the consequences of the small size and weak social and academic mix of secondary schools in poor areas of Melbourne more widely, and are exacerbated by the flight of academically able students to distant middle-class schools (Lamb, 2007). The student mix of the schools in this study reduces the capacity of all students to recognise and engage effectively with the tasks of learning, and leads teachers to ease off in their demands in order to avoid losing students altogether.

These factors tend to make learning appear to students both mystifying and unpredictable in its content, volume and outcomes. As Barrère has noted, in these circumstances, aspirations are unable to adequately mediate between conviction in the usefulness of studies and the performance of school

work (Barrère, 1997: 149). Bautier et al. have identified some of the challenges facing students in relating to schoolwork which are relevant to the contexts of this study (Bautier, Charlot, & Rochex, 2000). They observe that students' relationship to the processes, products and situations of school learning is one of both meaning and value. A 'subjective' relationship derives from the way in which students attribute meaning to school learning by reference to existing models, expectations and aspirations. A second, 'epistemic' relationship is defined by what students understand knowledge and the act of learning to entail. In the context of this study, many students mistakenly believe that learning is blocked by initial failure to understand or complete a procedure at the first attempt. Bautier and her colleagues suggest that students in this situation often identify knowledge with truth rather than the product of work and construction, which limits their ability to engage in learning which requires, for example research, the development and testing of hypotheses (183). However Bautier and her colleagues also found that even students who are successful in classroom tasks can mistakenly ignore the cognitive and disciplinary dimensions of learning and consequently struggle to identify the knowledge embedded in the tasks and apply it in other situations (Bautier et al., 2000). These 'misunderstandings' as to the postures and intellectual activity required for the appropriation of knowledge 'mislead' students into seeing schoolwork as an obstacle course on the road to work, without intrinsic cognitive and cultural value or meaning.

This more recent work reinforces Bernstein's insistence on pedagogy and the performance of competencies as sitting on a relationship based around more than the development of technical skills:

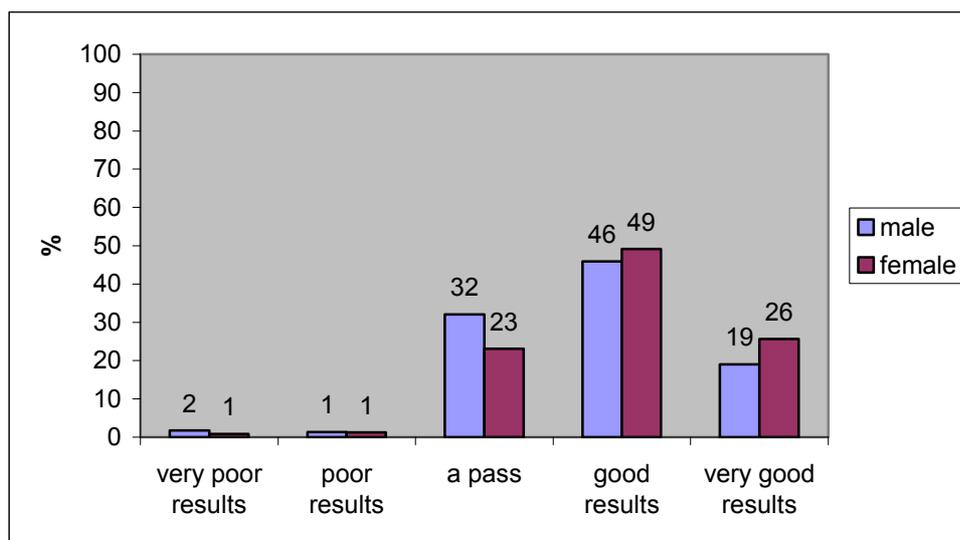
All pedagogic discourse creates a moral regulation of the social relations of transmission/acquisition, that is, rules of order, relation, and identity; and that such a moral order is prior to, and a condition for, the transmission of competences (Bernstein, 1990: 184).

In the remainder of this chapter I will show how misunderstanding of these codes may be seen in student definitions of success and how they extend to study practices outside of school.

Definitions of achievement

Despite having a weak grasp on the curriculum, many students in the sample are looking forward to receiving good results. Boys expect less than girls (Figure 7.16): fewer than 3 per cent of students anticipate either poor or very poor results. Over a quarter of all students, however, expect to obtain a bare pass.

Figure 7.16 Expected results at the end of the year by gender (percentages)



(Mann-Whitney U Test shows small but significantly different distributions at $p < .05$)

The greater confidence of girls holds when other characteristics are taken into account in a logistic regression analysis (Table 7.2). Students from minority backgrounds are also more hopeful, with Turkish background students being 20 percentage points ahead of dominant language-background students. Adding socio-economic status to the model (Model 2) contributes little to the probability of expecting good or better results.

Table 7.2 Likelihood of expecting good results or better (percentage probabilities)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Gender <i>(Ref: male)</i> female	67.4***	68.4***	45.2**	70.0**
Ethnic background <i>Ref: Dominant language</i>	54.4***	55.3**	31.8*	58.1
Turkish	74.0***	74.1***	48.8**	58.5
Arabic/Berber	63.3	62.5	39.0	57.6
Other	67.3*	67.9*	43.2	67.0
SES <i>Ref: unemployed</i>		55.3*	31.8	58.1
Blue collar		50.2	27.5	55.2
Lower middle-class		65.0	41.0	70.0
Value placed in schoolwork⁸ <i>Ref: little</i>			31.8***	58.1***
Some			58.3***	80.0***
Much			80.3***	91.2***
School⁹ <i>Ref: Livingston</i>				58.1
Kuzey				37.5
Özel				61.5
Westhill				35.0**
Mayfield				37.0*
Clydebank				32.4**
Viewpark				24.4***
Prestwick				43.8
Intercept	54.4	55.3	31.8**	58.1
Nagelkerke R Square	.054	.068	.188	.221
Chi-square value	18.745***	23.673***	66.155***	78.668***

Reference category is indicated by italics. * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.

The greatest increases in probabilities arise from the value students see in schoolwork, which more than doubles the ‘variance’ explained by the model, as the Nagelkerke R Square values show. The likelihood of expecting good or better results increases almost 50 percentage points for the reference group when schoolwork finds meaning. Thus, as students’ appreciation of the value of schoolwork increases, so to does their expectation of good results. This factor tends to over-ride the influence of all other characteristics, except for gender.

⁸ This measure is based on strength of agreement with the propositions ‘extra effort with schoolwork is worth it’, ‘I don’t see much use in my schoolwork’ (reversed) and ‘I take pride in my work’. Different scales were tested, however a straight addition of base items proved to be a more than adequate measure of this dimension.

⁹ Although the inclusion of the variable ‘school’ mixes two levels of analysis, it provides some indication of school effect in the absence of the conditions necessary for hierarchical analysis. For a discussion see Methodology p. 40.

The school students attend adds little to the model overall, although it is interesting to note that private schools offer no significant boost to expectations, all else being equal. Indeed, the greatest distinction is between the optimism of Livingston and the greater pessimism of students at three other state schools.

Despite students' often high expectations, teachers remain sceptical about students' hopes of good results. How then is it possible for students to maintain the illusion of coping (or for them to define coping as a minimalist engagement)? One teacher speculates that students may want to "put on a good front", substituting their desires for reality, or "perhaps in their eyes they are achieving that". Thus the school system continues to enjoy legitimacy on the one hand because students' own self-worth is tied to an idealised vision of their achievement and on the other hand because they lack clear reference points against which to make a realistic assessment of their place in the educational hierarchy.

For Joy, the VCE co-ordinator at Mayfield, difficulties in appreciation of academic position arise from lack of a family background that would allow students to appreciate the organisational skills required to succeed:

It's that lack of background of parents with an education, so they don't understand that when they've got periods that are not timetabled for a class, that they need to study. If they have done the work: "I've done that Miss, I've got nothing to do"...they don't understand study.

Teachers also consider that their students have a poor understanding of the structures of the VCE. For instance, the Mayfield VCE co-ordinator reports that many students believe that she sets the examinations herself, whereas in reality they are set centrally by the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority.

Students themselves frequently have a poor idea of what results to expect due to the change to a new curriculum and assessment framework at the end of Year 10. The students at Livingston suggested that there had been little homework in the junior years of high school, or in any case that they never did it, hence they felt ill prepared in Year 11 for the change of pace.

The definition of ‘high grades’ in VCE also emerges as a grey area for some students. At Livingston College, a Turkish background student who aspires to study law believes that 50 per cent is a good grade to receive. Sam, at the same school, similarly considers that he has ‘aced’ his subjects if he receives a pass.

If students were able to accurately estimate their level of achievement, we would expect to find higher proportions of students anticipating ‘very good results’ in those schools where the median study score (received in examinations by the sample cohort) is also higher. As Figure 7.19 shows, the proportion of students expecting very good results at the end of the year is not reflected in study scores received in Year 12 examinations. Although juxtaposing this two measures is problematic, the lack of relationship between anticipations and results is confirmed in a comparison of measures of spread (Figure 7.18).

At Livingston, for example, where the median study score is just one point above the median for Viewpark and Kuzey, the proportion of students expecting very good results is more than double that of the other two schools (Figure 7.17).

Figure 7.17 Percentage of students expecting very good results and median study score by school

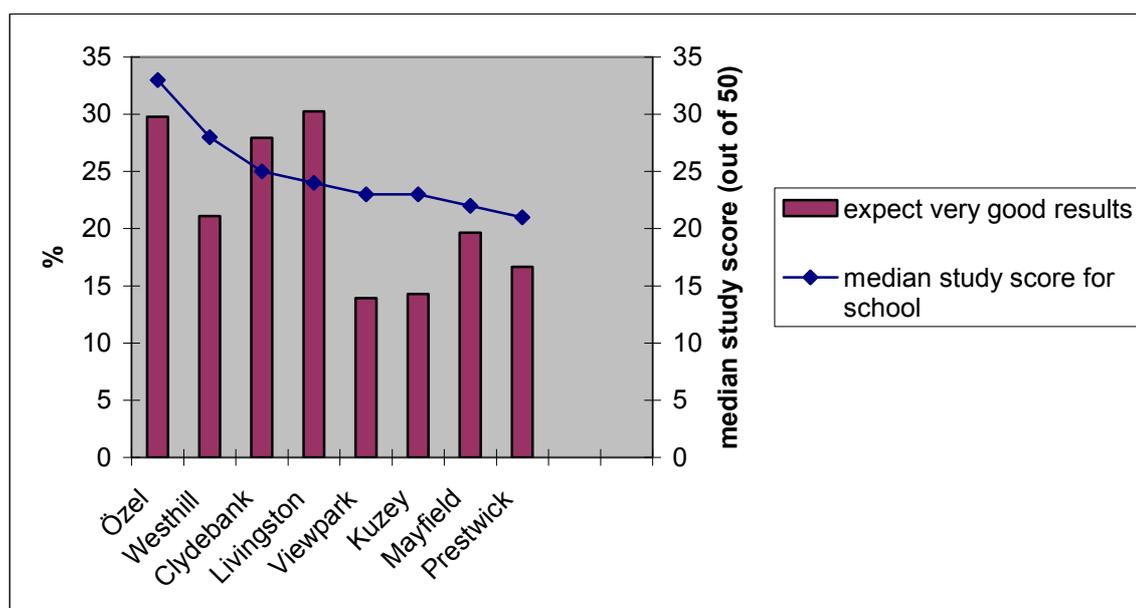
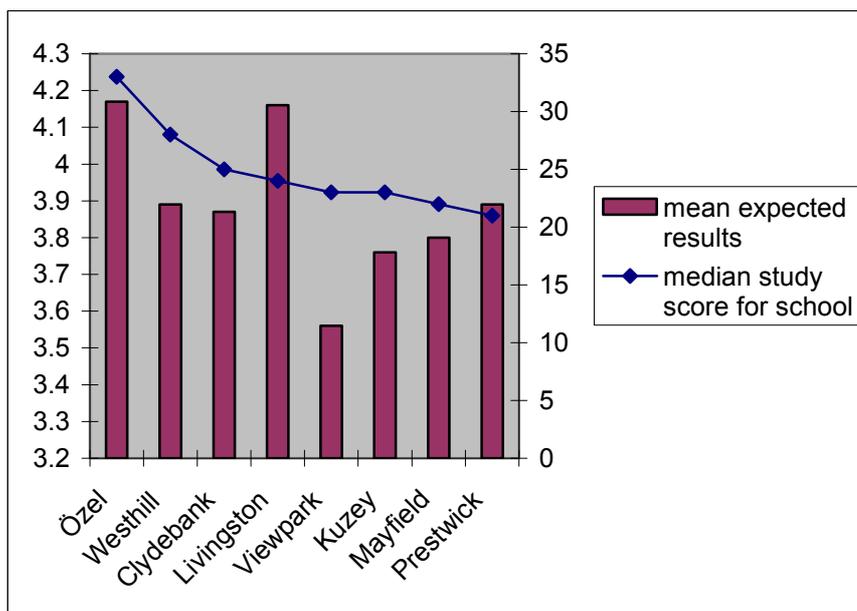


Figure 7.18 Mean expected results (scale of 1-5) by median study score for school



On the face of it, there appears to be no relationship between reported academic confidence and median study scores. Some school environments appear to be conducive to ‘over-confidence’ in students, who may not have much in the way of assessment to go on at the outset of their VCE studies. The similarity of student-mix and median study scores in schools with contrasting confidence levels suggests that school level factors may play a role. These include assessment practices, pedagogical approaches, careers counselling and the management of student wellbeing. Livingston, for instance, holds frequent student-run assemblies at which many and varied academic awards are presented to students. The small size of Clydebank and Livingston may also contribute to a convivial atmosphere conducive to confidence, however school size does not distinguish these ‘over-confident’ schools from the others. Rather, we might speak of school environments which are more or less conducive to the development of idealised self-perceptions with reference primarily to the strength of pedagogical accommodation and affective bonds.

Studying outside of class

Because many students feel that teachers move too quickly through material for them to keep up, study outside of time-tabled classes is of vital importance at the schools in the sample. For example, Cemre (Turkish-background) feels that she is “fighting against time, because I think I’ll always need extra time to study”. Brenda (Westhill College, dominant language-background) also struggles to keep up with an English curriculum which “jumps around” a lot.

At Özel College, extraordinary efforts have been made to try and bring students into competition with students at ‘fortified sites’, to use Teese’s expression (Teese, 2000). Saturday classes are run from 10am until 5pm for Year 11 and 12 students and after-school classes are run from four to five thirty for most subjects. Graduates of the school are enlisted to help as volunteer mentors. Students also sit trial examinations on Sundays towards the end of the year. A mathematics teacher estimated that Year 12 students at Özel might undertake fifty or sixty trial examinations for each subject (at least ten times what might be expected in other settings), commenting that “we are pushing students quite hard”.

Outside of these structures, teachers at Özel are encouraged to run extra classes as the need arises, and while attendance is not compulsory, most students do participate. Contact hours with the school are effectively doubled through these procedures, but even beyond these, students commonly visit or call for teachers at home for extra instruction. This practice is enabled by the social proximity of teachers, two thirds of whom are members of the Turkish community¹⁰.

Intensive contact at Özel is not without cost, and students feel stress from the weight of pressure from parents and the school to do well. However some students are keen to acknowledge the efforts of the school and their parents and console themselves as they work through weekend and after-school mathematics classes that “when you think of it in the long term and bear it in mind, it’s always a benefit” (Halide, female, Turkish background).

¹⁰ Some teachers are more recent arrivals from Turkey, and many subscribe to the philosophy of Fethullah Gulen, the leader of a world-wide moderate Islamic movement, of which the school is part.

At the state schools in the study, although programs exist to counsel students on their progress, supports such as homework clubs are poorly attended. When offered on a take-it-or-leave-it basis, state school students are reluctant to submit themselves to 'more of the same' from their school. By contrast, students attending Özel find themselves virtually trapped in a 'greenhouse' environment, which they spend little time outside of, while students attending state schools are more exposed to the brunt of academic and institutional demands experienced alone or with minimal support. The weaker ability of state schools to extend their academic programs beyond school hours is also a reflection of their academically weaker student populations. Kuzey, although a private school with ambitions to offer close moral supervision, does not have the academic selectivity of Özel and like the state schools is unable to maintain anything but individual support to the most self-motivated of its students. The small size of many schools compounds the difficulty of establishing and maintaining a systematic support structure outside of school hours.

Keeping up to date with homework

In all, just 17 per cent of students manage to keep up to date with homework and conduct regular additional revision. Half of the students in the sample claim to at least keep up to date with homework, while 20 per cent "usually attempt homework but often don't finish the tasks". A further 6 per cent often don't attempt or complete homework tasks. Interviews suggest that this final figure should be higher and that many students are frequently unaware that they have been given homework, or what their homework consists of. Little difference in this pattern emerges between boys and girls, or according to the school attended.

Logistic regression shows that ethnic background does, however, play a significant role in the likelihood of students keeping up to date in their studies (Table 7.4). Turkish background students are far more likely than their dominant language-background peers to keep up to date with homework.

Turkish students remain at least 20 percentage points ahead of dominant language-background students in the likelihood of keeping up to date with homework even when all other variables are added to the model.

Socio-economic status makes no significant impact (Model 2), while studying with others and receiving help at home marginally increases the likelihood of students keeping up to date with homework. This practice of studying with other students is most prevalent amongst Turkish-background students, particularly girls. Almost 9 out of 10 Turkish-background girls report studying together with other students, while girls from other minority backgrounds also study together more frequently than girls from the dominant language-background (Table 7.3 below). Dominant language-background boys also study together less frequently than boys from other backgrounds, with Turkish boys being most likely to opt for communal study.

Table 7.3 Study habits by ethnic background and gender

	studies with other students	Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other Backgrounds %	Total %
Male	yes	48.1	71.2	69.7	53.3	59.6
	no	51.9	28.8	30.3	46.7	40.4
N		77	73	33	45	228
Female	yes	53.8	87.7	64.5	73.2	68.9
	no	46.2	12.3	35.5	26.8	31.1
N		93	73	31	41	238

Male: Chi-square=10.5, p<.05. Female: Chi-square=20.6, p<.01

However, studying together and indeed all other influences become insignificant when the value students place in schoolwork is taken into account. The probability of students keeping up to date triples from those who see little intrinsic value in schoolwork to those who see great value in it. Completing homework and making meaning out of schoolwork are thus closely tied.

Table 7.4 Likelihood of keeping up to date with homework (percentage probabilities shown)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Gender <i>(Ref: male)</i> female	65.7	67.8	48.4	28.9	39.0
Ethnic background <i>Ref: Dominant language</i>	60.6***	62.7***	45.0***	28.2**	38.8
Turkish	82.0***	82.7***	68.3***	48.1**	56.4
Arabic/Berber	64.9	65.1	47.5	30.6	37.8
Other	71.8*	73.2	56.2	39.8	50.1
SES <i>Ref: unemployed</i>		62.7	45.0	28.2	38.8
Blue collar		57.1	42.2	25.2	35.9
Lower middle-class		68.2	54.8	35.8	49.3
Studies with other students <i>(Ref: no)</i>			55.9*	34.4	46.8
Receives help with homework <i>(Ref: no)</i>			58.8**	37.5	49.7
Value placed in schoolwork ¹¹ <i>Ref: little</i>				28.2***	38.8***
some				52.3***	63.3***
much				90.5***	93.7***
School ¹² <i>Ref: Livingston</i>					38.8
Kuzey					22.1
Özel					26.8
Westhill					31.7
Mayfield					31.5
Clydebank					29.2
Viewpark					22.3
Prestwick					27.1
Intercept	60.6**	62.7*	45.0	28.2**	38.8
Nagelkerke R Square	.056	.065	.091	.253	.264
Chi-square value	17.855***	20.738	28.901***	84.110***	88.015***

Reference category indicated by italics. *p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01.

Students who struggle to make meaning out of schoolwork and hence avoid it were vocal in the group interview at Livingston. Frequently, they explain, delaying homework is the most effective strategy for avoiding homework. Murat describes leaving homework to the last possible moment before attempting it (usually 8 or 9 o'clock), and giving up if it proved to be too difficult or tiring: "I just do what I can do...I don't keep pushing myself". Devlet agrees that he leaves things to the last minute and studies late at night.

¹¹ This measure is based on strength of agreement with the propositions 'extra effort with schoolwork is worth it', 'I don't see much use in my schoolwork' (reversed) and 'I take pride in my work'. Different scales were tested, however a straight addition of base items proved to be a more than adequate measure of this dimension.

¹² Although the inclusion of the variable 'school' mixes two levels of analysis, it provides some indication of school effect in the absence of the conditions necessary for hierarchical analysis. For a discussion see Methodology p 42-43.

Dünya too admits to avoiding homework until it is so late that it is impossible to do. She considers a fellow student who 'does her homework all the time' to be an amusing oddity, with Sam describing this student as "a nerd" in a whisper at this point. Saniye's view is "if it's not important, I don't do it".

By contrast, at Westhill College, some students describe greater assiduity. Paul, unlike his peers, has a plan for approaching homework. He tries to spread study out so that he does something every evening, even if no work has been set by the teacher. Paul is also able to ring his cousin for mathematics help, and get assistance from his father for some things.

Students interviewed at Mayfield identified further factors which come into play. Some report combining homework with surfing the internet and watching TV. Monika, for instance is able to concentrate on homework for about thirty minutes before she turns to the internet. For Meliha, who has a job, homework is sometimes left undone because she feels too tired: "I don't really do my homework" she reveals. The exception is if an assignment is due the next day, in which case she stays up late. For students in paid employment, this provides motivation to "rush through everything in class so that there isn't any homework" (Shona).

Students provide multiple explanations for not doing homework: it is boring, they are too lazy, are overwhelmed with the volume of set homework tasks, and there are more interesting things to do. However, delimitations students place on their role as student come into play too. A common attitude is summed up by Hassan: "Once the bell rings, at the end of the day, it's the end of school" (Halil). After that point, students feel that it is "their time" and resent any further encroachment by school into their lives.

Not all students regret not doing homework or seek to provide excuses. The boys at Mayfield display a more boasting attitude in their anti-homework sentiments. Drawing giggles, CC announced proudly in an interview "I don't do homework at all", while Halil added "what's homework"? Steve elicited even greater hilarity from the interview group by initially claiming to apply himself to his studies daily immediately upon arrival home from school, before responding seriously that he might attempt homework twice a week on average.

Despite some pride expressed in not completing homework, students disagree as to whether they consider students who do study to be 'nerds'. At Mayfield, this is considered to be so exceptional that only one student in the whole year-level fits the studious profile. The students interviewed believe that this student applies himself because his mother is "on his back" while their own parents are satisfied if they are told that there is no homework.

As at other schools, in this group there appears to be a belief that only 'smart' students study and do homework. This posture leads students away from serious attempts to study because they believe that study is for those to whom learning comes easily. This is an example of a self-limiting 'rapport au savoir' (Bautier et al., 2000), that is to say, a mis-understanding of the nature and substance of schoolwork. Some students in the group reflect on a sombre note that those who study will get high ENTER scores and better jobs. However Shona disagrees, believing that her investment in activities outside of school, such as the production of a community radio program, will provide her with an alternative route to a good job. This perspective appears to be a relatively isolated one amongst girls, but for boys envisaging trades, school can also be removed to some extent from the pathway to occupational success and satisfaction.

Interview subjects at Özel provide a sharp contrast. Students consider themselves to be "more determined" than students at other schools (Abdullah). Muammer, for example, organises his after-school time into half hour blocks, with five pm until bed-time devoted to study every day. He describes organising his study around the curriculum framework provided by teachers, in which all assessment tasks for the year are outlined. Other students describe preparing for upcoming assessment tasks, sometimes with the help of revisions sheets provided by teachers. The pattern presented elsewhere of watching TV and doing other activities before homework is reversed in this setting.

Distinctions therefore emerge between schools in homework practices, with one 'Turkish' school standing out from the rest. Elsewhere, however, despite the good intentions of Turkish-background students, in their enactment of homework tasks they are not readily distinguishable from their peers except for their even greater lack of resources and support. One further

distinction may be found in the prevalence of Turkish-background girls working together and supporting each other, however this only has an impact on homework completion when students are able to find some intrinsic meaning in the tasks they are asked to complete.

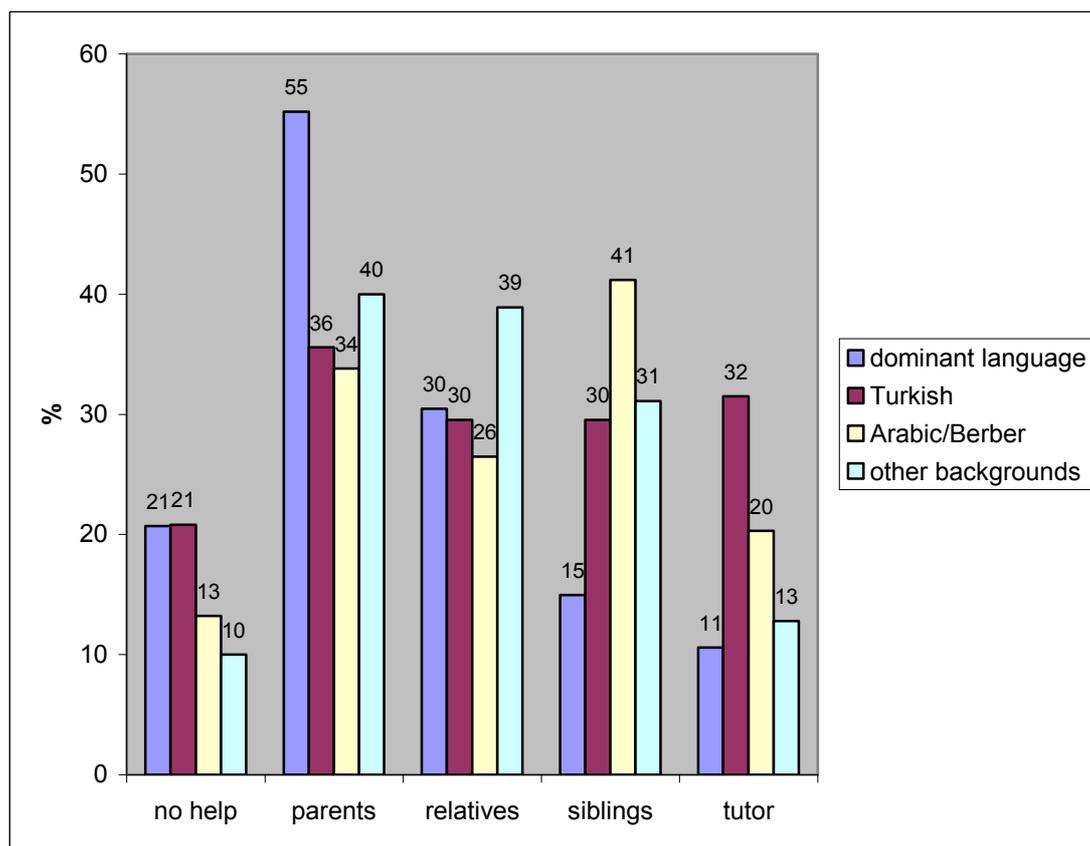
Support at home

While teachers report that some parents are concerned that their children should receive and complete regular homework, many parents are poorly positioned to support them to study and revise in the evenings. Only 43 per cent of students are able to get help from their parents to understand homework and 18 per cent have no family member or relative they can turn to for help. Just 3 per cent of students in this situation receive help in school subjects from a tutor.

The availability of support at home with homework varies according to ethnic background (Figure 7.18). Over 20 per cent of dominant language-background students receive no help with understanding homework at home, compared to closer to one in ten students from other backgrounds. The quality of this help is, as we shall see, uneven at best.

Dominant language-background students, whose parents have at least some experience in the education system and fluent English, more frequently receive help from parents than students from other backgrounds. Yet when help is sought, it is not always forthcoming. Brenda, a dominant language-background student, observes that when she gets stuck “I try and ask my parents and they just laugh, cos they don’t know what they’re doing either”. Shona, too, is conscious that her parents cannot provide assistance: “if I was going to ask my parents, I’ve done more schooling than what they would have done anyway, so it’s pointless”.

Figure 7.19 Help received with homework by ethnic background



Students from minority backgrounds are even more acutely aware that their parents cannot offer assistance. Hasna feels disadvantaged because her parents “hardly speak English” and so can’t support her in schoolwork. Students may nevertheless feel hassled by anxious parents. Devlet comments that:

My mum just keeps telling me how much of a dope I am [laughter from other students] ‘where’s the homework, how come you got no homework’?
(Devlet, female, Turkish background).

Compared to dominant language-background students, siblings are a greater resource for ethnic-minority students. This is in keeping with the patterns in the provision of career advice presented in the previous chapter. Arabic/Berber background students can also count on support from relatives in greater numbers than students from other groups. Beyond help from family

members, use of a tutor is rare, but more frequent amongst Turkish families, and to a lesser extent Arabic/Berber families.

With little or unhelpful advice from home, it is understandable that students either abandon their homework, or turn to the internet for answers. Asking the teacher for help the next day, or copying from someone else are two alternative solutions to resolving homework difficulties evoked in interviews. Again, a fraction of Turkish-background students most concentrated at Özel display commitment to ideals of resilience and perseverance. Nilay, who does not have family members to help, has a different approach, relying on her own determination: “I try to do it so much, I’ll check it up...I just do it on my own, research and stuff”.

Making the illusion work

This chapter suggests that motivation and engagement falter when students fail to find meaning and value in schoolwork. However schools work hard to provide students with work which they can attach some meaning to and which supports their continued connection to educational institutions. In this context, many students consider turning up to school to be a major achievement.

The duplicity of this situation is revealed in students’ difficulties with written expression, which demonstrate that many do not manage the shift in social identity required in order to perform as depersonalised and universal agents, the agents called forth by academic writing and mathematics. Rather, in their work students show continuity in the roles they adopt in the world of everyday interactions and the roles they adopt for academic interactions. The distance between the orders of relevance in pedagogical performance and everyday performance of self is such that students must create a new distinctive relationship between self and world if they are to fully engage with the cultural and cognitive content of schooling.

Parents, particularly those from Turkey and Lebanon, often have limited understanding of the distinctive forms of this academic relationship, or understand only their own exclusion from it. Teachers, for their part, are insiders who seek to bridge the distance students must travel by downplaying the very specifications and disjunctures which students struggle to recognise.

Connection to school appears weaker amongst boys, and anti-school attitudes constructed through peer interactions are more prevalent (but in the case of Özel these pressures are weaker). Halil's introduction of himself demonstrates this point: "Hi, my name's Halil, I don't wanna be at school". He adds that he would rather be working, while a peer interjects "hanging around Broady". "Yeah, Broady bum" agrees Halil.

Girls are more likely to conform to school norms, as are students from minority-ethnic backgrounds more generally. Greater adherence to family wishes, practices such as group study and narrower range of occupational options envisaged by these students may promote this greater investment in the academic dream. Ethnicity also plays a strong role through beliefs about the language capabilities of students and the cultural accessibility and appropriateness of different parts of the curriculum through the perception of a 'subtractive' bilingualism.

Despite weak connection, many students 'misrecognise' their level of coping. Success and failure in the Victorian system is relative, and exclusion or formal relegation is rare. Relative to the threshold required to survive and pass from one year to the next, thus far students have been successful. However, they are generally without resources to measure their success relative to either the full demands of the curriculum or the levels of achievement reached by students in 'fortified sites'. Only Özel is focused on the point of comparison offered by 'fortified sites', and on strategies for assaulting the dominance of these bastions at the cost of massive exertion applied to narrow 'openings' in the curriculum.

The processes described in this chapter raise the question of the viability of small comprehensive schools operating in working-class high migrant-density suburbs. The 'residualised' character of state schools in Melbourne's North West identified by Lamb (2007) has grave consequences for the students who attend them, particularly when they are without resources or networks outside of school to which they can turn. The current operation of the system is, however, effective in protecting schools in dominant positions from failure. To the extent that students accept the legitimacy of their operation, the cultural dynamics of peripheral sites also protect the system from alienated and angry subjects. In this regard, the dissatisfied students in

the French system we will meet in the second half of this thesis may be understood as being more radicalised and as presenting a greater challenge to the maintenance of the current socially unequal operations of the system.

In the next chapter I will show how the legitimacy of schooling is maintained at the Australian schools in part by substituting a cordial sociability for individual academic engagement as the goal by which students are integrated into the work of school. I will also show how schools are sensitive to the social networks, solidarities and groupings which extend across the local space beyond its reach and through which Turkish identity is constructed.

Chapter 8.

Social and pedagogical relationships in Australia

In the previous chapters I argued that Turkish-background students appear somewhat more idealistic and positive about school than other groups of students and have generally higher aspirations, despite poor outcomes. This greater optimism is encouraged by a heavy dependence on educational structures and the meritocratic claims of the system in the absence of both alternative pathways and alternative sources of knowledge about the workings of the system. The puzzle remains of how to explain poor achievement in light of students' professions of good-will and optimism.

My argument here is that students' idealised perceptions and projections relate primarily to their hoped-for place in schooling as a social process which claims to provide a 'ladder of opportunity'. A second level of experience, relating to the quotidian practices and struggles of school life, tempers student optimism and isolates it to a plane of abstraction. The proof of this abstraction is in the educational outcomes of the schools in the study. These schools struggle with the most socially disadvantaged student populations and have amongst the poorest average achievement levels of any in the state as measured by both the General Achievement Test (GAT) and in the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) (Department of Education and Training (Victoria), 2006). With few academically strong students and tension between academic demands and student dispositions, the school environment is characterised by students as one of (welcome) disruption of academic tasks and norms, the search for alternative sources of interest, and the generation of practices of solidarity which draw on youth sub-cultures and ethnic identity.

Disruptive classroom practices which could potentially signal the weak objective position of students often become normalised in the environments of the schools in this study. The normalisation of practices students themselves deem unsatisfactory in terms of learning eases, without eliminating, their anxiety about the school environment. This anxiety is often felt by students indirectly, through recognition of their schools and neighbourhoods as suffering from poor reputations.

The school environment is limited as a place of learning by solidarities and conflicts which students bring with them from the wider world, but particularly the world of the neighbourhood. Students' perceptions of these constraints are guided by their understandings of the stigma attached to their school and to themselves (as residents of Broadmeadows, 'Turks', 'Lebs' or 'Skips'¹). With a climate of increased racism, particularly directed towards Muslims (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2004; Poynting, 2002), ethnic identities can come to the fore to create what Lorcerie calls 'ethnicised' social relations (Lorcerie, 2003). Key to this process is the persistent association of particular ethnic identities with a range of negative connotations: menial occupations, unruly behaviour, unjust gender relations, poor upbringings, and violence.

In this chapter I will show how ethnicity indeed comes to the fore in some aspects of the relationships binding students to school, but also how a distinctive sociability is generated within schools themselves. I will first discuss the scope of students' appreciation of how well school appears to 'work for them' compared to how well it appears to be functioning as a place of learning. I will look at the social integration provided by school and the quality of instructional experience.

How well is school seen to work?

The students in the Australian sample, with the exception perhaps of those at Özel College, attend schools which on any measure of academic performance work poorly, and which in the eyes of teachers struggle to meet the needs of a diverse student population. This reality is reflected in the flight of one segment of the Turkish population to the private Özel College, whose defence against failure lies in the isolation of only the most able students from their peers and relentless exploitation of a narrow curriculum base (discussed earlier in chapter 7). Most students have no such refuge from poor academic results, even those attending the Islamic Kuzey College, which like the state schools offers in their stead social and moral comforts.

¹ 'Lebs' = Lebanese, 'Skips' = Anglo-Australians.

In Victoria, the geographical and social segmentation of the student population limits the contact of students in the peripheral locations of this study with the 'centre' of the system, which is also its pinnacle in terms of performance. In the absence of a clearly visible curriculum hierarchy, the strongest signal of position in the French system, students in Australia can more easily come to accept as normal even the most dysfunctional workings of their school.

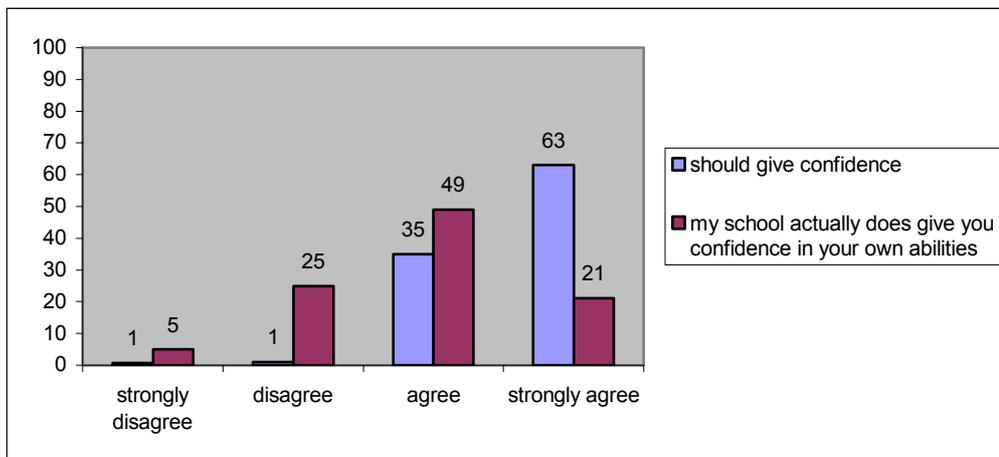
Yet the geographical and social segmentation of the student population in Australia, sharpened by an unequal distribution of resources to schools over time, is visible to students. The only antidote to recognition of uncertain prospects lies in the voluntarism most commonly sustained amongst Turkish-background students. This voluntarism may be characterised as the desire to prove that 'you can do anything you set your mind to', even against the odds. It can be contrasted to a fatalistic attitude or a desire merely to 'get out' (of the school or neighbourhood) at any cost.

The ability of low performing schools to continue as they do lies in maintenance of the formal adherence of students to the claims of an education system which serves them less well than it serves students at virtually any other location. The effectiveness of this maintenance is demonstrated not just by students' perceptions of themselves as coping well overall with the curriculum, but by their acceptance of the functions education purports to fulfil and the enactment of those functions at their own schools. This acceptance of the purposes of school, however begrudging, is also the result of the lack of alternative pathways. Unemployment sits at 32 per cent for early school leavers of non-migrant background and is as high as 44 per cent for Turkish-background youth (see Chapter 4, Table 4.3). These imperatives, combined with few visible measures of school performance available through judgements passed on students themselves results in strong acceptance of the purposes and functioning of schools. Turkish-background students, as the group with the highest academic self-esteem, are also slightly more satisfied with school. Generally, however, views on the proper functioning of school are shared by both 'idealist' Turkish-background students and more disillusioned dominant language-background students alike.

Figures 8.1-8.7 show, there is broad agreement that school has important academic, psychological and social roles to fulfil. However, agreement is weaker when it comes to the role of schools in promoting social values, such as respect, and helping in the formation of friendships (Figures 8.11-8.14).

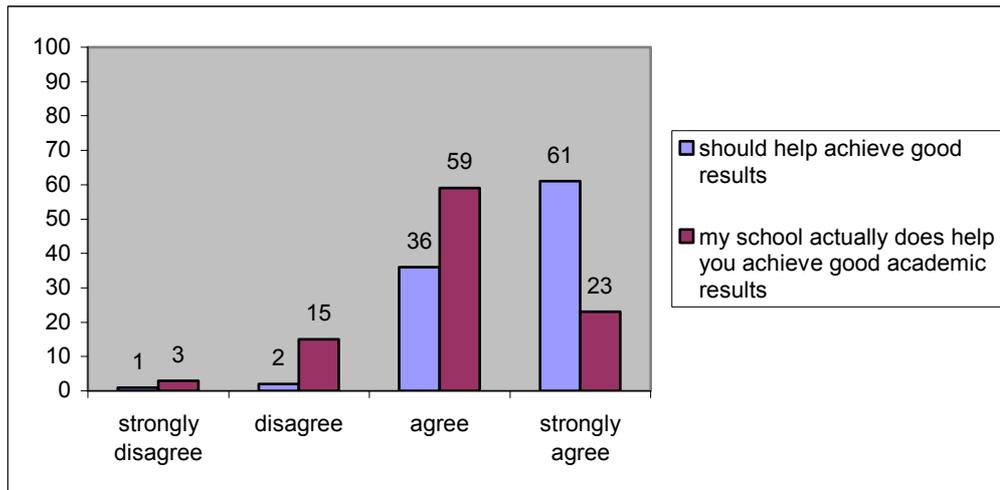
Greatest consensus exists around the desirability of school giving students confidence in their own abilities (only 2 per cent of students disagree with this proposition) (Figure 8.1). This is also the source of greatest disappointment: whereas 63 per cent of students strongly agree that schools should give students confidence in their own abilities, only 21 per cent of students are as satisfied that their school does in fact instil such confidence. This disappointment is relative, and in total 70 per cent of students agree or strongly agree that their school does give students confidence in their own abilities.

Figure 8.1 The good school should give you confidence in your own abilities (%)



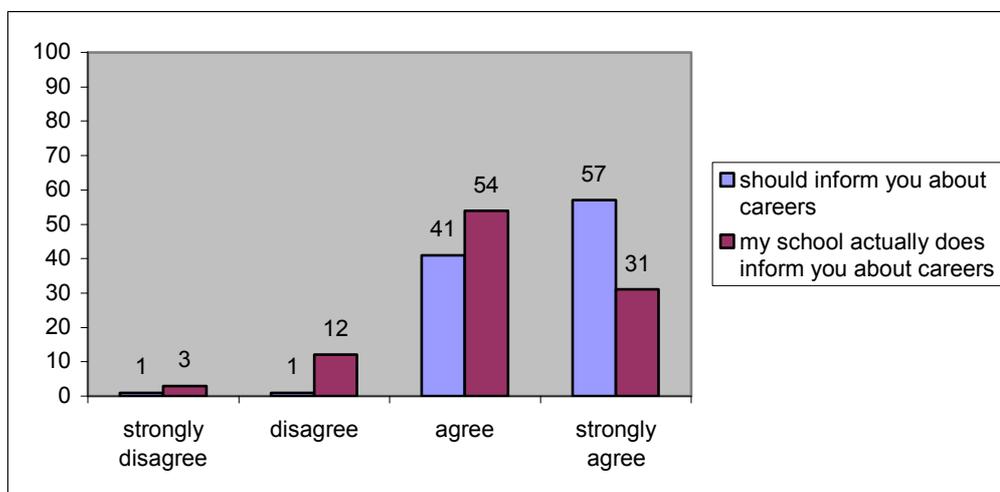
Students are somewhat less critical of the ability of their school to help students achieve good academic results (Figure 8.2), which is also an almost universally agreed upon role of schools.

Figure 8.2 The good school should help you achieve good academic results (%)



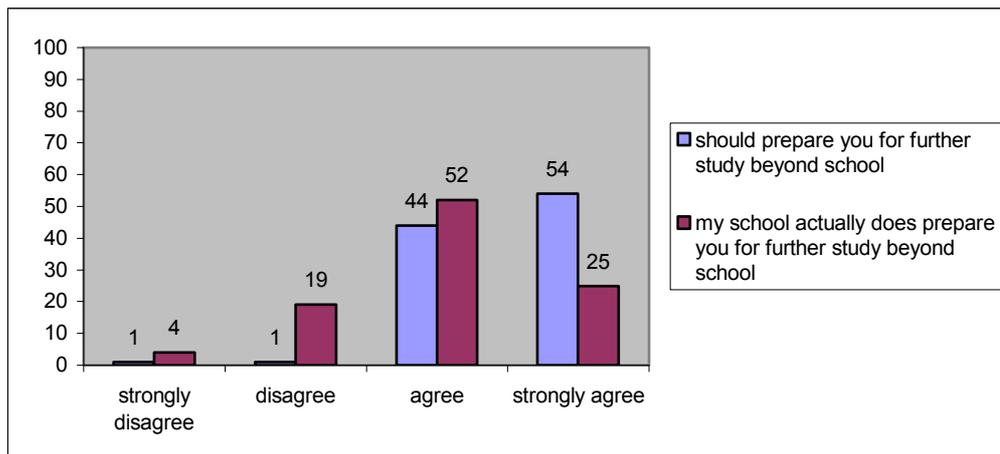
It is telling that students overwhelmingly agree both with the importance of schools informing them about careers, and their school's performance of this task (Figure 8.3). That 85 per cent of students agree that their school does inform them about careers, despite students often choosing the 'wrong' subjects for their preferred vocational pathways, is evidence that schools are not alerting students adequately about careers and that students are unaware of this lack of preparation. Students are not completely satisfied, however, as the proportion of students strongly agreeing that their school informs them about careers almost halves compared to the proportion who strongly believe that schools should fulfil this role (Figure 8.3).

Figure 8.3 The good school should inform you about careers (%)



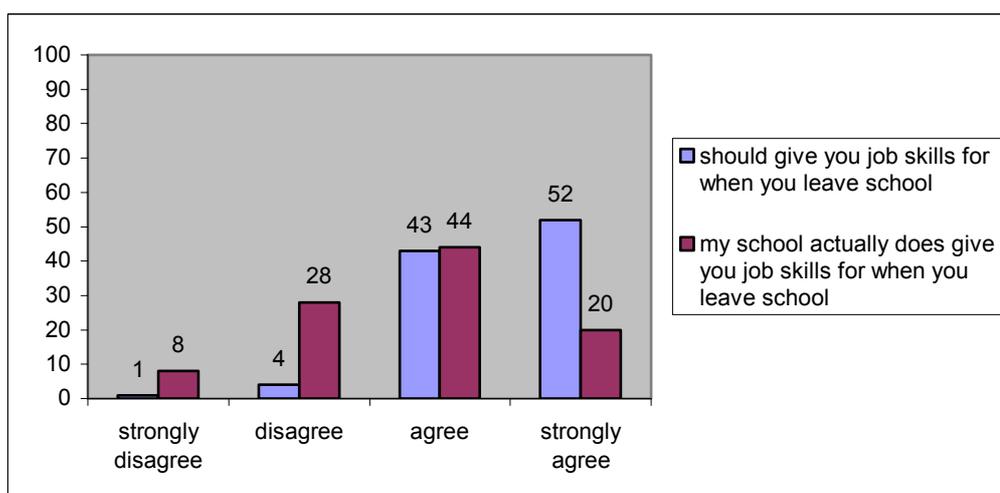
Similarly, strong agreement that schools should prepare students for further study is matched with a weaker level of agreement (but agreement nonetheless) that their school succeeds in this endeavour (Figure 8.4).

Figure 8.4 The good school should prepare you for further study beyond school (%)



Fewer students are convinced that their school provides them with job skills (two-thirds agree); however this is less valued by students than other school functions and stands as a point of contrast to the more strongly vocationally oriented French system.

Figure 8.5 The good school should give you job skills for when you leave school (%)



Students are also less agreed on whether schools should have a pastoral role in promoting respect and care for others and friendships (Figures 8.6, 8.7), and many are uncertain as to whether their schools do fulfil such roles.

Figure 8.6 The good school should teach you to respect and care for others (%)

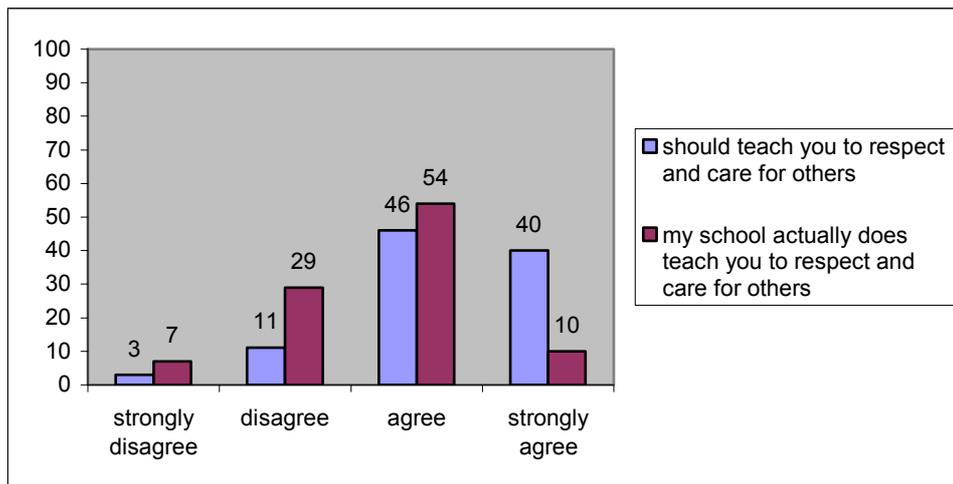
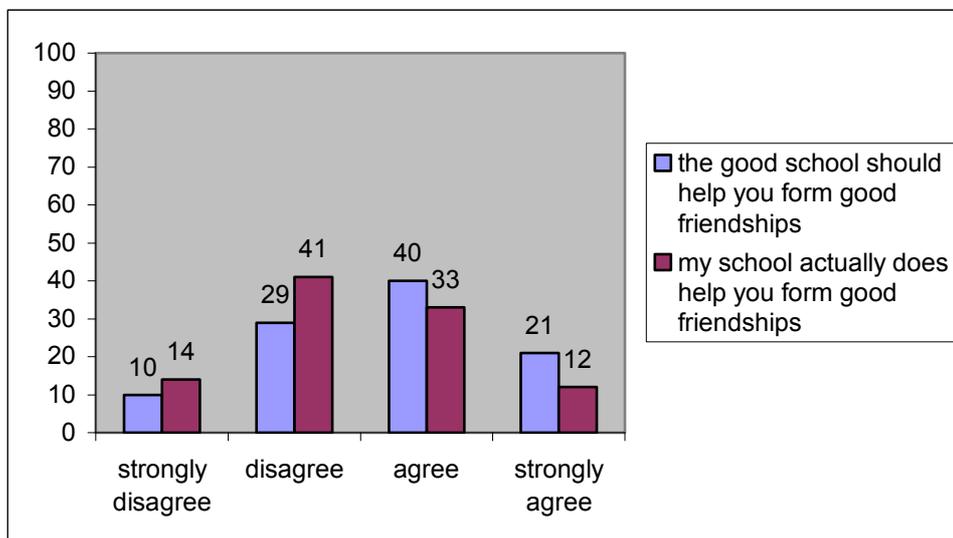


Figure 8.7 The good school should help you form good friendships (%)



Satisfaction with the enactment of the purposes presented above can be approached by examining whether students' conceptions of 'the good school' are at least matched by the reality of their own school (i.e. are greater than or equal to). Thus, if a student agrees that the good school should help you achieve good academic results, their expectations will be considered to

have been met if they agree or strongly agree that this is the case at their school. If, on the other hand, they strongly agree to the question relating to the 'good school', their expectations will be considered to have been met only if they strongly agree in response to the question relating to their own school.

Using this measure, students' expectations are least often met in relation to the role of the school in 'giving you confidence in your own abilities' (45% satisfaction) and most often met in relation to the provision of careers guidance (60% satisfaction). On other measures, students are evenly split, with only around half expressing satisfaction with the performance of their school.

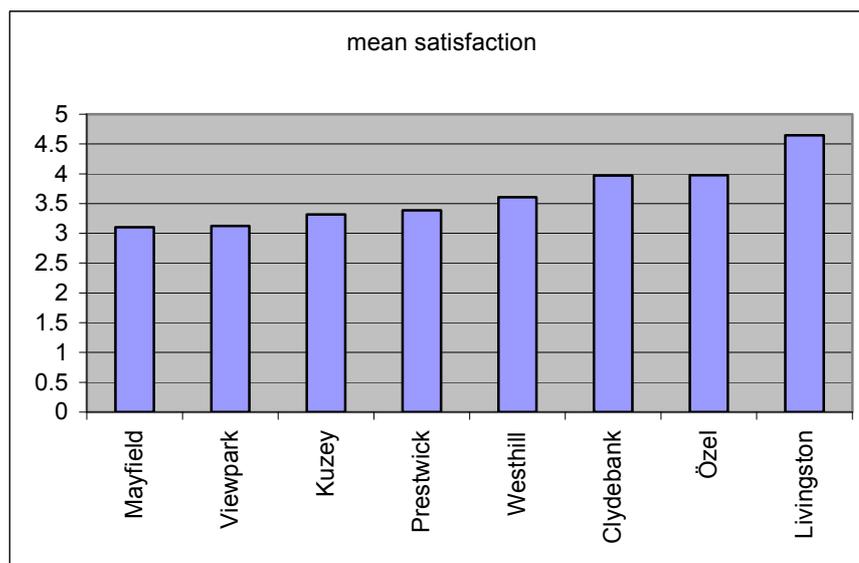
With near universal agreement on the legitimacy of the roles schools claim for themselves, we might expect those students who express greatest faith in the promises of the system and their own performance (i.e. Turkish-background students) to be most satisfied with their enactment. Based on a global satisfaction scale running from 0 to 7, it appears that Turkish-background students are indeed the most satisfied group, however differences in appreciation are small. One-way between-groups analysis of variance shows the effect of ethnicity to be significant ($F(3, 477)=3.4, p=.017$), while a paired-samples t-test shows no significant difference between the scores of boys ($M=3.6, SD=2.22$) and girls ($M=3.7, SD=2.27$).

Unsurprisingly, students' levels of satisfaction vary considerably between schools (see Figure 8.8). Private schooling does not provide for the highest levels of satisfaction, rather, it is the academically weak but optimistic students at Livingston College² who have the highest levels of satisfaction (or idealisation). A Tukey HSD test indicated that Livingston has significantly higher levels of student satisfaction ($M=4.6, SD=1.9$) than Mayfield ($M=3.1, SD=2$), Westhill ($M=3.6, SD=2.3$), Viewpark ($M=3.1, SD=2.6$), and Prestwick ($M=3.3, SD=2.6$). While students at Livingston appear galvanised in their support for the functions of school and the functioning of their school, upon which they rely for future success, they nevertheless face great difficulties in relating these functions to the social world of the classroom. The difficulty of this translation is revealed in students' defence of the good-will and good-faith

² See Appendix 1 for a presentation of the schools.

of their teachers and themselves alongside descriptions of tedious and frequently interrupted learning environments. This contradiction is at its sharpest at Livingston, where students in a group interview professed both faith in the workings of their school and mortification at their own potential failings so great that they had called in bomb threats on days when tests were to be held.

Figure 8.8 Mean satisfaction with school by school



ANOVA: $F(7, 473)=3.8, p>.0001$

Thus, despite students' acceptance of the importance of a range of 'useful' educational functions, many constantly return to the unbearability of school life in interviews. For Sam (Livingston, dominant language-background), even though "a couple of the teachers are alright", school is "boring... socially, they don't know what to do with us. They think it's fun but it's not. It's another dumb idea". Havel's personal investment in school is similarly fragile: "it keeps me busy, keeps me out of trouble, otherwise I'd just be bludging at home or out", a trajectory summarised by Sam at this point as "drop-kick".

However not all students are so damning. School is of central importance to Dünya's life, she explains:

I love school. Without school, I don't know what life is; it's so boring. On Saturday you go out and stuff, but on the weekends its, like, boring.

However it is not the intellectual stimulation or preparation for life that Dünya (Turkish-background, female) values in school, but rather a social experience with peers, and this is something which she shares with the more anti-school students. We can see from Figure 8.7 (above) that the role of school in promoting friendships is not universally agreed upon, rather, many students see peer sociability as being outside of the purview of school control. An important indication of students' scepticism of their schools' ability to fulfil its 'official' purposes can be found in the poor reputation students see their schools, and themselves, as suffering from.

Reputation of the school and local area

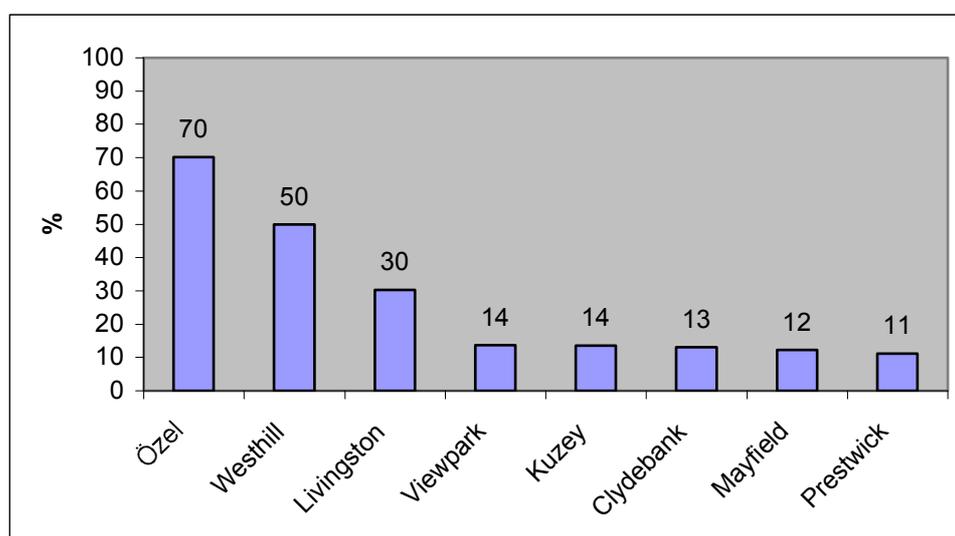
Although students often see their schools as working reasonably well, this often means that they feel that the familiar social environment of their school suits them, not that it is conducive to performance in the stakes recognised in the educational marketplace. Students' views are quite different when they compare their school to schools in other locations. When it comes to such comparisons, students' sense of themselves as learners is influenced by the stigma attached to their schools and the local area. CC (dominant language-background, Mayfield College) observes

People don't have a good attitude about coming here [Mayfield College], cos, like, things don't work, and you look at the canteen and there's stuff everywhere and there's smokers, and the students are mouthing off.

He feels that the students are ashamed to say 'that's my school'. Students attribute part of the problem to the fact that their school (Mayfield) accepts 'all comers', including many students expelled from other schools, and is too small in size to have adequate facilities. Indeed a number of the state schools have students who have been compelled to leave the selective Özel College.

Few students feel that a positive choice has been made for them to attend a particular school based on its reputation. At Mayfield, where the interview discussed above was conducted, only 12 per cent of students consider that the school's reputation led to their attendance there. By contrast, positive evaluation of the school's reputation is strongest amongst students at Özel (70 per cent) and Westhill (50 per cent), which aggressively markets itself as a 'better' school than its neighbours (Figure 8.9 below). Livingston, with its notably congenial atmosphere is also more frequently seen as benefiting from a good reputation.

Figure 8.9 Percentage of students attending their school because of its good reputation



Students attending public schools perceive being in the state system as an obstacle to a successful future: “people reckon if you go to a private school you’ve got advantages...guaranteed a spot in University and that” (Steve). Some students are conscious that there are few alternatives to the local high school available to them, but if there were, they would not hesitate to move: Shona reports “there’s nothing that keeps me here [Mayfield College], except there’s no where else to go”.

However this view is not universally shared; Solmaz, also attending Mayfield, the benefits of an agreeable school atmosphere and the familiarity of the local, area which she considers to be a good environment, outweigh any

disadvantages. For students like Solmaz, the familiar surrounds of school and the local Turkish community appear as a refuge from a harsher and more violent world beyond. Indeed many parents fear to allow their children to attend excursions to other parts of Melbourne, such as the city centre, which they consider to be more dangerous. Ironically, for outsiders it is Melbourne's north which figures as a symbol of social dislocation in the urban geography of Melbourne.

Nevertheless, most students believe that the area carries a certain stigma. CC imagines that saying you are from Broadmeadows will be an obstacle looking for a job. The associations he lists include "lower class", "uneducated", "you're like a thief" and "looking for fights". According to Hasna (Mayfield) "no one likes this area". But CC and Halil agree that they are "proud to be here in Broady".

Students thus position themselves differently in relation to the devalued status of school and neighbourhood. CC and Halil defiantly reclaim this status as an essential part of their identity, while other students seek to downplay this status or to extract themselves from it altogether. This distinction parallels the internalising and externalising of the place accorded to one in the social order. A number of girls in particular strongly seek to distance themselves from this order and their own place (both symbolic and geographical) within it. This is expressed through concerns about levels of social control and community censure, which will be discussed below.

Social integration and conflict

Although students feel uneasy about the reputation of the local area and their school, both the local area and the school are understood by students as having social cohesion. School indeed appears to be relatively successful at promoting this cohesion, even if further sacrifices of individual integration through academic success must be made in order to accommodate this social integration.

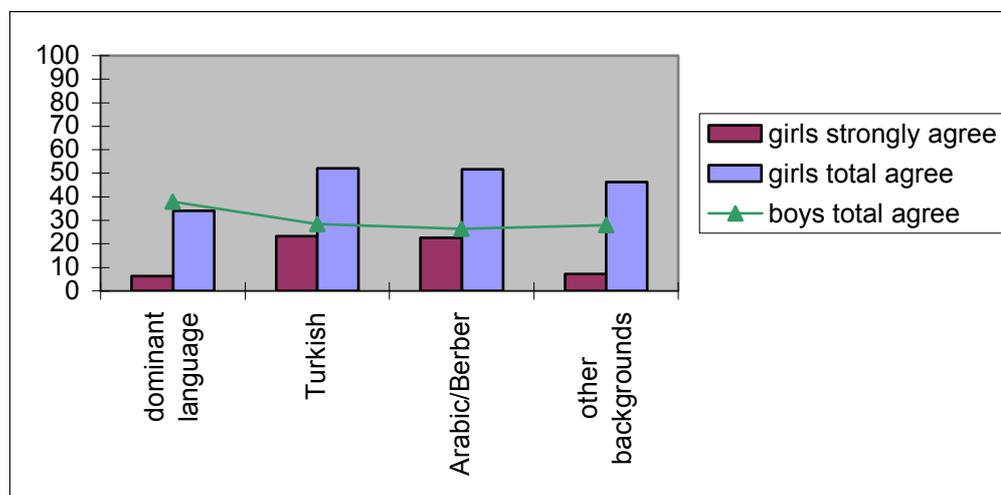
In the first instance, many students feel at ease at school because it is firmly anchored in a local neighbourhood with which they have strong ties. However, the cohesion and omnipresence of the local space is viewed as oppressive by a smaller number of students, particularly girls. The concerns

are connected to the ethnic composition of the area and the management of religious identities in particular. In the following example we can see that fear of the reactions of young men exercises social control over the behaviour of young women: Shona (dominant language-background) is keen to leave Broadmeadows because “this area is dominated by...I don’t want to say anything cos I’m worried that I’m gonna sound racist”. It emerges that Shona feels intimidated on the streets of Broadmeadows by the disapproval and harassment of groups of young men. She explains that because she dresses ‘alternatively’ in the ‘Goth’ style, her appearance draws comments, particularly at the Broadmeadows train station. Shona views Broadmeadows as “the worst area for people to be racist to each other”. The “Turkish and Lebanese guys” who hang around at the station are singled out as passing moral judgement over those who walk past. In response to these comments, Hasna (Turkish-background) presents a different scenario to make a similar point. She believes that if a girl attempted to wear the hijab to school, “everyone would be like, ‘oh my God, look at that’”. She concludes that a judgemental attitude needs to be rejected and “people should accept the way everyone is”. These two students feel that the moral policing of appearance in Broadmeadows only affects girls. The interviewees ended this discussion by speculating that ‘the city’ has some advantages over Broadmeadows in regards to the freedom afforded to women. They feel that in the more anonymous and cosmopolitan context of the city they would be taken as individuals: “you can dress however you want...but here everyone just looks at you” (Hasna).

Hasna’s view on the restrictions placed on women in the local space is widespread amongst Turkish-background girls in relation to Australian society more broadly. More than 20 per cent of girls from Turkish and Arabic/Berber backgrounds strongly agree that ‘men have more freedom and opportunities than women’ compared to closer to 5 per cent of students from the dominant language-background and from smaller minority groups (Figure 8.10). In total, just over half of Turkish and Arabic/Berber background girls either agree or strongly agree with this proposition compared to a third of dominant language-background girls. Turkish and Arabic/Berber-background girls are also most likely to be in disagreement with boys from the same background, with nearly double the proportion of girls to boys considering that men have more

freedom and opportunities than women. These perceptions do not differ significantly between schools, but show that even though girls appear to submit more willingly to the orders of school, neighbourhood and parental wishes, they experience this as a great burden of injustice in many cases. They indicate the distinctive perspectives of boys and girls from Turkish and Arabic-Berber-backgrounds, which I turn to now as they are played out in interactions between peers at school.

Figure 8.10 Agreement with the proposition 'men have more freedom and opportunities than women (percentages)



Boys: Chi-Square=6.829, $p > .1$. 4 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.51. Girls: Chi-Square=20.66, $p < .05$. 3 cells (18.8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.37.

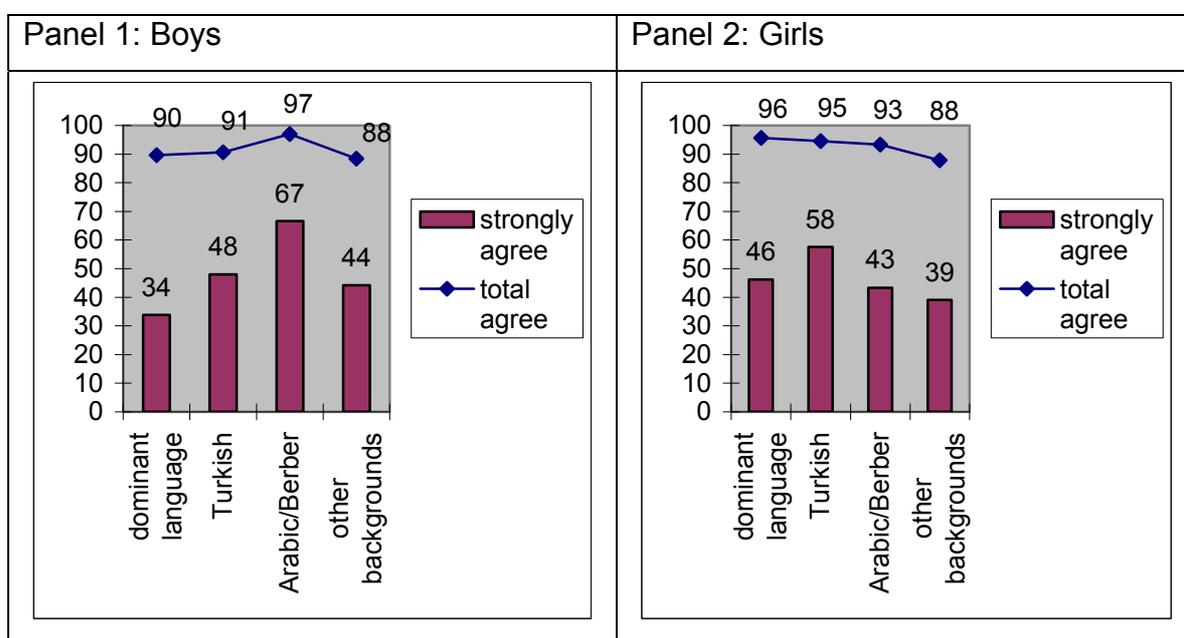
Peer relations

Friends are almost unanimously reported as being the best thing about school, and in many instances the only good thing about school. Virtually all students agree that they have 'a lot of friends' at school. This measure no doubt carries a level of social desirability, however some discrimination is provided by the distinction between 'strongly agree' and merely 'agree' (see Figure 8.11). The data in Figure 8.11 suggest that in some instances, ethnically-based solidarity provides a ready-made friendship group. Boys from minority groups, but particularly Arabic/Berber-background boys, feel most strongly that they have lots of friends at school. These friends, as Figure 8.12 shows, are most frequently from the same ethnic background. While the

differences between ethnic groups are not as large in the responses provided by girls, again the group which is most emphatic about having lots of friends (Turkish background girls) is also the group which mixes most frequently with students from the same background (Figures 8.12, below).

Ethnically-based networks of girls appear to be important in providing support with academic tasks, while boys' groups appear to strengthen behaviours which are at odds with school work.

Figure 8.11 Agreement with the proposition 'I have a lot of friends at my school' (percentages)



In the schoolyard, friendship groups are therefore both gendered and somewhat divided along cultural lines, with boys more frequently mixing with peers who have the same cultural background as themselves than girls (50% to 40%). Ethnically based social groups are most prevalent amongst Turkish and Arabic/Berber background students.

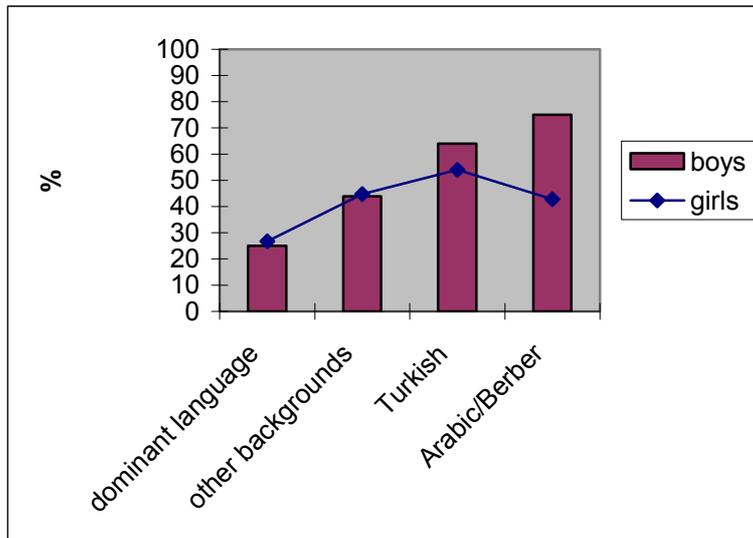
At Kuzey College, an English teacher observes that both kinship and neighbourhood ties bind students together. She identifies a tendency for students to befriend peers from the same cultural background, causing tensions between different groups. This teacher considers that there is some discrimination by the majority Turkish students (90% of the student

population) against the minority. “They are not quite accepting of others” she notes. She observes that the school itself tends to promote this bias. Many teachers and the school board are all Turkish, the Turkish flag flies at the school, and the food at the canteen is all Turkish. She cites as an instance of ethnocentricity the screening at school of Turkish soccer matches, with “a big fuss” being made for weeks after a victory. This has the effect of building resentment amongst non-Turks – who are primarily of Lebanese background. Nationality rather than religion comes to the fore as a symbolic boundary in this context of Islamic schooling.

At other schools too, Turkish and Arabic/Berber-background boys remain strongly segregated along both ethnic and gender lines. These students also enjoy the greatest continuity in peer relations between school and family life, with 52 per cent of Turkish-background boys and 57 per cent of Arabic/Berber-background boys mostly mixing with family friends (Figure 8.14). Girls from these backgrounds are less likely to mix with family friends, and with those from the same cultural background, but more frequently mix exclusively with other girls.

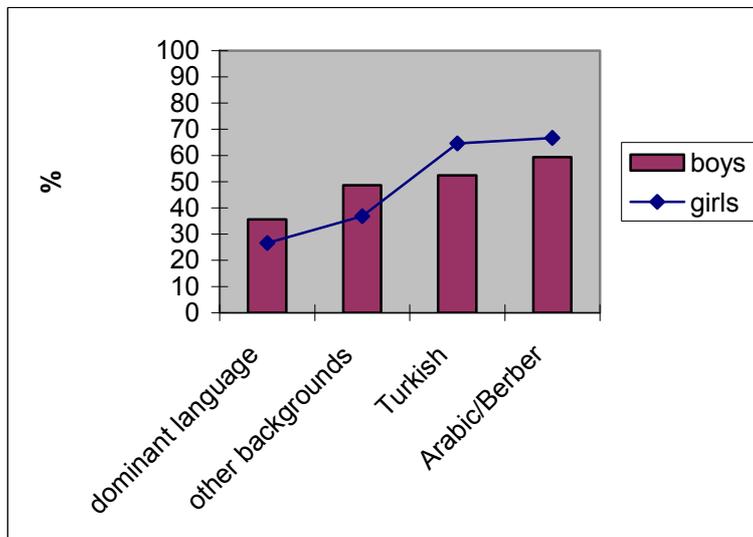
Friendships between boys and girls are sometimes in the form of romantic attachments, which are discouraged at both Kuzey and Özel Colleges. Girlfriends and boyfriends are nominated by students as a major distraction from study and a source of conflict between groups, even at these two schools. However, many students do mix with the opposite gender outside of such romantic attachments, including a majority of dominant language-background students (Figure 8.13).

Figure 8.12 Percentage of students who in the schoolyard 'mix with people who mostly share my cultural background'



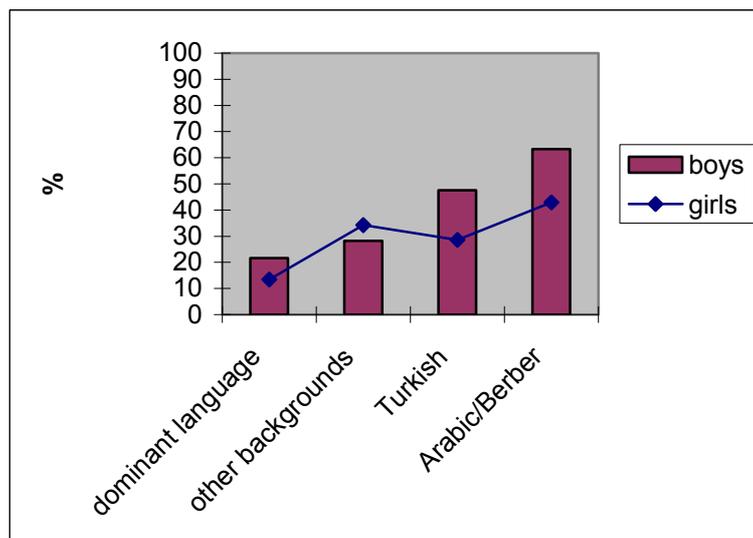
Boys: Chi-square = 18.9, $p < .001$, Girls: Chi-square = 12.4, $p < .01$

Figure 8.13 Percentage of students who in the schoolyard 'mix with people who mostly are the same gender as me'



Boys: Pearson Chi-square = 5.8, $p > .1$, Girls: Pearson Chi-square = 27.01, $p < .001$

Figure 8.14 Percentage of students who in the schoolyard mix with people who mostly 'are family friends'



Boys: Pearson Chi-square = 18.9, $p < .001$, Girls: Pearson Chi-square = 12.5, $p < .01$

Of course affinities in tastes and the division of students into form groups also play a role in the development of friendship groups. Some students also seek to avoid the pressures that strong friendship groups can bring. At Livingston, a first generation Somali background boy advises in on his survey form

Don't let bad peer group pressure destroy who you're [sic]. No matter what happens always believe in your self. And don't trust anyone except your family (196.4).

The attitude expressed above is exceptional, although reliance on family is highly valued by many students. The important place of friendship and ethnic solidarities is relevant to the question of educational inequalities through the ways in which these solidarities support academic engagement (most often in the case of girls) or work to disrupt it (most often in the case of boys). Further, they offer an important consolation in conditions where academic achievement cannot usually supply a source of satisfaction. The main day to day 'work' of school is transferred to from scholarly tasks to practices of sociability, which thus take on a heightened importance as the major preoccupation of students. Naturally not all peer interactions are amicable,

and conflict is also an important part of school life in which ethnicity is often prominent as part of the trading of insults. Such conflicts often serve as much as sources of entertainment and pride as sources of injury.

Conflict amongst peers

Students suggest that conflict is not a negative part of their experience with peers. When conflict does emerge, it is perceived as being expressed most confrontationally by boys. This conflict is frequently identified as being either ethnically motivated or expressed in ethnic terms. Ethnically identified conflict often permeates school from the neighbourhood, where protection of reputation and honour is paramount.

Having high proportions of students from ethnic-minority backgrounds at a school is understood by students and teachers alike as both providing the basis for such conflicts, but also for their minimisation. At Livingston College, interviewees suggest that the critical mass of Turkish background students means that there is no issue with racism or ethnic conflict. Solmaz, a Turkish-background girl observes “I don’t think it’s a big problem at this school, everyone’s Turkish, well most of them, and like they’re all wogs³, most of ‘em”.

Similarly, at Özel College, Hikmet, a teacher, considers that students get along well because they are all from the same cultural background (i.e. Turkish). He believes that boys do have some fights, but that these personal issues are quickly resolved. The boys agree that arguments between friends can perturb the whole class, creating a “wall of silence”. According to these boys, conflict arises from questions of family honour, insult, injury and gossip. “You said this to my mum, you said this to my family, you hit my cousin, you hit my brother”, suggests Abdullah as typical issues.

At Mayfield, as at Özel, tensions amongst students often came from familial disputes extending outside of school. The high proportion of students mixing with family friends at school serves to promote this continuity of conflict outside of and inside school. At Westhill too, the VCE coordinator remarks that incidents from outside of school can spread to the school environment.

³ Term of derision for non ‘Anglo-Saxon Australians of migrant background.

According to him, conflict tends to be between either groups of boys, or groups of girls, more rarely both genders. He also notes that students self-identify their groups based on ethnicity:

There are underlying things; you have conflicts where typically you have groups of kids who call themselves 'Aussies' and call the others 'the Wogs' or 'the Turks' or whatever. That's the way they describe each other. They seem to identify along ethnic lines.

This kind of identification is more characteristic of boys, according to this VCE co-ordinator: "commonly you'll find boys from the traditional Australian background might be in conflict with kids from Middle Eastern background". The co-ordinator considers that it is a fairly rare occurrence for teachers or coordinators to need to intervene.

Students at Mayfield outline a similar story. Monika describes a phenomenon amongst the boys where "guys will tease Aussies, then Aussies will say 'stupid wogs'". For CC, terms such as 'stupid Aussie' and 'stupid wog' are accepted amongst people who know each other well as a form of banter, but cause offence if used by someone who is not well known. Steve (Mayfield) believes that students are less reluctant to make racist remarks at school because peer support makes it 'safer': students know that their mates will 'jump in' and that teachers will break it up sooner or later.

The students feel that the cycle of tension between Aussies and 'wogs' is long standing. Hasna believes that the origin of discriminatory attitudes lies not in media representations or debates, but in families:

It's because of their family... if their family was sophisticated and thought better, they wouldn't think like that. It comes from the parents; they probably teach them to say that.

Some students also express the view that ethnic identities remain strong because they are under attack, resulting in those of migrant background being more defensive of their identities than 'Aussies'. Defensiveness has been strengthened by recent international events such as September 11 and

the second Gulf war. Hassan reports that with the emergence of terrorism as an issue, people in class make racist comments to particular students about their nationality and call them terrorists. Others agree that such comments are in fun, but that some students take it too far. Also at Westhill, Paul identifies common jokes about “coming over on a boat and stuff”. An example on this kind of jibe is provided by Bella:

I know a girl, she’s from Iraq and people say to her ‘you love Saddam Hussein, blah, blah, blah’ and she’ll just laugh at them and laugh about George Bush and stuff.

At Özel College, students feel concerned by the treatment of newly arrived migrants and asylum seekers, as the children of migrants themselves. Muammer raises the issue of terrorism as one which exercises debate in the classroom. He is upset that people in wider society think that, as Muslims, students at the school support terrorist actions. Alev reports that girls at Özel argue about such political issues, including Osama Bin Laden and terrorist bombings. She describes a debate over the merits of suicide bombing pitting one student against the rest of the class. In forming their views, the girls report that they do not pay much attention to the mainstream media, which they consider to be an unreliable source of information.

The comments reported above suggest that students from stigmatised minorities (defined by either religion or culture) may feel discrimination against by their peers. In light of these comments and of the ethnic identification of friendship groups, the survey tested whether students’ perceptions of respect and fairness in peer relations is affected by their ethnic background.

Despite the existence of racial taunts, students generally feel that mutual respect is widespread. The data show that 84 per cent of students feel that students respect each other at their school. Agreement is strongest amongst students from ethnic-minority backgrounds, with 28 per cent of Turkish-background students in strong agreement compared to 14 per cent of students from the dominant language-background (Table A8.2 in Appendix 2).

However, a majority of students believe that ‘being different can be a problem’ at their school, a view most common amongst dominant language-

background students. There is even greater agreement that appearance is a source of problems: 72 per cent of students believe that students at their school are 'sometimes picked on because of the way they look'. However, whereas almost 90 per cent of dominant language-background students agree with this proposition, only 57 per cent of Turkish background students do (Tables A8.3, A8.4 in Appendix 2). It is likely therefore that the differences that students have in mind when answering this question do not relate strongly to ethnicity.

In fact, particular 'performances' of ethnicity and gender appear to be well accepted by peers, while others are marginalised. No ethnicity is, *ipso facto*, excluded from the dominant social mould which allows students to be fully accepted in peer relations. So long as they conform to the expectations of a dominant working-class youth culture, students may only intermittently be forced to contend in an explicit and conscious way with the implications of ethnic identity. In other words, minority ethnicities are not *ipso facto* 'spoiled identities', to borrow Goffman's (1969) expression. On the other hand, so-called 'alternative' students or 'nerds' (self-identified 'Goth' girls, like Shona, or boys who show interest in schoolwork but not sport) more easily become objects of derision in these schools. Students also suggested that overt displays of Islam, such as wearing the hijab, would be problematic for girls attending state schools.

As I suggested at the outset of this chapter, the high levels of tolerance and acceptance reported by Turkish-background students may also be related to their greater affective investment and 'faith' in school, which leads to 'happy talk' which students themselves may only half believe. Agreement with the proposition 'in Australia, everyone is respected, regardless of ethnicity or religion' reflects the extension of the process of idealisation from school to wider society. Overall, fewer than half the students agree that everyone in Australia is respected regardless of ethnicity or religion, and only 1 in 10 students strongly agree. However, students from minority backgrounds, and particularly Turkish-background students, more often agree that Australia is a fair place than dominant language-background students.

Indeed a majority of Turkish-background students agree that everyone is respected regardless of ethnicity or religion (Table A8.1 in appendix 2). In

addition, many Turkish-background students are without experiences beyond the local setting, where the strength of the Turkish community often shelters them from situations where ethnicity is revealed as a source of conflict and discrimination.

Gender expectations

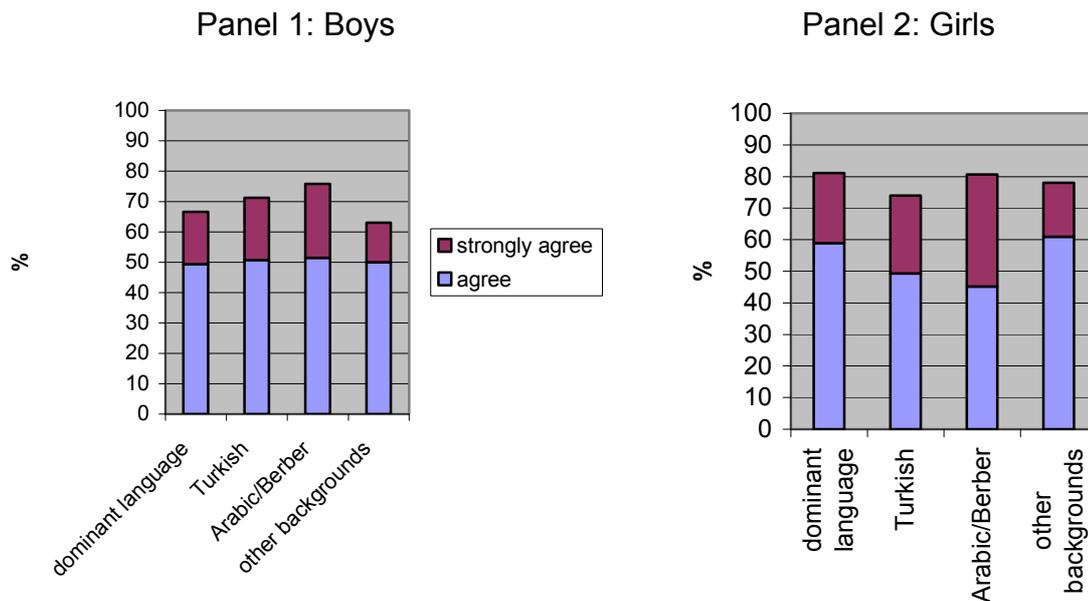
In the strongly gender segregated socialising amongst peers, expectations of appropriate behaviour are also sharply gendered. It is reasonable to hypothesise that students from the ethnic-minority backgrounds in this study may feel more strongly the constraints of dominant models of masculinity and femininity operating at school if these come into conflict with different, ethnically defined gender expectations. At the level of perceptions at least, this does not appear to be the case. Turkish-background students are less likely than non-migrant background students to believe that 'if boys don't behave in a certain way, they will be picked on'⁴.

Across ethnic groups, girls appear to experience greater restriction than boys in the ways they act.(see Figure 8.15). There is strong consensus amongst students that girls have to be careful how they act in order to be respected (74% agreement, compared to 42% agreement that boys must conform to particular behaviours or risk sanctions). It is perhaps unsurprising that girls are more likely to think their own behaviour is constrained by sanctions from peers than is the behaviour of boys, as they experience first hand their effects. However while constraints on the behaviour of girls appear to weigh heavy on them, they appear to be less affected by the 'anti-school' social norms which prevent boys from associating themselves too strongly with academic work.

Status and solidarity amongst boys depends, to a greater extent, on practices which run counter to the smooth operation of learning and conformity to the demands of teachers. Indeed despite the affection many boys claim to have for them, relationships with teachers are often difficult.

⁴ Preliminary regression modelling suggests that school attended has no significant impact on these opinions above and beyond individual attributes.

Figure 8.15 Girls need to be careful how they act or they will not be respected



Relationship with teachers

Many teachers are of long standing in their schools and/or live locally. Aware that they are working in difficult contexts, teachers in these settings tend to develop a professional identity based on the affective and relational aspects of their job. The small size of many of the schools contributes to a sense of closeness between staff and students. Yet the bridging work they are asked to do to bring students into contact with the curriculum is immense, and inevitably produces tensions.

At Özel, bonds between teachers and students are particularly strong and are aided by the fact that social distance between students and staff is shorter for many students at that school. In fact relationships with teachers were cited by some students as the most positive thing about Özel College, even above friendships. Alev (Turkish-background, male) observes

the teachers actually care about you and they actually want to teach you step by step and not just rush through the work, so I think in that aspect it's very good.

Halide, a student at Özel who previously attended Livingston, comments:

When you need help with homework or interested in a talk, the teachers are always there, they always act to you as a friend, they'll always much around with you, crack some jokes and you can sit with them and have a quite chat. But at other schools, they're not that close. You don't get much attention from them.

At Özel, school and external social environments overlap strongly. Every Friday night, there are meetings at a different student's house,

...not only for education but to talk about life and all that... and when we do those kind of activities we feel very close to teachers and feel like friends with them (Halide).

The interviewees at Özel feel that some students take advantage of this close relationship and do not respect the proper bounds between student and teacher in the way they speak to teachers. However at other schools, too, students also comment that at least some teachers are "like friends" to them, and 'over-familiarity' is also a complaint amongst some state school students. Even though students often consider the efforts of their teachers to be inept, in interviews most express a belief that teachers are well-meaning and that "everyone gets along pretty well". Devlet (Livingston), for example, observes that "the teachers here are mainly all friendly...they try to help you out". Although he quickly adds "some are old and need to retire". In interviews, students express a view that relations with teachers have improved since the junior years of high-school as disruptive students dropped out and teachers began to treat them more like adults.

Despite this closeness, according to Joy (VCE co-coordinator, Mayfield), students are reluctant to tell the school about their problems and are often unaware of the support available. The school is sometimes ignorant, for example, of traumatic events such as the death of a parent. Teachers are also poorly equipped to deal with issues such as poverty, drug addiction, and violence in families, which confront a number of students. Only a slim majority

(58 per cent) of students consider that their teachers understand the things which are important to them – a figure not affected by ethnicity.

Students also complain that some teachers treat them unfairly. Shona, a student at Mayfield College, for example, explains that expectations in terms of discipline vary greatly between teachers and are not easy to predict. Overall, 40 per cent of students do not believe that discipline is ‘fair and consistent’ at their school. At Mayfield, students are most resentful of teachers who are not prepared to provide individual attention. Hasna complains of a mathematics teacher who does not provide sufficient examples on the board and gets angry when asked questions, responding to requests for help with “you should know the work yourself!” The students feel that this teacher vindictively ignores certain students who have made trouble in his class previously.

Similarly, at Westhill, Brenda comments that some teachers have it in for particular students. This discourages students: “cos they don’t like you and they pick on you, then you just don’t care anymore.” Bella also comments that favouritism is a problem, with some teachers having personal conversations with favoured students while ignoring the class. These ‘favourites’ can be troublesome students. Cheeky students who offer entertainment to peers and teacher alike make engage teachers in a noisy classroom where more timid students cannot.

In all, two thirds of students agree that ‘teachers and students respect each other. However even at Livingston, where students express the strongest respect for teachers, students think there are some racist teachers, and some who prejudge students based on their appearance. The perception of mutual respect and fair treatment from teachers is most prevalent amongst those groups of students who are most strongly invested in education, as indicated by their aspirations and academic self-esteem. Thus girls and minority-background students report enjoying a more positive relationship with teachers and more often agree that ‘everyone gets a fair go’⁵ (Tables 8.1, 8.2).

⁵ Logistic regression modelling indicated no additional influence from school attended over and above individual characteristics.

Table 8.1 Agreement with the proposition 'at my school, teachers and students respect each other'

		Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other Backgrounds %	Total %
boys	agree	48	39	48	44	44
	strongly agree	3	24	23	16	16
girls	agree	51	60	59	61	61
	strongly agree	8	21	14	5	5

Boys: Chi-Square=17.8, $p < .05$. 3 cells (18.8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.02. Girls: Chi-Square=16.9, $p < .05$. 4 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.38.

Table 8.2 Agreement with the proposition 'At my school, everyone gets a fair go'

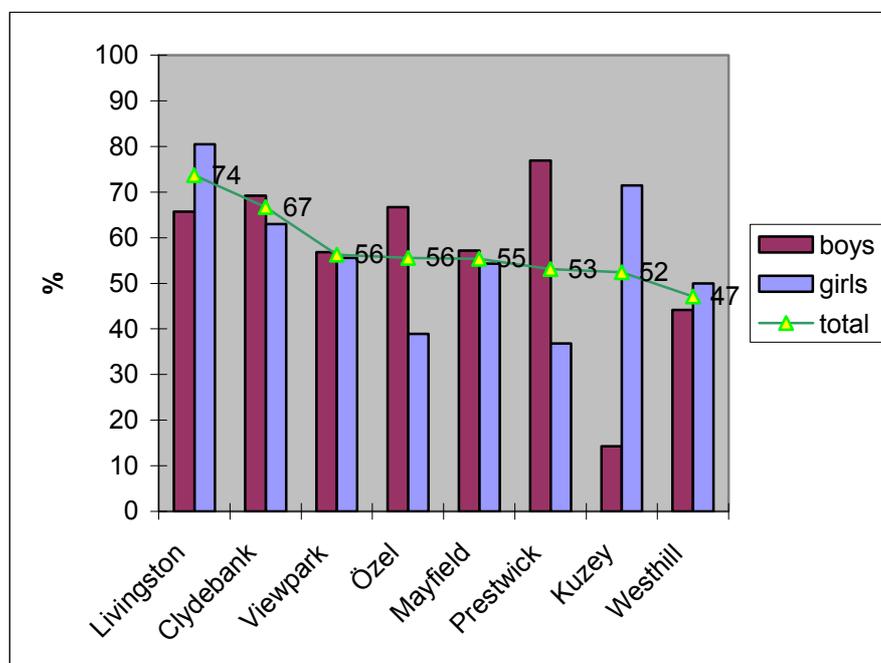
		Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other Backgrounds %	Total %
boys	agree	45	59	48	62	54
	strongly agree	9	18	30	11	15
girls	agree	59	47	52	80	58
	strongly agree	10	32	26	15	19

Boys: Chi-Square=21.5, $p < .05$., 4 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.03. Girls: Chi-Square=26.9, $p < .01$, 4 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .92.

In terms of empathy from teachers, no group of students appears to feel a greater sense of alienation or proximity than any other. A logistic regression model (not shown here) suggested that differences in schools are most important in influencing students' feeling that teachers understand what is important to them. Agreement with the proposition 'teachers understand the things that are important to me' ranges from three-quarters of students attending Livingston to fewer than half the students attending Westhill. It is interesting to note that the two private schools, which are primarily staffed by teachers drawn from the ethnic communities which they serve, do not distinguish themselves on this measure. Indeed, at Kuzey, fewer than 15 per cent of boys believe that their teachers understand what is important to them. The picture alters radically for girls, 70 per cent of whom are satisfied that their teachers understand what is important to them. The sharp gender differences measured at Kuzey, but also at a number of other schools, may in part reflect the disparity between student ambitions and the educational focus of their schools. For example, boys at Kuzey College lament the lack of vocational courses while girls at Özel are dissatisfied with the provision of a

narrow, science oriented curriculum and girls at Prestwick would appreciate a more academically rigorous environment.

Figure 8.16 Agreement with the proposition ‘teachers understand the things that are important to me’ by school and gender



Aside from some complaints of racism, ethnicity does not appear to consciously shape relationships with teachers, although at a subconscious level ethnic identities feed into the processes of accommodation and idealization which mask structural tensions at school. Relationships with teachers are strongly influenced by their wider relationship with schooling. As I will show in the next section, students’ perception of themselves as ‘active learners’ masks an ambivalent attitude towards high achievers and a classroom atmosphere, dominated by boys, which contradicts claims of harmonious academic endeavour.

Classroom atmosphere

In interviews, most students agree that the classroom atmosphere is boisterous and that their work is frequently interrupted. At Mayfield, for example, Hasna reports that the biggest obstacle to learning is distraction from friends: “my friend here, every time I sit next to her we have to bludge,

bludge, bludge and we never do any work. That's the only problem". Other students agree the classroom is rarely quiet enough for work to go on undisturbed. They feel that teachers cannot control the class, and that time spent dealing with disruptive students takes away from their ability to provide academic assistance. Students are generally not disapproving of this kind of environment, with a few exceptions ("idiots in the classroom" is nominated by Paul as a major obstacle to learning at Westhill). There is disagreement about the consequences of 'talking back' to teachers. Saniye believes that students who try "get cut" but Enima thinks that teachers are "used to it" and likely to ignore backchat.

For their part, teachers see problems in classes arising particularly when new or replacement teachers come in. Technology classes are understood by the VCE coordinator at Westhill to be the most plagued by misbehaviour. At Kuzey, an English teacher reports that discipline issues come primarily from the boys who "would rather be under a car" than at school.

Despite a disruptive work environment, 9 in 10 students believe that they are expected to work hard and more than 8 out of 10 (84%) that students want to do well in their studies. Signs of the dualism of work and play in the classroom are revealed by students' greater ambivalence towards high achievers. The belief that high achievers are well regarded is not as widespread as the personal desire to do well, with just half of students holding this belief. However, students who are expecting 'good' or 'very good' results more frequently think that high achievers are well regarded (65% to 55% of those who expect a pass). Predictably, students at Özel are most likely to believe that high achievers are well regarded by other students and that there is 'constant pressure to succeed' at their school.

In seeking to do well, most students present themselves as active participants in class. Overall, a majority of students (70%) express willingness to seek help from teachers when they have trouble understanding something. A logistic regression shows little difference in this willingness between groups of students (Table 8.3). However students' willingness to ask for help plummets when they find little value in the work they are asked to complete, expect poor results, or believe that students and teachers do not respect each

other. The likelihood of this kind of student seeking help from teachers almost halves when these factors of alienation from school and academic culture are brought into consideration.

Other forms of classroom participation are less susceptible to such alienation, and even appear to favour students who are less academically invested. Thus boys who place little value in schoolwork are more likely to feel comfortable arguing their point of view to the class than girls and students who place greater value in schoolwork. The comfort of boys stems from their social dominance rather than any academic strength. Girls, despite stronger academic attachment, are given less space to participate orally in class because well-received interventions are frequently unrelated to academic purposes (where they are relatively stronger). Interventions in class are frequently humorous, anecdotal, or otherwise tangential to schoolwork, and in this kind of performance a particular model of masculinity tends to dominate (Kenway & Willis, 1997).

Even when it comes to giving formal oral presentations, boys enjoy greater confidence than girls even when they have little academic investment.

Table 8.3 Student participation in the classroom (likelihood of responding 'often' or 'all the time') (percentage probabilities shown)

	I ask the teacher for help when I have trouble understanding something		I feel comfortable arguing my point of view to the class		I feel confident in giving oral presentations	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Gender <i>(Ref: male)</i> female	66.2	37.1	48.4**	50.9***	33.4*	29.2**
Ethnic background <i>Ref: Dominant language</i>						
Turkish	64.3	39.5	60.3*	63.7	40.9**	38.3
Arabic/Berber	72.0	38.7	68.2	69.2	53.0**	47.2
Other	75.0	43.3	61.1	60.6	53.9*	47.2
	71.1	38.7	51.6	53.0	37.4	32.8
Value placed in schoolwork⁶ <i>Ref: little</i>						
Some		39.5***		63.7***		38.3***
Much		51.5*		52.3*		24.2**
		68.2***		70.3		42.4
Expected results <i>Ref: pass good</i>						
Very good		39.5***		63.7		38.3**
		61.8***		66.2		48.1
		56.3**		67.1		57.7**
Teachers and students respect each other <i>(Ref: no)</i>						
Intercept	64.3***	49.4*	60.3**	65.5	40.9*	45.2
Nagelkerke R Square	.008	.13	.036	.072	.033	.10
Chi-square value	3.7	43.6***	13.1**	24.8***	11.7**	35.0***

Reference category is indicated by italics. * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$. Further details are in Appendix 2.

The relative discomfort of girls in speaking before the class is also reflected in the preference of some girls to work only with other girls (Table 8.4). While boys are overwhelmingly indifferent about the gender of their workmates, around 35 per cent of Turkish-background girls and 10 per cent of girls from other minority backgrounds prefer to work with other girls. In the case of Özel, classes are separated by gender, so students are used to this way of working, and the proportion of Turkish-background girls preferring to work with other girls is halved to 18 per cent once this school is excluded from the analysis.

⁶ This measure is based on strength of agreement with the propositions 'extra effort with schoolwork is worth it', 'I don't see much use in my schoolwork' (reversed) and 'I take pride in my work'. Different scales were tested, however a straight addition of base items proved to be a more than adequate measure of this dimension.

Some limited support is offered by these findings for the influence of cultural traditions of gender segregated socialising, however if this explanation is to be allowed, it could be expected that Arabic/Berber background girls would present with a more similar profile to that of Turkish background girls than is the case.

Table 8.4 Who girls feel most comfortable working with in small groups by ethnic background

	dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %
Boys	4.3	.0	3.1	2.4
Other girls	4.3	35.1	9.4	9.8
both/don't care	91.4	64.9	87.5	87.8
n	93	74	32	41

Chi-Square=34.8, DF=6, p<.001. 5 cells (41.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .80.

In the classroom, therefore, we can observe willingness to participate, but greater inhibitions amongst girls. We see a desire also to ‘have a laugh’ to break up the tedium of schoolwork and connect with the best thing about school – friends. Ethnicity does not appear strongly related to behaviour in the classroom, except to strengthen the boldness of boys from the largest ethnic groups.

Parental involvement

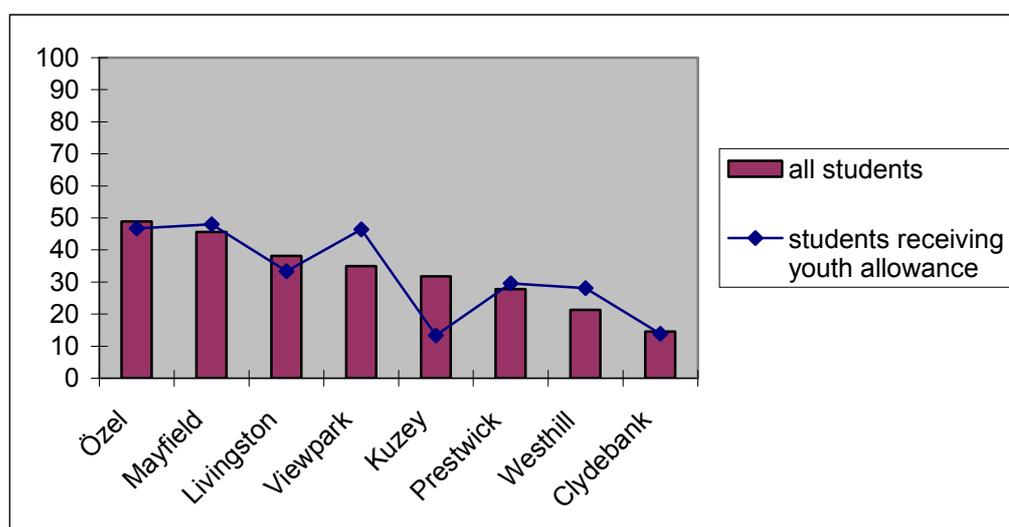
The fragility or strength of student connection to school may also be sought in the relationship parents have with schools. Prior research discussed in Chapter 2 has pointed to the more limited contact between migrant-background parents and schools, leading to misunderstandings.

Parental involvement is considered by teachers to be fairly weak outside of Kuzey and Özel. At Kuzey “parents feel like they belong” because they can talk in their language. Turkish is regularly used at the school by the administration and staff. However, Hanan reports that parents’ lack of financial resources is a challenge for teaching at Kuzey: “we couldn’t have a proper camp, we wanted to run VCE sessions and have motivational speakers, but parents couldn’t afford it”. Indeed at Kuzey, less than a third of

students report participating in camps or excursions, a figure which falls to 13 per cent of students receiving financial assistance from the government ('Youth Allowance') (Figure 8.17).

Beyond financial considerations parents also express concern about students' safety on excursions outside of Broadmeadows, believing the city centre to be dangerous. At all the schools, only a minority of students report participating in camps or excursions (Figure 8.17). Being in receipt of government assistance, a measure of low resources, does not reduce the likelihood of participating in such events except in the case of Kuzey.⁷

Figure 8.17 Participation of students in camps or excursions organised by the school (percentages)



At state schools, parental involvement appears more limited across ethnic backgrounds than at the two private schools. The Mayfield VCE co-ordinator reports that “there isn’t a sense of community with school” and observes suspicion from parents:

The parents often haven’t got a lot of education themselves. They know they want their children to get an education, but they still ...see us as the enemy. Many of them weren’t successful at school, didn’t have

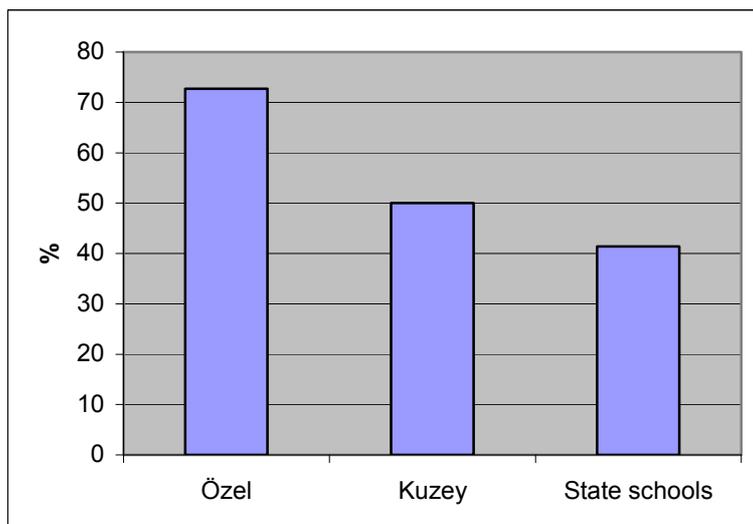
⁷ However, the information provided by students on this question may reflect not only inability to participate in activities planned for them, but also reflect differences in opportunities to attend excursions based on subject choice. Some subjects, such as Outdoor Education, offer the chance to participate in numerous outings, while other subject combinations not provide opportunity for any outing.

successful relationships at school, school was not a positive experience for them. So they find it really hard to support us in terms of their kids and their schooling.

Parents also have an expectation that school will fix problems which students face, but at the same time there is distrust of school and suspicion that teachers “pick on their kids”. The phenomenon outlined above is a key distinguishing point between parents who have grown up in Australia and those who have moved to Australia as adults and not had these experiences. Parents who have migrated from countries with limited educational facilities is that they have less often been rejected by school and more frequently simply not had access to it. This seems to place migrant parents into a relatively more positive, but not necessarily more effective or powerful, relationship with school.

Indeed, on the surface, Turkish parents appear to more often keep in touch with the school than do other parents. Whereas a quarter of dominant language-background students report that their parents keep in touch with the school and participate in school events, half of Turkish background students consider this to be the case for their parents. Other groups more closely resemble the dominant-language group (28 per cent respond in the affirmative amongst Arabic/Berber background students, 16 per cent amongst students from other groups. However, the high level of participation amongst Turkish-background parents can be partly accounted for by the strength of parent involvement at Özel. Over 70 per cent of students report the involvement of their parents at Özel compared to 40 per cent in state schools. Indeed when I visited Özel, some parents were on site helping with a building project.

Figure 8.18 Agreement with the proposition 'my parents keep in touch with the school and participate in school events' by school (Turkish background students only)



Pearson Chi-Square =11.5, $p < .01$. No cells have an expected count less than 5.

There is support in these results for stronger parental involvement in community-based private schools, but also amongst Turkish-background parents more broadly.

Other commitments

The quality of students' instructional experience is also affected by commitments outside of school. Outside of school, students confront a range of obligations which previous researchers have identified as falling most heavily on migrant-background students, and girls in particular.

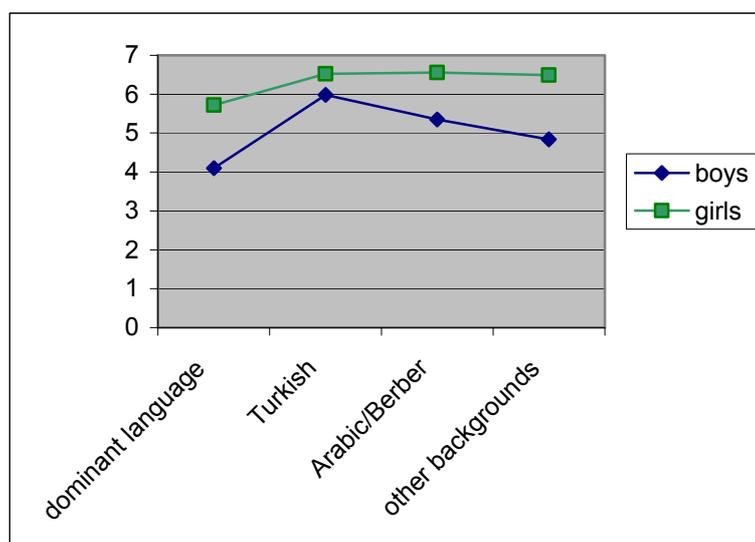
In the sample, girls do indeed face a greater burden of domestic work in the home than boys⁸ (Figure 8.19). While this has not resulted in lowered expectations or attachment to school, it adds to pressure on girls and contributes to an unequal dynamic in gender relations. A scale was calculated based on how often students help out at home with financial matters, cleaning, cooking, babysitting, and siblings' homework, with a maximum score of 15 and a minimum score of 0. The mean score for girls is significantly higher than that of boys (T-test $p < .001$). While girls from every ethnic group more often help out at home than boys, this gender distinction is greatest amongst dominant language-background students and narrowest

⁸ A scale from 0-15 has been calculated from responses to question 51 (English version questionnaire).

amongst Turkish background boys and girls. While girls from ethnic minorities help the most at home, differences between ethnic groups are not significant for girls. This contradicts the prevailing stereotype of the domestic division of labour in these communities.

Amongst boys, the differences are significant, with Turkish-background boys helping out more than even dominant language-background girls (Figure 8.19). The gap between boys and girls widens again for Arabic/Berber background students and students from smaller minority groups. These findings dispute the popularly held notion that gender relations are more equitable in the division of domestic labour in the dominant language group. They also contrast with the girls' perceptions of freedom and opportunities available to women, which, on the contrary, suggest that minority-background girls perceive the greatest gender inequalities.

Figure 8.19 Mean score on domestic help scale by gender and background (scale: 0-15)



ANOVA: Boys: $F=3.93$, $p<.01$, small to medium effect size (Eta squared=.05). Girls: $F=1.13$, $p>.1$

In addition to this domestic work, students whose parents speak little English must fulfil the role of interpreter and translator in their parents' commercial and bureaucratic transactions.

On the other hand, students from the dominant language background more often have part-time jobs. Whereas 55 per cent of dominant language background girls have some form of paid employment, this is the case for just

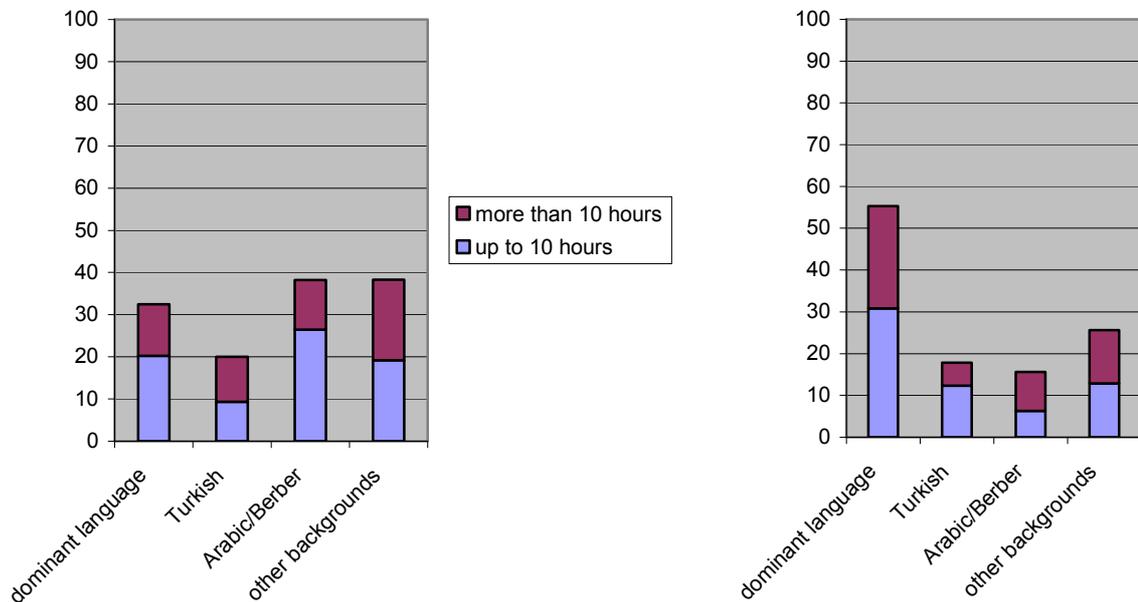
18 per cent of Turkish background girls, 16 per cent of Arabic/Berber background girls and 26 per cent of girls from other minority backgrounds. This paid employment is not inconsiderable, and extends beyond 10 hours a week in the majority of cases.

The pattern of lower work-force participation amongst minority-background students does not hold for boys, with 38 per cent of Arabic/Berber and 'other'-background boys working part-time compared to 32 per cent of dominant language-background boys and 20 per cent of Turkish-background boys. This may reflect a more protective attitude amongst Turkish parents towards girls. The dual implications for minority-background girls are greater exposure to domestic influences and obligations (reflected in the greater pull of community norms on aspirations and standards of behaviour) and reduced exposure to workplace environments.

Figure 8.20 Participation in paid employment by gender and ethnic background

Panel 1: Boys

Panel 2: Girls



Boys: Chi-square=8.525, DF=6, p>.1. Girls: Chi-square=34.62, DF=6, p<.001

Aside from helping out at home and paid employment, very few students from any group are involved in organised activities such as music lessons, debating or theatre groups. The only exception is sport, but participation rates are only around 10 per cent and this primarily concerns boys.

While school must compete with other demands on students' time; preliminary analysis suggests that these demands are not significantly related to school engagement. It is probably, however, that they detract from students' ability to perform well at school in ways they are not conscious of and which are not accessible through this study.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that while students recognise and formally espouse the purposes and norms of school life, they make efforts to make the stifling life of the classroom more bearable through discussion and humour. Teachers appear to tolerate at least some of this behaviour in order to maintain students' good-will.

Students in this study appear to be somewhat sheltered in their schools and neighbourhoods from increasingly hostile race dynamics in Australia. Nevertheless, the impact of wider events filters through into the classroom and school-yard. Friendship groups and conflict between students are also understood by participants through the prism of ethnicity, but this has not resulted in the alienation of minority-background students from school and its promises. Instead, school is able to extract loyalty by offering students leeway to stray from the more exacting demands of the curriculum and offering them the freedom to dream – a cheap price to pay.

The coexistence of adherence to academic values together with a dominant non-academic sociability is allowed, for a time at least, by the deferral of academic judgement until the very end of schooling and the acceptance of mediocrity in classroom work. However the disillusionment of students at the end of this journey is all the crueller for its delay and the burden it places on students to interrogate only their own failings, not those of the system.

At the conclusion of this section on the experiences of Turkish-background students in Australian schools, it is possible to offer some preliminary observations on implications for theoretical approaches to the study of inequality presented at the outset of this study. The findings across the three chapters are evidence of the dissonances which characterise the encounter of working-class *habitus* with school, together with a more mobile framework of sensibilities and obligations constituting an ethnic influence. Evidence for this 'ethnic framework' can be found in the ways in which students project themselves and their futures, and perform their roles of student, peer, son and daughter. This ethnic framework translates for some students into particular attitudes and perceived constraints, but finds less resonance in the deeper, unconscious realm of the cultural repertoires called upon in the symbolic work of academic success. What advantage Turkish-background students might derive from an ethnic distinction in attitudes and perceptions too often falls flat before a lack of private resources and the inability of the schools upon which they depend to provide more than the minor consolations of a comfortable social environment.

The collective efforts of Özel College provide an insight into the more ruthless and effective educational strategies which prevail at the centre of the system, but these efforts are undertaken without all of the advantages provided by the accumulation over time of capital in 'fortified sites'.

The importance of interaction with the structures of schooling in the shaping of 'ethnic frameworks' will be demonstrated by the contrasting settings of France, to which I now turn. In the following chapters I will return to the attributes of the Turkish community, this time in France, in order to point out those characteristics which distinguish the community in ways that may be relevant to the construction of school experience. I will show how the Turkish population in France is similar in many regards to that in Australia, but that the way in which ethnic relations are framed is quite different in French society more generally, and in the education system in particular. I will structure my analysis according to the same themes as I have already covered in relation to the Australian setting in order to show how the French system works to produce quite different aspirations, ways of managing schoolwork and social relations at school.

Chapter 9.

Turkish migrants in France

In order to provide proper context for my discussion of the French sample, I wish to draw out some of the specificities of the reception and economic integration of Turkish migrants in France. The recent history of migration to France has been framed by a political model which is hostile to the maintenance of ethnic identities and has increasingly given rise to contestation and resentment over the entitlements and obligations of migrants. At the same time, the material conditions of Turkish and other post-war migrants (including housing, employment, opportunities) have favoured the maintenance of strong community identities and loyalties. In this chapter I will show how, relative to the Australian setting, more strongly assimilationist traditions in France have placed distinctive pressures on the Turkish community.

Background to migration in France

The presence of immigrants in French society is not a recent phenomenon. Indeed the proportion of migrants in the population in the 1980s was almost identical to that in the 1930s, with smaller numbers in the period around the second world war (Richard & Tripier, 1999: 173). Post-war migration has come from new sources and been framed by the politics of colonialism and decolonisation. The arrival of large numbers of Algerians with French nationality in the 1950s was followed in the 1960s by waves from other former colonies, marking the beginning of mass labour migration. In the twenty years following 1954, the number of 'foreigners' in France doubled. Unlike Australia, where the state regulated immigration, in France employers were the chief organisers of the influx – 80 per cent of arrivals by 1968 occurred outside the auspices of the *Office National d'Immigration* (Richard & Tripier, 1999: 175). The North African countries of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco have provided the greatest number of migrants, while within Europe, Portugal, Italy and Spain also provided workers to France. Currently Turkish nationals comprise largest cohort outside of North Africa in numbers of children attending school (Eurydice European Unit, 2004: 4).

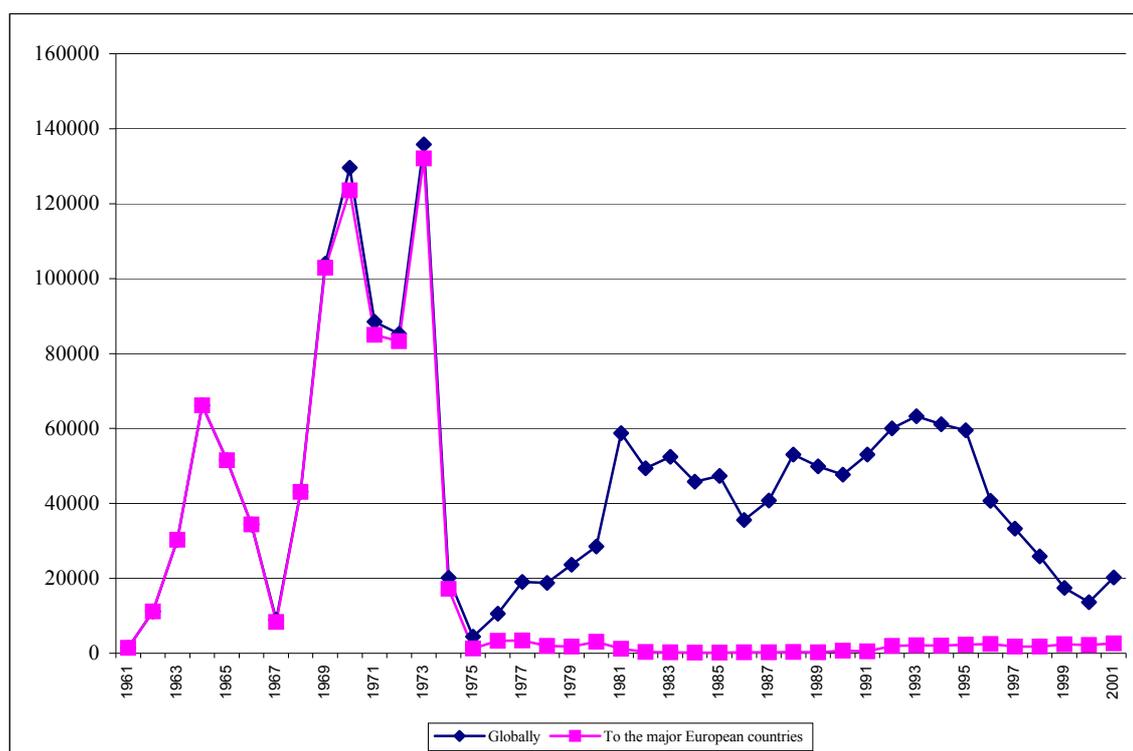
The 1974 oil crisis resulted in the suspension of immigration, and subsequent arrivals have tended to be through family reunion, and for a much smaller number, refugee programs. Over this period, as in Australia, there has been a decline in the secondary industries and construction where migrant workers are concentrated. Over the twenty years following the first oil crisis, the contribution of industry to French national production reduced from 38 per cent to 28 per cent while the service sector went from 56 per cent to almost 70 per cent (Boissonat, 1995: 10).

The working class character of migration is stronger in France than in Australia and nine out of ten migrants began working in France on the factory floor or building site. A quarter of migrant background workers remain unskilled labourers compared to only 8 per cent of French born (Richard & Tripier, 1999: 181-182). In all, close to 80 per cent of migrant fathers are, or were, manual workers (Simon, 2003: 1104). The rise of the National Front and social tension around immigration is based upon the pressure felt by non-migrant workers who have understood their increased economic precarity as associated with the increased presence of migrants. There is also evidence of discrimination against those of migrant background in the job market from employers (Frickey & Primon, 2002) and a keen awareness of this discrimination amongst those of migrant background.

The economic conditions of migration

Petek-Salom distinguishes two waves of Turkish migration, the first being by far the largest. Figure 9.1 shows increases in labour migration from Turkey in the early 1960s, primarily to Germany, followed by even higher levels of labour migration in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as demand from other European countries increased. The oil crisis of 1975 is registered by a dramatic drop in the numbers migrating to Europe.

Figure 9.1 Labour migration from Turkey



Source: Statistical Yearbook, Ministry of Labour and Social Security General Directorate of Turkish Employment Organisation, Ankara, 2001.

Initially many men came to France on their own, and were later joined by their families from the mid 1970s onwards. This first wave of migrants was of overwhelmingly rural origin, and today more than 70 per cent of Turkish migrants are from a rural background (Simon, 2003: 1096). A second, smaller group of migrants is made up of political refugees who arrived after the military coup in Turkey in 1980, many of whom are Kurds.

In the first wave of migration most saw work in Europe as a means of saving to build a better life upon return to Turkey. However, as in Australia, this perspective gradually gave way to one of permanent settlement. In contrast to Australia, where government viewed Turkish migrants as permanent settlers, in France the realisation that labour migrants would not return home has led to bitter resentment as economic circumstances have become less favourable and competition for jobs fiercer.

By 1999 there were between 350 000 and 400 000 Turks living in France (Petek-Salom, 1999: 149). The assimilationist ambitions of the French

republican model have meant that no data is collected on ancestry, and figures are based on either country of birth or nationality, thereby making the second generation particularly difficult to study. The *'Enquête Histoire Familiale'* conducted by the French national institute for statistics (INSEE) does however permit identification of the country of birth of parents (Simon, 2003). According to these data, the second generation aged 18 and above constitutes just over a fifth of those of Turkish background, a smaller proportion than for comparable groups due to the more recent migration of Turks (Table 9.1). It is likely that the proportions are closer to 50/50 when second generation children aged under 18 are taken into account.

Table 9.1 Immigrant generations according to origin (%) (individuals aged 18 and above)

	Immigrants %	Generation 1.5 ¹ %	Generation 2 %	Total %
Morocco	57	11	32	100
Turkey	64.2	14.2	21.6	100
Portugal	58.1	11.8	30.1	100
All origins	34.9	9.9	55.2	100

Source: Calculations from Simon based on INSEE 1999 *Enquête Histoire Familiale* (Simon, 2003).

With the shift to a service economy and high unemployment, many in the first generation are out of the workforce, despite the fact that just 8 per cent are aged over 60 (Table 9.2). Migrant workers are particularly vulnerable to work-place accidents and redundancy due to their concentration in jobs with poor working conditions in industry, construction, and public works. Almost three quarters Turkish migrants are in blue collar occupations, while unemployment ranges from close to 30 per cent for men to close to 50 per cent for women (Table 9.2).

Apart from being relatively more youthful, the Turkish first generation is even more proletarian in character than comparable migrant groups. The Portuguese migrants are further separated from the Turks and Moroccans by their lower unemployment rate and correspondingly higher rate of workforce participation for both men and women.

¹ Generation 1.5 = migrated as children, generation 2 = born in France.

Table 9.2 Demographic profile of the first generation by country of birth

%	Morocco	Turkey	Portugal
<i>Age structure</i>			
0-17	6.9	8.6	0.3
18-59	81.8	83.8	82.3
60+	11.4	7.6	14.6
<i>Occupational structure</i>			
Farmers	6.9	3.8	2.6
Independent workers	6.6	8.4	6.3
Top professionals	6.2	1.9	2.2
Middle executives	10.1	5.1	8.5
employees	13.7	7.7	11.7
Service staff	9.7	4.4	18.3
Manual workers	42.8	64.1	50.1
<i>Unemployment rate</i>			
total	30.8	33.3	10.6
Males	27.2	27.2	9.8
Females	37.9	48.2	11.6
<i>labour force participation</i>			
Total	53.7	56.6	80.2
Males	74.2	78.9	87.7
Females	32.3	32.9	72.1

Source: INSEE 1999 census data (Simon, 2003: 1097).

In the region of Alsace, where the present study was undertaken, 93 per cent (26,000 out of a total of 28,000) of Turkish nationals are either 'employees', 'manual workers' or 'not working'. Out of these three categories, 'not working' accounts for the vast bulk (Table 9.3). It must be remembered that around a third of migrants have French nationality, and so do not appear in these figures, and that patterns of female participation in the workforce help to account for differences in the numbers not working (Table 9.3). Turkish women have low rates of workforce participation, hindered by their poor French language skills (Simon, 2003: 1096).

Table 9.3 Employment by nationality in Alsace in percentiles (1999 Census, INSEE)

	French born %	Portuguese %	Moroccan %	Turkish %
agricultural workers	1	0	0	0
skilled trades and business	2	3	1	3
professionals/managers	5	1	1	0
associate professional	11	4	3	1
sales/clerical	13	16	8	5
manual labourers	15	42	28	30
retired	17	8	4	2
others without employment	36	26	55	59
Total	100	100	100	100
total number	1530002	11170	14276	28270

Petek-Salom (1998) suggests that there is a trend towards business and commercial activities amongst Turkish migrants in urban centres, although this is not reflected in the figures to date.

Geographical location

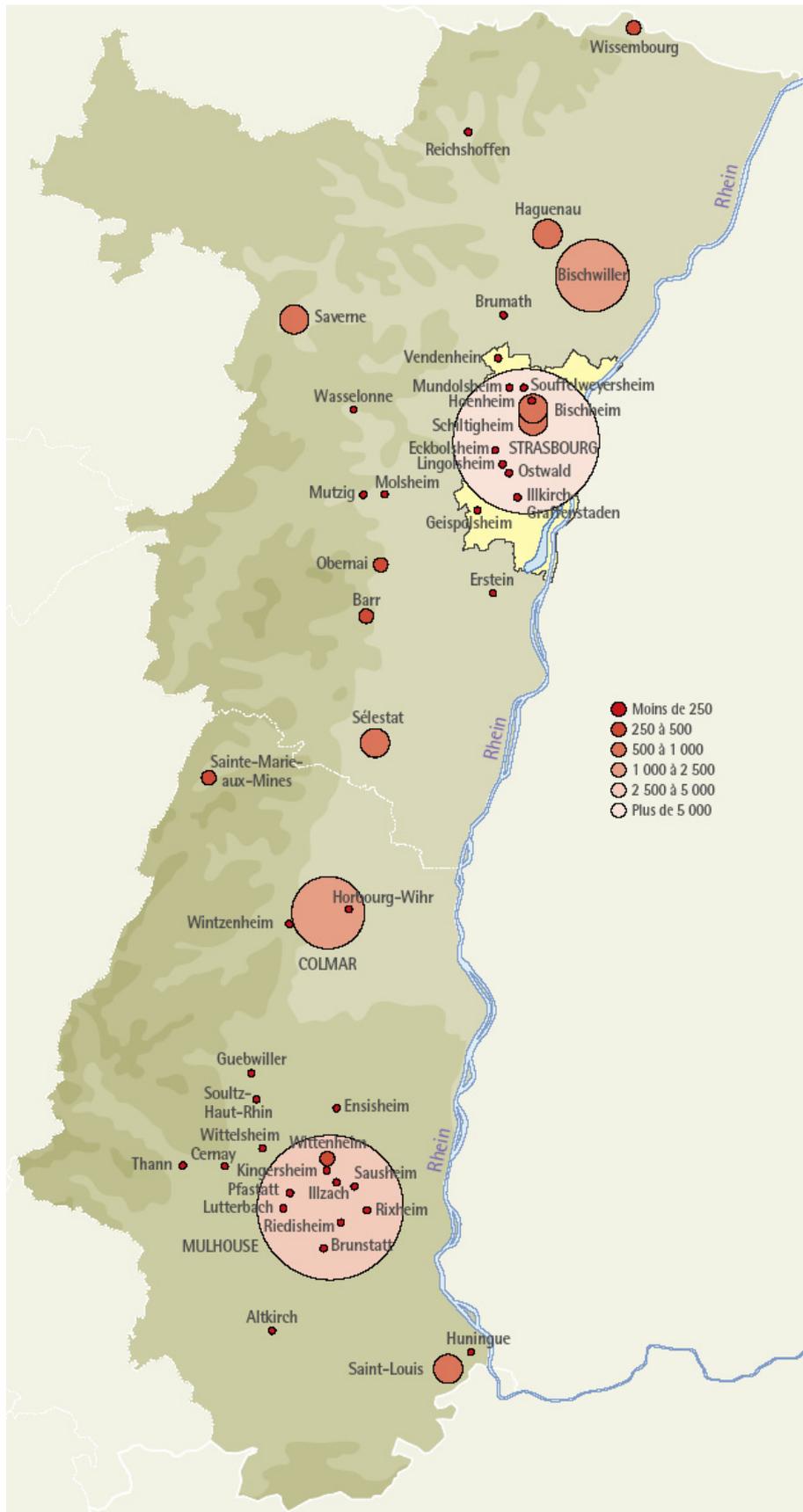
The Turkish community in France is primarily located in the vast, often dilapidated housing estates constructed in the 1960s and 70s, where those who came to meet the demand for unskilled labour, and have suffered most from ongoing economic restructuring are most highly concentrated. Seventy-eight per cent of Turkish migrants live in public housing estates where more than a third of residents are also migrants (Tribalat, 1995: 126).

Government and press accusations of 'communitarianism' (AFP, 2003) indeed attribute a wilful quality not only to the maintenance of a set of cultural values, but to the particular combination of social and residential segregation which results in urban Turkish networks. These accusations of separatism, coming from both sides of politics, are frequently expressed together with fears of 'tribalism' or 'balkanisation', creating a 'racialised' category (Jennings, 2000). Former Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin termed the residential concentration of migrants and the maintenance of ethnic identities 'ghettoisation' (AFP, 2003). In areas with large migrant populations, high unemployment and schools in difficulty, better-off students are more likely to

attend private schools or to travel out of the area to more distant state schools (Bronner, 2003; Felouzis, 2003).

Outside of Paris, the Turkish population of France is concentrated in the east, particularly in Alsace which is home to 28 270 Turks according to the 1999 census. The patterns of settlement in Alsace are peculiar, in that home ownership is more common than elsewhere, as is settlement in smaller towns. One such town, Bischwiller, has come to be referred to as "*Turkwiller*" in light of the concentration of Turkish migrants. Strasbourg and its surrounds provide the terrain for the present study as a consequence of this concentration.

Figure 9.2 Turkish residents in Alsace in municipalities with over 5,000 inhabitants



Source: Université Robert Schuman, Strasbourg 2003.

The politicisation of ethnicity in France

The 'non-European' second generation in France has become a highly politicised group in France and the target of centre-right national governments through a vicious cycle of social exclusion, heavy handed law and order practices, and delinquency. Turkish background youth are not a distinctive object of concern, but tend to be amalgamated into the more generic category of 'migrant youth', which in turn is interchangeable with the descriptions 'Arab' and '*Maghrébin*'. Analysing the constructs of the nation-state, Abdelmalek Sayad suggests that the 'disturbances' of migrants constitute a double transgression because there is an extra obligation to respect the established order when one is 'foreign to this order, its history, the history of its genesis and its functioning, its ethics, its morality, its value system; one must submit to it, one owes it respect and obedience' (Sayad, 1999: 9). The children of migrants are the most embarrassing 'guests', because they are also products of national mechanisms of cultural reproduction and integration and so represent a disturbing rupture in the national–migrant dichotomy (Sayad, 1999: 12-13). An editorial in the *Nouvel Observateur* encapsulates this sentiment 'What shocks, irritates and disconcerts', writes Jean Daniel,

...is the affirmation of a collective difference and a belonging to a community exterior to the nation. What shocks, irritates and disconcerts is that the guests of a state do not have the politeness to respect the laws, and above all the struggles, of their hosts (Daniel, 2003).

The racialisation of (non-European) migration through the repetition of links between "immigration, economic crisis, unemployment and the ideas of substitution and national preference" (Silverman, 1992: 91) collapses the heterogeneous ethnicities, practices and beliefs encompassed by migrants to France. The increasing importance of religion as a marker of ethnicity and foreignness since the 1980s contrasts with earlier periods when Islam was barely mentioned in political discourse. Now it appears as the primary 'incompatibility' in the 'problem of migration' (De Wenden, 1991).

The contentiousness of public expressions of Islam has led to the banning of the hijab in schools. It is instructive to consider this debate as an illustration of the role of the school in Republican ideology; the social and economic position of Muslims; and dominant representations of migrants and Islam.

The headscarf controversy, in its current form, emerged in France after the exclusion from school in 1989 of three students who arrived wearing the hijab, with confrontational incidents recurring as recently as September 2003 (for accounts see Limage, 2000; Silverman, 1992). In February 2004 legislation to strengthen the existing administrative directive effectively banning the hijab from state schools passed through parliament with near universal support.

The French state stakes its claim to legitimacy on the identification of citizens who share the 'universal' values of equality, secularism and freedom offered by the Republic. Cultural and religious differences must be managed in order to preserve 'a space ordered by the common good alone, and open to all' (Benguigui & Peña-Ruiz, 2002). A 'free, secular, and compulsory' national education system is one of the key guarantors of republican values, and as such is the site of some of the hottest contestations of their content and taxonomy.

One of the founding functions of the national (and colonial) education system is the neutralisation of regional and religious allegiances through a uniform curriculum banning religious content and the use of any language other than French (Fanon, 1970; Jennings, 2000). This has been re-articulated in the current debate to respond to the new 'threat' to national unity.

Wearing a hijab to school has come to symbolise not only a breach of long accepted conditions of neutrality by the students themselves, but a threat to the very conditions of existence of the Republic, most notably, its exclusive right to a direct relationship with individuals as citizens, rather than through the state's rivals, intermediary communities and groups (Kepel, 1994). At stake is 'control of the productive and reproductive functions of schooling' and hence the legitimate definition of society (Knight, Smith, & Sachs, 1990: 142).

A section of the second generation of Muslim-background migrants in France has joined in a movement towards 're-Islamicisation'. This mobilisation has taken place during a period of decline in anti-racist movements and the traditional left as effective voices for the marginalised (Kepel, 1994: 211). Islam here is more than an aspect of the current generation's heritage. A numerically small Islamic revival in the housing estates represents a political mobilisation appealing to a section of what Kepel calls 'this new proletariat of youth' (1994: 12).

The polemic over the hijab in schools is therefore a site for the playing out of anxieties over ethnically and religiously coded 'social exclusion'. It is a displacement and deferral of a debate over the social consequences of a class divided society in which Muslim migrants occupy the bottom rung and an Islamic revival provides a point of opposition.

Lack of loyalty to the French nation is postulated from 'alien' ethnic and religious loyalties. This slippage enables a recuperation of dispossessed non-migrant workers through the attribution of their dispossession to the illegitimate claims of their neighbours. The failures of the French state to deal with the obvious and jarring emblems of social dislocation represented by the housing estates contribute to the desire for abstraction into debates problematising religion and race.

We can see from some contributions to the debate over the hijab the conflation of poor upbringing, lack of education, migration and residential location:

You pretend not to be an Islamist? Who do you think we are? Take responsibility for yourself! You act clever: you pretend that you don't live on a housing estate. And yet, your language, your incoherent remarks don't appear to indicate that you belong to the privileged social strata even though you would like to make us believe it by playing arrogant. People of quality behave in keeping and have a polished tongue which is not your case. (*Nouvel Observateur* Forum, 27 May 2003)

This process of symbolic investment in the hijab works through the establishment of binary oppositions (Table 9.4), which I have analysed at greater length elsewhere (Windle, 2004).

Table 9.4 Oppositions in the debate over the hijab

<i>Republicanism</i>	<i>Islam</i>
Secular	Religious
Rational	Irrational
Citizenship	Group membership
Freedom	Submission
Enlightened	Medieval
Civilised	Barbaric
Equality	Inequality
Specific to French nation	Alien to French nation
Inclusive	Exclusive
Universal	Partial
Tolerant	Intolerant
Open	Closed
Host	Guest

The structure of the Turkish community in France

The Turkish community in France shows a similar strength to its Australian counterpart, but exists in a framework of assimilation which frowns upon the very notion of community as opposed to the virtues of individual citizenship. The low rates of uptake of French nationality are seen as a sign of this 'refusal'. Just 5 per cent of the first generation hold French citizenship compared to 26 per cent of Moroccan born and 20 per cent of Portuguese born. However rules against dual citizenship at the time of migration and poor knowledge of naturalisation procedures provides a more plausible explanation than a purported desire to spit in the face of French national pride.

However some researchers have identified a "defensive traditionalism" in the Turkish community (Kastoryano, 1998: 3), relating primarily to religion and language but also to national or regional pride. Tribalat is most scathing about the Turks in her demographic work on migration, singling them out as inward looking and wilfully placing themselves on the margins of French society (Tribalat, 1995: 222).

Islam is central to Turkish identity in France, as in Australia, however Turks constitute a smaller proportion of the total Muslim population. There are roughly five million Muslims in France, mostly of North African background,

with Turks coming in second place. For the Turkish community, Islamic values are a point of communality and an essential part of Turkish identity². Amongst the 15-24 year olds in Irtis-Dabbagh's study, 96.5 per cent declared themselves to be Muslim and 22.6 per cent said that they practiced Islam regularly. This represents a decrease from the first generation, where 42 per cent of women and 31 per cent of men claim to practice Islam regularly (Irtis-Dabbagh, 2003a: 4). According to her findings, Islam is a cultural heritage rather than a fundamental component of identity for mainly in the second generation. However this view is not supported by the present study or elsewhere in the literature.

In the context of French hostility to 'inward looking' ethnic communities, Kastoryano points out that this form of social organisation is not merely a throwback to premodern social formations. Instead, it constitutes a resource for their individual members in granting them social recognition, and that they are actively constructed in response to the conditions of settlement (Kastoryano, 1998: 2).

Chain migration often leads to the regrouping of families from particular regions or villages in particular urban areas or workplaces (Kastoryano, 1998). Tribalat identifies Turks as the group which go out to socialise the least, they are most likely to socialise in the homes of friends and neighbours (Tribalat, 1995: 119). 60 per cent mainly visit and receive other Turks (Tribalat, 1995: 123).

Community is also symbolised by organisations based around social activities, sport or religion. Mutual support is also the goal of some associations, which offer advice on migration, and literacy and language classes. However unlike Australia, Europe is home to powerful political and religious organisations which aim to influence the political landscape of Turkey, such as the Islamic party *Rafah*. Others have as their goal to gain recognition of the community in France and to act as a voice for its interests. Despite the conflicting and fragmented picture of the Turkish community the diversity of associations might suggest, their mutual recognition of each other and the common reference point of Turkey tends to strengthen a Turkish identification (Kastoryano, 1998: 7).

² A tiny minority of migrants from Turkey are Chaldean Catholics.

Expectations placed on the second generation

The Turkish second generation is heavily constrained by the wishes of their parents. However girls in particular are seeking to redefine their gender roles, often through education. Boys are less likely to transgress family values and gender prerogatives because these are less onerous for them, according to Petek-Salom (Petek-Salom, 1998: 21).

Typically marriage choice is tightly controlled by parents and finding a spouse in Turkey is considered to be a great advantage (Petek-Salom, 1998). Endogamy is the norm, with 82 per cent of couples counting both partners of Turkish background (Petek-Salom, 1998: 20). Endogamy is considered to be the best way to guarantee a stable and successful marriage, and traditional patterns such as marrying cousins or distant relatives remain strong, particularly in smaller towns (Irtis-Dabbagh, 2003b:6). Indeed Turks who marry in France are more likely to marry a cousin than those who marry prior to arrival (a third compared to a quarter) (Tribalat, 1995: 60). The comments of a young engaged woman reflect the importance of parents in marriage:

I would like my husband to be able to communicate in Turkish with my parents. We do everything for our families, don't we? Why do you think we are getting married? So that everything will seem right and beautiful to the family (in Irtis-Dabbagh, 2003b: 9).

In regards to relations between parents and their children the following elements, Irtis-Dabbagh (2003a) highlights the following elements: an authoritarian father who manages the family together with a more neutral, tolerant mother who takes a mediating role; the softening of the 'hard' image of the father in some cases; a lack of deep engagement in verbal communication between children and parents; the appearance of the 'French family' as a point of reference for more 'democratic' relations; and fraternal relations based on mutual protection and support, including help with school work. Mutual social support is more tangible in the case of young girls who are confronted with greater parental control. The oldest child has particular responsibility in looking out for siblings, which Irtis-Dabbagh identifies as the most visible characteristic of Turkish families (Irtis-Dabbagh, 2003a: 5). As in

Australia, young girls are sometimes overburdened with housework and childcare and both sexes bear responsibility for interpreting and managing interactions with bureaucracies.

Families are most often characterised by a 'protectionist model' where discipline and obedience are important. In common with Petek-Salom, Irtis-Dabbagh sees young girls as being 'modernising agents' in these settings because they have more to gain from change than young men. Finally, Turkish families tend to be much larger than other families in France, which has tended to place them at a disadvantage educationally.

The forms and enforcement of community norms

Petek-Salom sees a powerful and negative impact on young people, particularly women from the place of honour, shame and gossip in enforcing social norms. She describes a majority of Turkish women who "remain sacrificed on the alter of 'honour' and the rules of conformity, obligated to quasi feudal traditional norms. These women suffer "violence, being shut in, privations and checks" (Petek-Salom, 1998: 20). However she notes that the second generation of girls is seeking to break free of this mould. Constraints essentially concern going out in the evening or alone and leaving home before marriage – which may give rise to rumours about loss of virginity. The obligation to retain virginity before marriage is the most important form of honour, or *namus*. Irtis-Dabbagh notes that some girls engage in self-censorship by not expressing to their family any desire to socialise outside of the family unit, and that this has an isolating effect (Irtis-Dabbagh, 2003a: 6). Honour is also evoked as a constraining influence by men. One young man, promised in marriage to his cousin at birth, explains how it would "pose problems for the honour of the family" if he did not go through with the union – which he eventually did (Irtis-Dabbagh, 2003b: 11).

Maintenance of Turkish

Communications within the family are most likely to occur in Turkish, but this practice is less frequent between second generation siblings (Irtis-Dabbagh, 2003a: 4-5). 56 per cent of Turks only speak Turkish at home, a mere 7 per cent only speak French (Tribalat, 1995: 48). In the present study all Turkish-

background respondents report speaking Turkish at home. The French government has supported the community aspiration to maintain Turkish through the "*Langues et Cultures d'Origine*" program since 1974. These courses are financed and organized by the country of origin with teachers coming from Turkey (Heckmann, 1999), but only concern new arrivals. A small number of secondary schools in Alsace also offer Turkish as part of the mainstream curriculum.

While the second generation is considered to be fluent in French, virtually all women and 75 per cent of men in the first generation speak French with difficulty or not at all (Petek-Salom, 1998:20). Illiteracy in French is widespread, particularly amongst women, close to half of whom cannot complete an administrative procedure unaided (Simon, 2003: 1096). However a larger proportion are literate in Turkish (69%) (Tribalat, 1995: 42). Tribalat considers a lack of ability in French to be the key to an inward turn in the French community (*'repli communautaire'*) (Tribalat, 1995: 45) and illustrative of a lack of will to assimilate. She writes suggests that the use of French within the family would be a sign of "a desire by parents to do what is needed for their children to succeed and allow a greater acculturation of children" (Tribalat, 1995: 46-47).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that France retains social divisions along ethnic lines, and that these are more politicised than in the Australian setting. These divisions symbolically and socially position Turkish migrants together with other groups from former French colonies in North Africa. I have suggested that Turkish migrants in France, as in Australia, have retained distinctive traditions and norms which have been passed on to the second generation. However rather than merely being maintained, these norms and traditions have been shaped by the distinctive terrain of French society. While the norms and traditions evident in the Turkish community are not all exclusive to that community, in the following chapter I will show that they have played out in some distinctive ways in the field of education. In the next chapter I will discuss how the distinctive characteristics of the Turkish community have been interpreted as contributing to the schooling of Turkish-

background students in France. I will continue the comparisons with other groups which share some commonalities with the Turks in terms of migration.

Chapter 10.

The education of Turkish-background students in France

This chapter is concerned with the implications of the structural location of Turkish migrants in France, and the distinctive responses of both state and ethnic community to their situation, for the ways Turkish families have engaged with education. The Turkish community's encounter with educational institutions in France has not generated a large literature, with data only recently becoming available on what Simon (2003) has called the "unknown second generation". Research in France generally identifies migrants in binary opposition to French nationality or birth, without delving into particular ethnic backgrounds. The bulk of research has focused on North African-background migrants from countries formerly under French control (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia) and described collectively in French as '*le Maghreb*'.

Unlike Australia, where earlier groups have come to be viewed as successful users of education, French research has highlighted both educational difficulties and discrimination in the job market. However, controlling for socio-economic and family characteristics, a recent analysis suggests that migrant-background students suffer little disadvantage in primary school and are slightly better off at the secondary level than non-migrant-background students (Vallet & Caille, 1995, 1996). The 'all else being equal' statistical approach used in this research can obscure the fact that all else is far from equal as two thirds of working-class households are of 'foreign' nationality and a half of all working-class origin young people are of migrant background (Van Zanten, 2001: 4). One of the specificities of what Van Zanten labels "peripheral schools" is precisely this overrepresentation of migrant-background families (2001: 3).

The impetus for research

The assumption that immigrants would quickly integrate into French society has held back investigations into outcomes for migrant-background students until recently. However, with the growing importance of educational

credentials for a successful transition to work and the decline of blue-collar occupations, the second generation's chances for social mobility through schooling have come under increasing scrutiny. Increases in retention through senior secondary school have come as unemployment rates for young people without qualifications have risen to quadruple 1975 levels (to 40%) and more than doubled for even the most highly qualified (Table 10.1).

Table 10.1 Evolution of unemployment rates for those in the labour market aged under 25 by level of qualification (percentages)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2002
<i>No qualification</i>	11.0	17.8	36.5	30.4	40.5	42.3	39.5
<i>CAP/BEP</i>	5.1	11.6	21.3	15.2	22	20.5	19.1
<i>Baccalauréat</i>	5.3	11.3	17.3	13.3	20.1	14.5	14.9
<i>Tertiary</i>	4.2	6.9	7.5	7.3	16.1	10.5	11.5
<i>Total unemployment</i>	7.3	13.9	23.7	18.1	24.0	19.3	18.7

Source : MEN-DEP, *l'état de l'école* n. 13, 2003 in (Cacouault & Oeuvrard, 2003: 68).

The unemployment rates of young people of Turkish, North African and sub-Saharan African-background are close to double those of non migrant-background, and even higher in the estates where the most disadvantaged are concentrated (Silberman & Fournier, 2006: 16). Other groups, such as Portuguese-background youth, experience similar unemployment rates to the general population (Table 10.2), in line with the lower unemployment rate of their parents.

Those of non-European background, who are most vulnerable on the labour market, also face discrimination from employers, which tends to undermine the effectiveness of educational investment as a strategy for gaining economic position (Frickey & Primon, 2002).

Table 10.2 Unemployment Rate according To the Level of Education and by Generation and Origin, France, 1999 (In % for those aged 18-40)

	No qualification	Vocational School	Baccalauréat	University
Turkey Generation 1.5 ¹	54.9	30.2	34.4	*
Turkey Generation 2	56.2	33.5	32.3	17.2
Morocco Generation 1.5	49.6	42.1	46.3	12.5
Morocco Generation 2	48	36.8	25	17
Portugal Generation 1.5	15.7	14.4	18.7	15.7
Portugal Generation 2	29.6	21.9	16.4	10.4
Total population	30.5	18.2	17	10.9

Source: INSEE EHF, calculations by Simon (Simon, 2003:).

* non-significant numbers

Simon cites discrimination against North African, African and Turkish-background young people as a major explanation for their “less favourable integration trajectories” (2003: 1092). The most visible expression of this is high drop out rates from school and a high rate of unemployment. Around 20 per cent of Turkish-background people feel they have been victims of discrimination in the labour market – a lower rate than that of North African background (40% of boys, 30% of girls). Young people feel this discrimination is based on their surname and the colour of their skin (Silberman & Fournier, 2006: 25).

Yet the theory of disadvantage arising from discrimination is relatively recent and remains contested. When the children of migrants were first entering school in the 1980s, it was assumed by many that their stay was only temporary, and that schooling in France was not of great concern. Over time, the initial goal of saving as much as possible before returning to Turkey gradually transformed into the ‘myth of return’ upon retirement for the first generation. At the very least, parents expect their children to complete their studies in France (Irtis-Dabbagh, 2003a). It has been suggested that socialisation in an atmosphere “marked by the precarious and provisional situation of their parents” provides the second generation with an identity

¹ ‘Generation 1.5’ refers to students who migrated as children, ‘Generation 2’ refers to the French-born children of migrants.

crisis which may negatively affect their schooling (Gokalp, 1985), although little evidence has been provided for such a psychological account. The notion of identity crisis has provided in France the first elements of an explanatory model for the poor outcomes of migrant-background students more generally.

A variation on the crisis provoked by conflicting identities is the crisis provoked by rejection of 'French values', described as '*le repli identitaire*' (inward cultural turn). In this perspective, the Turkish community is seen as putting up a symbolic boundary around itself, and the resultant cultural isolation creates disadvantage at school. The signs of this isolationism seized upon by French researchers are often superficial, with Tribalat even condemning Turkish youth for favouring 'folkloric music' over the pop music favoured by French youth (1995: 48). Simon and Tribalat also warn about the danger facing the Turkish community due to its low uptake of French citizenship, however rules against dual citizenship were in place in Turkey until 1981 and many who migrated prior to that date may not be aware of the change.

The maintenance of Turkish has also been taken as a sign of this inward cultural turn, one whose consequences are reflected not just on the level of identity, but in students' cognitive functioning. It has been claimed that the linguistic barrier faced by Turks is greater due to non-Indo European or Semitic basis of Turkish (Gokalp, 1985). The non-standard or non academic vernacular spoken in the Turkish community has also been grounds for concern:

Bilingualism acquired in a 'lycée international' is not the same as that of an immigrant child. Composite, often impoverished and deformed, the languages spoken within families with little education, who emigrated several years previously, do not satisfy academic criteria (Costa-Lascoux, 1989: 77).

Accounts such as this are laced with cultural judgements which have little linguistic basis, but which serve to underline the personal qualities found

lacking in migrant populations by the educational institutions through which they pass.

The education levels of the first generation of migrants remain, however, a key to understanding contact between Turkish families and school. Education levels in the first generation are low, reflecting their largely rural origins. Around half of the parents in Irtis-Dabbagh's study had completed primary school, while a further 17.5 per cent of men and 13 per cent of women had completed lower secondary studies. Just 7 per cent of parents graduated from secondary education and 16,5 per cent of men and 21 per cent of women either have no education or left before the end of primary school (Irtis-Dabbagh, 2003b: 5). In the 1990s, 31 per cent of women and 8 per cent of men of Turkish birth had never been to school (Tribalat, 1995: 23).

In France, contact between families and schools remains minimal, with the importance of siblings in helping to navigate the system demonstrated by the advantage provided by an older sibling at university (Tribalat, 1995). In some instances contact with school is in fact more frequent than is the case for French-background students, but this is related to the higher frequency of parents being called in to discuss behavioural and academic problems.

In recognition of the difficult relationship between families and schools, some local authorities employ 'mediators' to facilitate the resolution of problems, similar to the Australian practice of schools employing 'multicultural' education aides. In 1996 the Ministry of Education organised the distribution of a document in Turkish and other languages of migration entitled 'School at the Heart of Life' with the aim of increasing knowledge about the education system and the role of parents (Eurydice European Unit, 2004: 7). Further, the criteria used for defining a *Zone d'Éducation Prioritaire* (ZEP) include the number of families in which at least one member is a non-European Union national.

Students of non-French nationality make up 5 per cent of students outside of ZEPs (education priority zones) but up to 22 per cent within them, highlighting the residential concentration of migrants in particular areas in France. A third of foreign nationality students within such zones attend schools where more than half of their peers are also of foreign nationality

(Simon, 2003: 1109). In keeping with the French system's refusal to distinguish between students, ZEP funding is used by schools not to assist migrant-background students in particular, but to reduce class sizes and improve facilities. Short term *classes d'accueil* (transition classes) are the only provision to help new arrivals learn French and adapt to the education system, and these are only available in a few schools.

The evolving structure of secondary education

The encounter of Turkish-background students with the French education system has occurred over a period of expansion and transformation of educational structures. As the final years of secondary schooling take on new social roles, so too they open up to new youth cultures and forms of socialisation (Dubet, 1991).

The push for greater retention has led to an expansion in vocational studies, and the lengthening of these studies. Whereas previously students entered vocational training at the end of primary school or in the first years of secondary education, now the weakest students are directed towards vocational senior secondary schools at the end of *collège* (the four years of junior high school) to study much devalued two year diplomas (BEP and CAP)². Around 30 per cent of these students then go on to complete a two year 'Baccalauréat professionnel' (vocational 'bac'). The '*Bac pro*' was established in 1985, the same year education minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement announced the goal of 80 per cent completion. In 1980, 38.9 per cent of students leaving school did so with no qualification or only the '*Brevet des collèges*' (junior secondary school leaving certificate). By 2000, this figure had fallen to 21.2 per cent (Cacouault & Oeuvarard, 2003: 66). Working class families, of which migrant-background students constitute a large segment, have been particularly affected by the development of vocational education, where they are most highly concentrated (Table 10.3).

² BEP = *Brevet d'études professionnelles* (Diploma of vocational studies; directed at students who may undertake some further specialised training), CAP = *Certificat d'aptitude professionnel* (Certificate of vocational aptitude; prepares students directly for work). All students enrolled in vocational education in the present study are in a BEP, which has become by far the most common offering in recent years.

Vocational education, once a separate system which selected the elite of the working-class students (Grignon, 1971), has accrued more negative connotations through its integration as the lowest status rung in a unified system (Tanguy 1985). Certain curriculum streams are particularly devalued, while others are more selective; and students may find themselves training for a professional role they have no interest in. Two of the specialisations represented in the present study, mechanics and secretarial studies, are amongst those in which students have least interest in (Oeuvrard, 1990).

Relegation into vocational streams has to some extent replaced dropping out early as the typical pathway for weaker students. Yet the upper reaches of the academic system are also encountering 'new' students. Beaud – describes the traumatic transition from a *collège* firmly anchored in the local space, to a larger *lycée* (senior high school) further away with other, unknown students from many colleges, where the academic levels and expectations are different (Beaud, 2002: 55-63).

Two thirds of junior secondary students now go on to general and technological studies leading to a *Baccalauréat* (Cacouault & Oeuvrard, 2003: 29), but overall increased participation has not resulted in democratisation in access to all reaches of the system. Table 10.3 below shows graduations from the various types of *baccalauréat*. The *baccalauréat général* ('general baccalaureate') consists of an academic curriculum and is the traditional pathway through senior secondary school. It is broken up into streams, with the 'scientific' stream (*bac S*) being the most prestigious and difficult to gain entry into. The *baccalauréat technologique* ('technological baccalaureate') combines academic subjects with some vocationally oriented elective subjects and is aimed at students who will pursue 'short' further studies before entering the workforce in the field they have associated with their particular curriculum stream. The *baccalauréat professionnel* (vocational baccalaureate) is also broken into streams and offers vocational training with industry placements and a much reduced academic core.

Table 10.3 Students graduating in 2002 by stream and social origin (per cent)

	<i>Baccalauréat général</i>	<i>Of which Bac S</i>	<i>Baccalauréat technologique</i>	<i>Baccalauréat professionnel</i>
Managers and professionals	35.3	40.5	14.5	8.3
Associate professionals	19.2	19.1	18.1	12.5
labourers	14.2	12.4	18.9	17.8
Sales and clerical	12.6	10.8	24.1	26.7
Business and skilled trades	8.9	8.2	9.3	9.3
Retired or not working	5.3	4.4	8.7	10.5
Farmers/farm workers	2.7	3	3.5	5
No response	1.8	1.6	2.8	9.9
Total	100	100	100	100

(Metropolitan France and DOM, public and private)

Source : MEN-DEP in(Cacouault & Oeuvrard, 2003: 31).

Within general and technological studies, a clear hierarchy exists between the different streams students move into for the final two years of schooling. The social basis of this hierarchy is evident in Table 10.3, which shows the greater success of the most privileged groups in gaining access to the prestigious 'Bac S'. This organisation of classes can result in phenomena of ethnic segregation within schools (Payet 1995, 1998), hastened by the development of an educational market place and the desire of middle-class parents to flee 'migrant' classes and schools (Felouzis, 2003; Van Zanten, 2001).

The educational location of Turkish-background students

Turkish-background students have amongst the worst educational outcomes of any group in France, with the exception of some very recently arrived migrants. Over time, high drop out rates have reduced somewhat with students staying on in vocational streams more often according to recent data sets (Table 10.4). Similarly, Irtis-Dabbagh found that her subjects tended to pursue shorter vocational studies, with many leaving school early and few going on to university (2003b: 6).

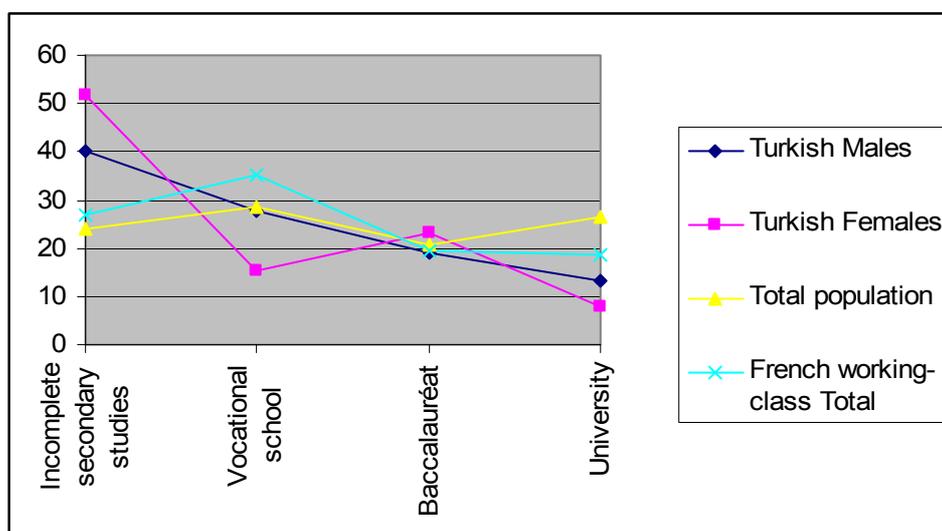
Table 10.4 Educational achievement of the second generation aged 18 and above by gender and background (percentages)

Birthplace of parent(s)		<i>Incomplete secondary studies</i>	<i>Vocational school</i>	<i>Baccalauréat</i>	<i>University</i>
Turkey	Males	40.1	27.8	19.1	13.1
	Females	51.6	15.3	23.3	7.7
	Total	46.4	22.1	21.3	10.1
Morocco	Males	26.1	25.1	25.6	23.3
	Females	22.6	21.9	27.3	28.3
	Total	24.3	23.5	26.5	25.7
Portugal	Males	27.5	36.8	18.8	17
	Females	23.5	29	25.7	21.8
	Total	25.5	32.8	22.3	19.4
Total Population	Males	24.1	32.7	19	24.3
	Females	24	24.6	22.5	28.9
	Total	24	28.7	20.7	26.6
Children of the French Working Class	Males	26.9	40	17	16.1
	Females	26.2	30.5	21.8	21.5
	Total	26.7	35.2	19.5	18.6

Source: (Simon, 2003: 1105). Respondents aged between 18 and 40, 1999 figures.

As Table 10.4 shows, the Turkish second generation is the least qualified group, with girls suffering a disadvantage in relation to boys, who are more likely to complete vocational school. Whereas around a quarter of students from all other groups leave school without a qualification, around a half of the Turkish second generation are in this situation. Access to vocational education is particularly rare for Turkish girls, with the most frequent use being made non-migrant working-class males. Completion of Baccalauréat does not appear as a strong point of distinction between the groups (Figure 10.1).

Figure 10.1 Highest qualification by background (2nd generation aged 18-40, percentiles)



Source: from data in previous table taken from (Simon, 2003: 1105).

University is more distinguishing, with Turkish girls, followed by Turkish boys, least likely to complete a tertiary qualification. The success of Moroccan-background girls relative to boys may be due to their desire to gain independence from their family through education and work, according to Simon (Simon, 2003: 1107). Although it has not been reflected in achievements, a similar investment in education is evident in research on Turkish-background girls (Petek-Salom, 1999). Tribalat disagrees, condemning Turkish parents as having “modest educational ambitions, being even less interested in the education of their daughters, who leave school very early” (Tribalat, 1995: 223).

In the 1990s the so called 1.5 generation (those who arrived before the age of 10) showed far higher retention at age 17 for boys than girls. Only a third of girls were still attending school compared to two thirds of boys and three quarters of the general population (Tribalat, 1995: 141).

Another source is the large scale *Céreq* studies, ‘*Génération 92 et 98*’, which provide data on students as they exit the education system. These surveys have been analysed in relation to ethnic background by Silberman and Fournier (Silberman & Fournier, 2006). They found that most of those

exiting education in the '92 survey were either born in France or arrived before the age of 10. Over 70 per cent of the Turkish-background respondents fall into the latter category, while the longer established groups from North Africa were mainly second generation. By the time of the second survey, a majority of Turkish respondents were second generation.

Levels of educational qualification improved across all groups in the time between the surveys. Secondary school dropouts went from almost a third to 19 per cent, with expansion occurring mainly in vocational streams. Turkish-background students started from the lowest base, with over 80 per cent leaving school without any qualification and girls particularly likely to leave at *collège* level. This group saw a marked improvement from the 1992 survey to the mainly second generation 1998 cohort. Other groups experience similar improvement, less marked for boys of North African background however.

Over this period, the well established concentration of Portuguese-background students in vocational streams was complemented by a shift towards these streams by North African-background students. These groups have been viewed as adopting opposing strategies in the past, with North African-background students more likely to attempt the higher risk but higher reward strategy of remaining in academic streams. The proportion of Turkish-background students leaving school having completed a *CAP/BEP*³ more than doubled over the period, the greatest increase of any group. In the second survey Turkish boys are second only to their Portuguese-background counterparts in their concentration in these vocational diplomas (over a quarter) while a fifth of girls leave school with *CAP/BEP* (behind Portuguese and sub-Saharan cohorts). Turkish-background students also moved from being the least frequent to graduate with a '*baccalauréat professionnelle*' or '*technologique*' to now graduate at similar rates to North African-background students. They have not been so successful in making the transition to tertiary study, with fewer than 5 per cent finishing a two year post secondary

³ *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle* (certificate of vocational aptitude), *Brevet d'études professionnelles* (diploma of vocational studies).

diploma. Girls have a slight advantage, with close to 5 per cent finishing two year tertiary courses compared to less than 2.5 per cent of boys.

Ceteris Paribus: The 'all else being equal' approach

Interpretation of the outcomes of migrant groups in France has been complicated by the skewed social profile of these groups. Early in the history of research into migrant-background students, Boulot and Boyzon-Fradet (1988) set out to demonstrate that the schooling of migrant-background students can be explained as solely the effects of their difficult material circumstances. Subsequent research has down into many parts various social attributes which may influence educational careers. The approach of drawing apart different attributes, such as number of children in a family, parents' level of education and even language spoken at home, has resulted in the minimalisation of ethnicity as an influence. Yet even if we accept that 'ethnicity' can be parcelled out into factors which appear to be 'non-ethnic', it remains the case that students from particular ethnic groups suffer more in the educational market place. In France, low socioeconomic status parents with many children and no education beyond primary school are almost always of ethnic-minority migrant background. The social processes at work in structuring the relationship between large families and schools are likely to be influenced by 'ethnic' factors, even when outcomes are similar.

The most prominent example of the approach of 'parcelling out' of influences which are closely related to ethnicity can be found in Vallet and Caille's 1996 analysis. This study captured a wide range of social and family variables, dissociating even migration history from the concept of ethnicity. The study found that coming from a large family of low socio-economic status appears to adequately account for the poor academic performance of migrant-background students without any need to consider 'ethnicity' (Vallet & Caille, 1996). The overall finding of their work was that migrant-background students enjoy a relative advantage, 'all else being equal'.

Their findings are not robust for all groups, but they have few conceptual resources upon which to draw in order to account for this finding, which is not discussed in their work. It should be noted the INED 1989

longitudinal set analysed included only 101 subjects of Turkish nationality. In the regression models, the only statistically significant result for Turkish students showed lower prospects of being admitted into the final year of schooling and of obtaining the *baccalauréat* once the father's occupational category had been accounted for. Non-significant coefficients ($p>0.05$), showed Turkish nationality to be a disadvantage in most instances, even for the most controlled models.

The approach taken by Vallet and Caille has the advantage of being more detailed than any previous studies in capturing the social characteristics of families and demonstrating their importance. It is, however, unable to capture the dynamic aspect of how families respond to the conditions of their existence. It has also been criticized for its abstraction from the reality of the composition of student populations in schools, particularly those where social disadvantage is most acute. Seventy-one per cent of foreign students in French *collèges* have fathers in working-class occupations or out of the workforce, compared to just 39 per cent of French nationality students. Two thirds have families in which there are four or more children, the case for only 16 per cent of French nationality families (2001 figures) (Cacouault & Oeuvarard, 2003: 45).

Further, a father's occupational status in France is not necessarily an adequate measure of social status when family has occupied a different social status, in a different social context prior to migration. Nor is the significance of a particular level of studies necessarily the same in the Turkish context compared to the French context.

To identify the significance of family size and structure, account must be taken of the beliefs, strategies and practices of families. Some important investigations of the local effects of ethnic background on students *in situ* exist in France. Zéroulou (1988), for example demonstrates to the importance of the social "*trajectoire migratoire*" (migration history) in family mobilisation and the success of migrant-background school and university students. Bernard Lahire's exhaustive analysis of the intersection of 'objective' conditions and family practices provides another example of this approach (Lahire, 2000). However such work has yet to be undertaken in relation to Turkish-

background students and existing work does not fully uncover the distinctive influence of the institutional arrangements of schooling in France on the cultural resources, practices and outlooks families bring to the project of educating their children. This is the basis upon which the present study has been designed.

Conclusion

We can see that Turkish-background students are socially and educationally in a position of disadvantage which exceeds that of almost any other group. Simon goes as far as to speak of a model of reproduction of class position and ethnic legacy between generations. In the shadow of research on North African-background students from an older wave of migration, whose conclusions have been extended to Turkish background students, the particularities of the Turkish response to their situation have been difficult to pin down. The role of the local setting placed at the periphery of a 'massified' but hierarchical system is important to analysis which is able to take ethnicity into consideration as a meaningful concept. In the following chapter I will outline this relationship as it pertains to the development of aspirations and the rationalisation of educational pathways.

Chapter 11.

Aspirations and pathways in France

In this chapter we shall see that, relative to Australia, there is less scope in the French system for dissonance between aspirations and congruent plans for their realisation by the time students reach senior secondary school. With low levels of academic performance a characteristic of both contexts, in France poor performance is both more visible to students and more tightly articulated with vocational pathways from an early stage. The quality of students' plans for the future is strongly defined by their location within classes organised according to a rigid and relatively closed curriculum hierarchy.

Whereas in Australia mediocre performances are tolerated with few sanctions, in France they result in the repeating of years of school and relegation to low-status curriculum streams. As a consequence, the distinctively high aspirations of Turkish parents in Australia appear to only survive into senior secondary school when children remain in the academic stream, and even in these cases parental dreams rarely carry through into individual student aspirations. Indeed it appears Turkish-background students in France pay greater heed to the overt messages being broadcast to them by schools than do their dominant language-background peers. These messages from school tend to reinforce to Turkish-background youth that they are poor students and have limited prospects; just as in Australia messages from school reinforce the importance of effort and the potential for any dream to come true. In both cases, a lack of resources and independent sources of knowledge on the education system amongst Turkish families makes their children more reliant on, and sensitive to, these messages than their peers. Other non-migrant students, whose parents have experienced the same school system and are more likely to be in paid employment, pass on to their children different types of knowledge about how to interpret the messages coming from school.

As the previous two chapters have suggested, migrants in France are also subject to external political messages about their deficiencies and the need to culturally assimilate in order to fully participate as citizens. The tensions generated by these demands, coupled with the reality of social

exclusion, are reflected in school interactions and work to reduce faith in the promises of meritocracy. The objective reality of poorer returns on all levels of qualification in the labour market for Turkish-background youth may further reduce faith in education (Brinbaum & Werquin, 1997; Simon, 2003). The pressures faced by Turkish-background students in this regard resemble those faced by many other migrant groups in France, a fact which is reflected in the data analysed below. However while migrant-background youth appear to be the first victims of bad economic times, poorer returns on qualifications are also a feature of the Australian labour market (Cf. Chapter 4). The functioning of schooling in producing particular aspirations for migrant students should not therefore be understood exclusively in terms of external economic pressures but rather as the product of the distinctive internal logic of schooling in France.

In France, the lower a curriculum stream sits in the educational hierarchy, the more highly calibrated it is to particular career paths and more constrained it is in the range of choices it offers to students. The allocation of students to streams is based not on a free choice, but on academic aptitudes to the extent that these are made visible and public in classroom, and negotiations with families based on these performances. The consequences of this arrangement for the aspirations of Turkish-background students who are overwhelmingly concentrated in the lower reaches of the system can be found in feelings of alienation and injustice, as well as in resignation to a working-class destiny. Without the institutional faith of their Australian¹ counterparts, and faced with a labour market seen as hostile and racist, some students seek to divorce their future happiness from professional status or satisfaction. Their lack of faith in the system strengthens a critical posture, and the formulation of political demands for a more inclusive society.

The effects outlined above are investigated here as they play out in the small number of schools included in the present study, and are not treated as universal. Further, the smaller number of Turkish-background students present makes interpretation of quantitative findings more difficult than in the Australian setting. However, local effects are generated within a wider system

¹ 'French students' refers to all students enrolled in the French schools included in the study, regardless of ethnic background, and 'Australian students' to all students enrolled in the Australian schools.

and it is the connections between structural location and local practices that I seek to elucidate.

Components of a successful life: rewards, respect and rights

With the centrality of educational success to economic security, it is little wonder that students in France, as in Australia, tend to identify doing well at school with future happiness. Even some students already excluded from the academic mainstream retain a focus on the greater economic leverage granted by tertiary studies and turn their hopes to training courses accessible from the workplace, as the following written response indicates²:

Pour réussir dans la vie il faut d'abors réussir au niveau scolaire, si ce n'est pas le cas tous n'est pas perdu on peut augmenter son niveau de qualification en ayant la motivation de suivre des formations pour adulte ou continue (*To succeed in life you must first succeed at school, and if that is not the case, all is not lost, you can improve your qualifications by having the motivation to undertake mature-age studies or professional education*) (male BEP industriel, dominant language-background 692.11)³.

For many students already relegated to vocational streams (half the sample), salvaging dignity and self respect becomes essential to healing the wounds of academic failure and the prospect of low-status employment options. Foremost amongst student concerns is financial security, reflecting the economic uncertainties of both students' own families and the labour market they will soon enter. The following response is typical :

[Une vie réussie c'est] avoir un travaille en CDI être marié et vivre a sont aisse. Et ne pas galéré en fin de mois (*[a successful life is] having an ongoing position, being married and well off. And not struggling at the end of the month*) (male BEP industriel, dominant-language background ,712.11).

² Original spelling and punctuation retained in all responses written by students. The literacy difficulties evident in student responses will be discussed further in chapter 12.

³ Students are identified by background, stream and reference number. BEP students are divided into 'industrial' and 'service sector' 'sections'. Responses used in this here come from the final item of the questionnaire (which can be found in Appendix 3).

Ongoing work is of critical concern to young people entering French industries which increasingly rely on employing workers on a casual basis through recruitment agencies. The erosion of the certainties enjoyed by earlier generations of blue-collar workers by the casualisation of work, the loss of manufacturing jobs to Eastern Europe or Asia and high rates of unemployment weigh heavily on students' minds. With many of their parents out of the workforce (17% of Turkish fathers, 33% of Arabic/Berber fathers), Turkish and North-African students in the sample are particularly sensitive to these uncertainties and their implications.

A popular strategy for maintaining dignity in the face of academic 'failure' is to focus on other symbols of status: cars, fame, or a good social life. For girls enrolled in vocational schools and facing unappealing employment prospects, work is particularly likely to vanish from the definition of success:

[Réussir sa vie] c'est vivre avec la personne que j'aime, avec pleins de bébé, d'argent et du sexe ! Et une belle voiture. Reussir sa vie quoi
([Having a successful life is] living with the person I love, with lots of babies, money and sex. And a beautiful car. You know, a successful life)
(female Bac ES, North African-background).

This example also reflects the turn towards traditional female roles of wife and mother in defining self-worth, which is most prevalent amongst students in streams where employment is least likely to offer a strong sense of self-worth. Many students also devote attention to personal fulfilment, self-respect and altruism as the keys to a successful life, as the following example indicates:

...dan tout les cas pour avoir une vie réussie il faut être heureux et aimer la vie et soi-même. Et surtout aider son prochain...pour être heureux le bonheur des autres compte beaucoup
(In any case, to have a successful life you must be happy and love life and yourself. And above all help your neighbour...the happiness of others is very important to your happiness)
(male Bac S, 'Dominant language' background 922.12).

For some students who turn away from academic and occupational definitions of success, religion also has a central role in maintaining self-belief and optimism:

La vie c'est un prolongement des études dont pour réussir dans la vie on doit croire en c'est compétence et a la religion, car si on crois a dieux toute les portes seront ouvert vers une vie bien meilleurs (*Life is the continuation of studies, thus to succeed in life you must believe in your competence and in religion, because if you believe in God, all doors will be open towards a much better life*) (male *BEP industriel*, Algerian background 699.11).

Other elements of personal fulfilment include having children (particularly for Turkish and North African-background students of both genders) and being respected. As in Australia, gaining and showing respect also emerges as an important concern for Turkish-background students. The following example illustrates concern for respect within an immediate community, while hinting at the difficulty of remaining 'true to yourself' in the midst of a wider culture which is perceived as lacking in respect:

[Une vie réussie] C'est se faire respecter, être sois-même – bien travailler pour son future, ne pas être détesté. Être un bon exemple vis-à-vis autres personnes qui vous connaisse. Etre heureux (*[A successful life] is gaining respect, being yourself – working hard for your future and not being hated. Being a good example to others who know you*) (male *BEP industriel* student, Turkish background 710.11).

The idea of staying true to oneself and having pride in one's distinctive identity is more explicitly linked to resisting social pressures to conform in the following example:

[Une vie réussie c'est] ...de fonder une famille et de ne pas cacher ces difference. Et de ne pas devenir comme les gens qu'on voit à la TV (SDF, homme politique, ston...) Et surtout de ne pas sombrer dans la délinquance et être incite par les autres à faire quelque chose qu'on ne veux pas (*[A successful life is]...starting a family and not hiding your*

difference. And not becoming like the people that you see on TV (homeless people, politicians, druggies) And above all not falling into delinquency and being led by others to do something that you don't want to) (male BEP industriel student, Tunisian background 702.11).

These comments combine a warning of local pressures from peers with references to archetypal symbols of dysfunction in French society – the homeless, drug addicts – but also, curiously politicians. Politicians here may stand as enemies of the dispossessed, hypocrites, or perhaps the ultimate conformists, abandoning their true selves in order to project a palatable image. Their inclusion in the category of despised social emblems is a sign of disenchantment with the political order of society. This critical posture is further visible in claims to respect and living conditions as political rights, which must be fought for and defended, in evidence in the responses of many migrant-background students:

En essayant de gagner le respect de tous le monde, de respecter, te fondre une famille, gagner de l'argent, nourrir ma fammill avoir ces droits, se revolter pour ces droits la la vie serai reussite (By trying to gain everyone's respect, to respect [others], to start a family, to earn money, to feed my family, to have rights, to fight for these rights. That would be a successful life) (male BEP industriel Turkish background 714.11).

This affirmation of economic and identity rights reflects a collective notion of struggling for more than individual success which can be distinguished from the Australian emphasis on personal effort and luck as determining success. A sense of entitlement to justice and fairness from society portends a more critical attitude towards school, its agents and its promises. The call for social change as part of a successful life is at its strongest in demands for an end to discrimination:

[Une vie réussie] c'est qu'on as une rentré d'argent tous les mois, une voiture, un appartement, une femme, des potes, Qu'ils n'y aient plus de discrimination d'aucune sorte, qu'on voit les gens pour le niveau qu'ils ont et non leur attirance sexuelle, leur couleur, le croyance Religieux,

leurs [illegible]. Plus de tolérance, moins d'oppression, plus d'aide pour les gens aux chômage, moins de mépris pour les gens d'en bas, ceux de la rue, plus de catalogation. (*[A successful life] is being paid every month, having a car, an apartment, a wife, mates. That there be no more discrimination of any kind, that people be seen for their level and not their sexuality, colour, religious beliefs, their [illegible]. More tolerance, less oppression, more help for the unemployed, less scorn for the lowly, for those on the streets, no more labelling*) (male BEP industriel Senegalese background 708.11).

The students cited above appear to be calling the system to account for the contradictions between its claims to Republican ideals of equality and the reality of persistent inequalities. Some migrant-background students are also calling into question the demands made by the system that in order to receive equal treatment and participate fully as citizens, students must abandon distinctive parts of their identity of which they are proud. The sentiment of discrimination appears to be sharpened by the divisions found in the institutional arrangements of schooling in France. It is worth, therefore, turning first to the point in academic careers at which these divisions arise in order to better understand students' current relationship to their studies and future plans. In the following section I will summarise how academic pathways are structured by the system and constructed within the contexts of the schools participating in this study.

Careers guidance

The most decisive moment in careers guidance comes at the end of junior secondary school (*collège*). The four years of *collège* follow a common curriculum, although classes may be organised based on the elective subjects or 'options' that students choose⁴. In the final year of *collège* students go through a process of careers guidance ('*orientation*') in which they are counselled by the school on their future educational options based on their academic results, aptitudes, behaviour and parental wishes. This process results in students either continuing with a mainstream curriculum in a '*lycée*

⁴ See chapter 3 for a presentation of the French education system and Appendix 1 for a glossary of terms.

général’, a structure which also houses ‘*sections technologiques*’ (technological *sections*), or being sent to a vocational school (*lycée professionnel* - LP).

When students remain in the mainstream *lycée* structure, they are placed either an ‘academic’ or a ‘technological’ *section*⁵ at the end of the first year of studies (known as *seconde*). Students who are academically weak or wish to pursue trades go from *collège* to a two year course of study at a *lycée professionnel* (LP). In the present study, all LP students are enrolled in a ‘*Brevet d’Études Professionnelles*’ (BEP), a certificate which potentially leads to a further two years of study for a ‘*baccalauréat Professionnel*’ (*Bac pro*). The BEP is further divided into an industrial section (*section industriel*), catering mainly to boys, and a services sector section (*section tertiaire*) with a mainly female clientele. Half of the BEP students in the sample aspire to go on to a *bac pro*, a figure which is slightly higher in all of the migrant-background groups. Nationally, 38 per cent of students who begin at a vocational senior secondary school go on to complete a *baccalauréat professionnel*, while 93 per cent of students in mainstream academic schools leave with their *bac* in hand (Minni & Poulet-Coulibando, 2003).

The consequences for students’ sense of academic self-worth of the sorting process at the end of *collège* can be found in the low regard students believe teachers have for them. Many students at LP believe that their teachers expect very little of them in their future careers or that they are indifferent. As one student notes, “Ils s’en foute [sic]” (*They don’t give a toss*) (female, Turkish-background, BEP)⁶. Of the minority of students who offer a suggestion in their survey responses as to what their teachers expect them to become, wry responses such as ‘unemployed’, ‘homeless’, ‘not much’ and ‘drug dealer’ are common.

‘Drug dealer’ stands out in this constellation carrying some positive status within an alternative system of values specific to an anti-establishment youth sub-culture. For students who are rejected by, and reject, the moral

⁵ I use the term ‘*section*’ to refer to the divisions of *baccalauréat général*, *baccalauréat technologique*, *BEP tertiaire* and *BEP industriel* (presented in appendix 1). Other curriculum divisions are referred to here as ‘streams’.

⁶ Direct quotations are generally provided in the original French together with a translation in order to preserve the full meaning. Occasionally only the English translation only is provided when this can be done without losing any of the original meaning.

order of school, romantic visions of a 'gangsta' rapper existence are appealing, and the popularity of this alternative moral order is reflected in dress, 'tagging' and musical taste. The existence of an informal economy, particularly around the sale and consumption of cannabis in particular, makes this alternative existence viable for some. Some students see the values of honour and solidarity idealised in this sub-culture to be more appealing than the commercial values and manipulation they see as animating the mainstream economy (students at LP Molière, LP wing of Claudel).

There is evidence that teachers themselves attempt to stem alienation and instil in students a sense of the accessibility of a wider realm of possibilities – and in this they are not dissimilar from their Australian counterparts. The terrain upon which they seek to sow the seeds of hope and confidence is not so favourable, however, and teachers are confronted with resentful students who fit Bourdieu and Champagne's description of the '*exclus de l'intérieur*' ('excluded from within') (Bourdieu & Champagne, 1992). Thus many teachers despair of their students, and have developed variations on cultural deficit theories to account for the problems they encounter daily with their charges.

Migrant cultures feature heavily in teacher narratives of defective upbringing. For the CPE⁷ of LP Dumas, where 9 in 10 students are girls and 3 in 5 are migrant-background, the future for students is bleak: "they won't have one". They will drop out before the end of their BEP and will become "mothers of families who will recreate the same problems as their families"⁸. This CPE sees her students in a vicious cycle of social reproduction, trapped by poor (migrant) upbringing which school is powerless to overcome, despite efforts to supplement it. The problem has an ethnic dimension in her eyes, with misunderstandings between students and staff creating "the impression of a France which speaks two languages". "One sometimes feels like one is on another planet" she laments. Greater empathy from staff at LP than at *lycée général* as the result of the more working-class background teachers (Jellab, 2005) is not apparent here. Ethnic differences appear instead to set students and teachers apart and to provide teachers with a discourse for

⁷ Conseiller Principal d'Éducation, a non-teaching role combining responsibility for student wellbeing with managing discipline.

⁸ I have retained the original French only when meaning is lost through translation.

explaining the poor academic performance and decision-making of their students.

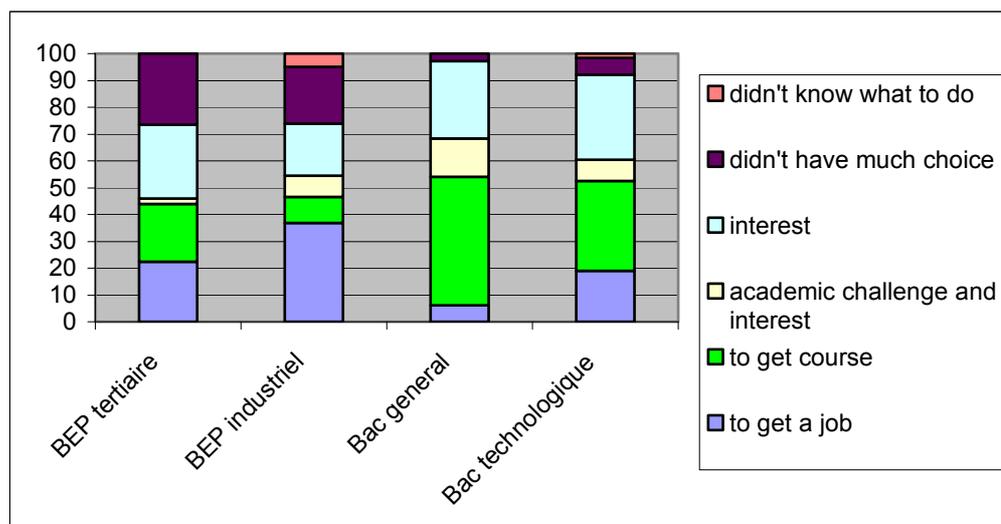
In interviews with teachers, concerns around cultural conflict emerge more prominently in the French setting than in Australia. In France, teachers understand part of their professional role to be promoting the French Republican ideal of enlightened citizenship through the elimination of incompatible 'particularities'. In Australia, even though teachers often see their students as facing difficult futures, the threat of cultural incompatibility does not appear to weigh as heavily on their minds.

Positive and negative choices in the selection of pathways

In contrast to the Australian settings where students are encouraged to select subjects purely based on interest (often equated with manageability), Turkish-background students in the French settings are the least likely to have chosen their current pathway based on interest, and are more likely to feel like they had no choice in where they have been placed (Figure 11.2). Students' motivations for choosing their current course of study (or explanations of its imposition) are revealing of their relationship to schooling more generally. The higher they are placed in the educational hierarchy, the greater the range choices available to students, and the greater the scope for strategic positioning. Virtually no students studying for a *bac général* feel they lacked choice in deciding on their current course of study, while a quarter students studying for a BEP feel that they had no choice at all (Figure 11.1, below).

For a number of students in the industrial streams of LP, their presence at school simply results from a failure to find any alternative activity. One student commented that he is at school "en raison des allocation familiale" (*in order to receive government benefits*) (male North-African background, BEP 688.11) while another noted "c'est la dernière chance" (*It's my last chance*) (male, BEP, dominant language-background, 699.11).

Figure 11.1 Motivation for subject choice by *section* (percentages)



The purely economic motivation of finding a job outweighs other considerations most commonly amongst BEP students, particularly in industrial or ‘production’ streams. In industrial streams, less than 1 in 5 students have made a positive choice to study a specialisation which is of personal interest. One student, whose perspective is widespread, explains his choice of pathway as being “en raison de taux de chômage et ce metier a de l’avenir” (*because of the unemployment rate and this profession has a future*) (male, BEP, Turkish-background 714.11).

For the CPE⁹ at LP Molière, attending the school is really a fall-back position :

Il est extrêmement peu fréquent de trouver des élèves qui souhaitent véritablement apprendre un métier” (*It is extremely uncommon to find students who really hope to learn a trade*).

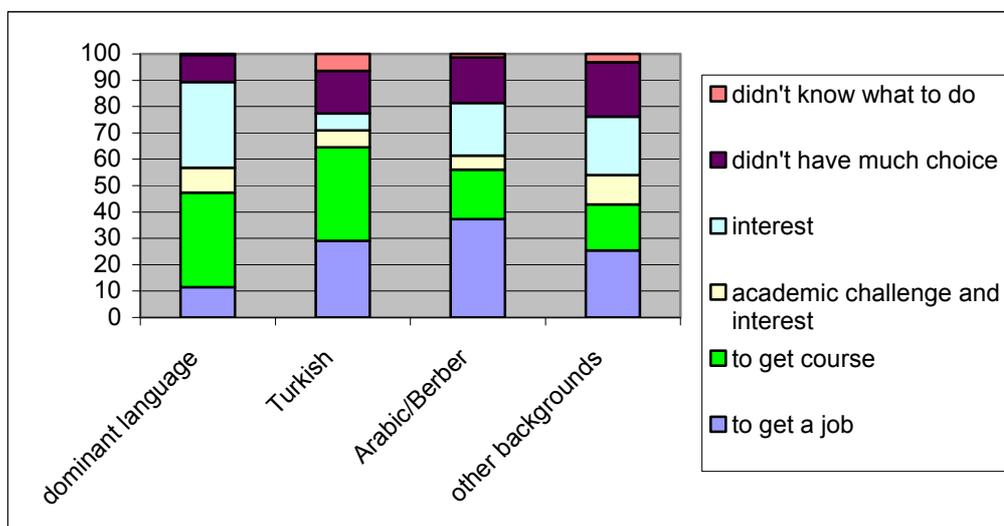
Students who are actively seeking a trade, according to the CPE, are more likely to look for an apprenticeship, which has the advantage of being remunerated, than to remain at school. Similarly, the CPE at LP Dumas observes that students are at the school because there are no other options for them as weak students. Being slightly less weak in French than other areas leads students to a *BEP tertiaire* (secretarial and book-keeping studies).

⁹ *Conseiller Principal d’Education*, a non-teaching role combining responsibility for student wellbeing with managing discipline.

More brutally, a workshop teacher at LP Molière whispered to me that the correct answer for the question ‘why are you currently attending this school’ should be “pour être au chaud...c’est vrai pour certains” (*to keep warm...its true for some of them*). Students from LP Molière agree with the notion of a negative choice, one commenting that a successful life would be not attending Molière. Another added that “you say you are from Molière, you get shown the door”.

One cause of vocational students’ fatalism is the virtual impossibility of those who have been relegated regaining purchase on any educational options that would feed back into other sectors of the system. One consolation for students in trades’ courses in the Alsace area is the availability of highly-paid factory work in Switzerland or Germany. This was raised by both students and staff at LP Molière. In the minds of teachers, this is not a viable career path, however, for students, it presents the attraction of immediate access to higher wages than those available in France even for workers at more qualified levels.

Figure 11.2 Motivation for subject choice by ethnic background (percentages)



It is interesting to note that students in mainly female *BEP tertiaire* cohort are more likely than their *BEP industriel* counterparts to consider that they chose their stream out of interest, which may reflect the overall more positive orientation of girls to school (Figure 11.5). A taste for the intellectual challenges presented by studies is, however, largely limited to those students

in academic streams, who have been able to most successfully adopt the role of student called forth by the institution.

If we put aside for a moment the relationship between outlook and stream, and consider instead the experience of the various ethnic groups as a whole, we can identify distinctive patterns (Figure 11.2). The experience of the Turkish community is one of limited agency (few options) and the instrumental use of education. Taste for studies and interest in the curriculum are not factors which hold Turkish-background students within school structures. While somewhat greater affection for the curriculum is expressed by Arabic/Berber-background students, there is an even greater haste amongst students from this community to leave school and find work.

In their motivations, both minority groups show a connection to school born of economic necessity, which in subsequent chapters I will show is reflected in the fragility of their pedagogical engagement. The disaffection of Turkish and Arabic/Berber background students is of note because the concentration of students of these backgrounds in devalued locations makes such disaffection a pervasive characteristic of the relationship between these ethnic communities and school.

For their part, the two LPs seek to actively promote a resocialisation which would allow students to be reconciled with their subordinate academic status and occupational destinies. The CPE at Lycée Professionnel Dumas describes the first year of *lycée* as one of 'enculturation', which is difficult process for students who must often come to terms with unchosen occupational destinies. Some students, including Turkish-background students do, however, develop professional identities linked to their prospective trades which offer some 'revalorisation' of an initially imposed pathway. One student noted the following advantages of his BEP:

Avoir un premier contact professionnel, apprendre tout de suite la matière. On fait des matières assez diversifiées. On rentre directement dans le travail. Apprendre un métier en deux ans comme une profession (*having a first professional contact, learning the subject straight away. We do fairly diverse subjects. We go straight into the work. Learning a trade in two years as a profession*) (Abdi, Turkish-background, *BEP industriel*, LP Molière).

To summarise the workings of '*orientation*' for the students in the French sample, it is clear that there is little room for ethnic distinctions to emerge within the confines of a strict delimitation between curriculum streams, which in turn are formally articulated to particular vocational pathways. The alienation or vocational reconciliation found in 'unchosen' pathways is the product of processes which are internal to the structure of schooling, and which tend to be group experiences shared by peers of all ethnic backgrounds. In the academic mainstream, choices are based on a desire to maintain a precarious hold on a curriculum structure which offers very uncertain prospects, but again the strong internal management of the system provides little scope for divergent individual 'fantasies' to take hold. The destruction of fantasies in France is particularly marked in the careers students envisage, which differ sharply from those represented in the Australian sample.

Future career ideas

As might be expected from the high level of differentiation in the system, students' perspectives on their future careers are strongly shaped by their academic circumstances¹⁰. My argument here is that the ethnic disparities evident in Australia have been largely overridden in France by the imposition of curriculum streams linked to careers. This imposition also results in more precision in the identification of career pathways than in the case in Australia: third of Australian students hope for 'whatever makes me happy' compared to just one in five French students.

Of those students who name a specific occupation, the largest numbers stick to the occupations most tied to their courses: trades for boys, secretarial and clerical work for girls (Table 11.1). The organisation of studies tends to reinforce traditional gender divisions, which are strongest at the lower end of the occupational structure. Secretarial work and book-keeping are understood as being 'feminine pursuits' suited to girls, and are further identified as feminine by being linked to aptitude in French (the academic

¹⁰ Appreciating that many students have not made a final decision about what they would like to do, the survey allowed them to provide up to two responses. Both responses are counted for analysis, thus a single student may contribute to the totals of two occupations.

subject). Schooling in these disciplines takes place in an almost exclusively feminine environment, with female teachers for the most part and 9 female students to every 1 male student. The situation in industrial *sections* is even more strongly gendered, with just 1 female student in the whole second year of BEP at LP Dumas, where the staff is also male-dominated. In the *baccalauréat général*, the gender imbalance is less pronounced, but girls are in the majority. Only in *baccalauréat technologique* is there an equal number of boys and girls, but they are not in the same specialisation and a gendered 'industrial'/services sector divide re-emerges within this structure.

Strongly gendered aspirations are also reflected in demand for the most academically challenging professions. They are visible in demand for teaching and health professions (preferred by girls) and engineering (preferred by boys). However, the most accessible and popular alternative to the options suggested by various specialised streams is the military (nominated by 22% of boys, 9% of girls). The military, police and fire services are attractive to French students as virtually the only stable and well-paid professions which are not dependent on academic success.

Table 11.1 Popularity of selected occupations by gender (first and second options combined, percentages shown)¹¹

Occupation	Males %	Females %	Total %
Most academically demanding			
Teacher	12	19	16
Engineer/architect	14	2	7
Lawyer	2	3	3
Nurse/ other health professional	2	15	9
doctor/dentist/optometrist	4	5	5
designer	4	3	4
Business			
business owner	1	1	1
business manager	5	1	3
Least academically demanding			
tradesperson	23	2	11
Sales or retail	7	8	7
technician	4	0	2
chef/hospitality	0	0	0
beautician/hairdresser	2	5	4
labourer	4	0	2
Clerical/receptionist	2	30	17
N	137	172	309

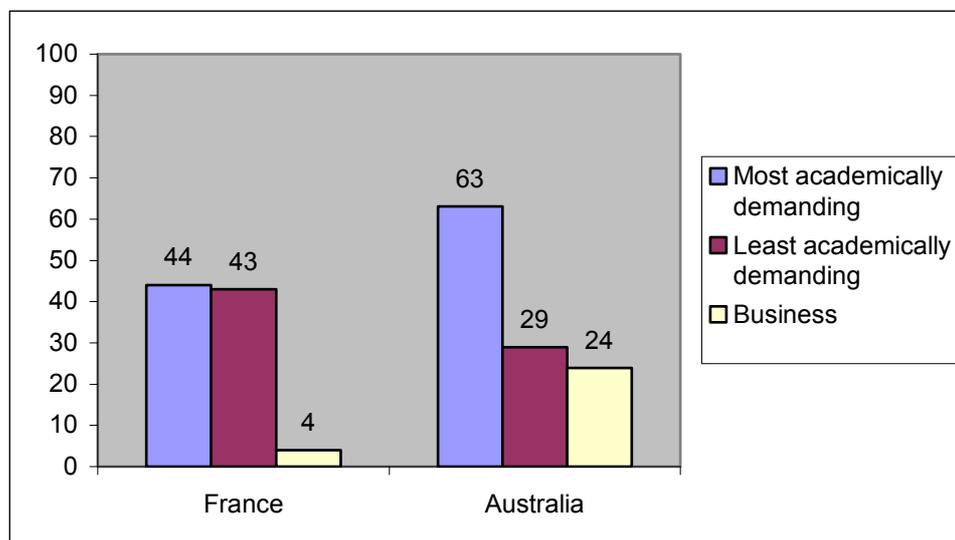
Relative to Australia, students in France are modest in their vocational desires, which are dispersed over a greater spectrum of occupations. The narrowness of the focus of Australian students on top professions is revealed by this contrast (Figure 11.3). In particular, law and medicine in France lose the position they hold in the dreams of Australian students. In all, French students are evenly split in their desires between the most academic demanding occupations and those which are least academically demanding, while the students in Australia aspire to the 'top' professions more than twice as often as they consider options that are not reliant on brilliant studies (Figure 11.3).

Also revealed by the data is the greater preference of French students for work as employees rather as business owners or managers. Six times as many students in the Australian schools envisage such options. This disparity may be accounted for on the one hand by concern about the instability

¹¹ Because each category is not exclusive, the total of percentages may be greater than 100. Students who did not provide at least one specific occupation are excluded from the table.

associated with being self-employed and on the other, the absence of accessible educational pathways leading to business management roles.

Figure 11.3 Occupational choices of French and Australian students (percentages) ¹²



Occupations which have a more intermediary position in the hierarchy of occupational status are also more appealing to students in France. For boys, IT professions emerge as popular choices (13%). Accountancy/book-keeping appeals to both boys and girls (7% of boys, 10% of girls). Highly gendered professions unrelated to students' studies hold some attraction to both boys and girls: boys are drawn to fantasy careers as elite sportsmen or performers (8% each) and girls are most drawn to the traditionally feminine field of childcare (12%), particularly as a 'second' choice.

When the available career options are unpalatable, students in France more often hope for 'whatever makes me happy'. Thus students attending vocational schools desire simply 'whatever makes me happy' twice as often as their peers in academic courses. As outlined in the opening section, students rationalise their poor prospects by emphasising not the field of work or occupation they envisage, but the importance of having a good boss and an enjoyable work environment. Students' lack of enthusiasm for the occupations presented in the industrial BEP *sections* is further demonstrated

¹² As each student could provide up to two choices, percentages do not total 100.

by the preference of a quarter of students for careers in the army, police or emergency services.

Outside of these strategies of avoidance, students enrolled in *BEP tertiaire* are focused on low-level clerical and administrative occupations. A small number of girls also envisage gender-typical careers outside of their chosen profession, in particular caring for others and working with children. Nevertheless, dreams of a university studies are not completely extinguished amongst this group. Nor do the students enrolled in the industrial streams of a BEP completely exclude occupations which require academic qualifications seemingly beyond their reach (Table 11.2). In particular, 15 per cent of these students believe they may become engineers one day.

Even in most highly selective academic streams, students are more modest in their aspirations than students in Australia, only rarely contemplating law or medicine (Table 11.2). However teachers in the academic streams suggest that the aspirations of these students have an abstract and unfocused quality which is not so dissimilar to the perspective of students in Australia. The popularity of teaching as a career pathway contemplated by students in the academic streams (33% of students are considering this option) may reflect a residual affection for this most visible of career paths rather than a concrete plan.

Students enrolled in a *baccalauréat technologique* are less polarised in their ambitions, but have a tighter and more concrete focus on the lines of work suggested by their technological specialisations. Twenty-two per cent hope to work in accountancy/book-keeping and 12 per cent see themselves in information technology. The lack of enthusiasm of at least a fifth of *bac technologique* students in their assigned career pathways is again reflected in the transferral of aspirations to the armed forces and other state services.

Table 11.2 Popularity of selected occupations by diploma (first and second options combined, percentages shown)¹³

Occupation:	<i>BEP</i> <i>tertiaire</i> ¹⁴	<i>BEP</i> <i>industriel</i>	<i>Bac</i> <i>général</i>	<i>Bac</i> <i>technologique</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Most academically demanding</i>					
Teacher	8	3	33	4	16
Engineer/architect	0	15	9	4	7
Lawyer	4	0	4	0	3
Nurse/ other health professional	9	0	15	6	9
doctor/dentist/optometrist	1	3	10	0	5
Designer	1	4	5	4	4
<i>Business</i>					
business owner	1	0	0	6	1
business manager	3	6	1	2	3
<i>Least academically demanding</i>					
Tradesperson	3	41	2	4	11
Sales or retail	9	9	3	10	7
Technician	0	6	1	2	2
chef/hospitality	0	0	0	0	0
beautician/hairdresser	3	1	6	2	3
Labourer	0	7	0	2	2
Clerical/receptionist	52	1	5	14	17
<i>Armed forces/emergency services</i>					
	6	24	11	22	14
N	77	68	120	51	316

The ability of streaming to channel weaker students into the least desirable occupations (in terms of status at least), is demonstrated by the contribution each *section* makes to the total number of students contemplating trades and secretarial work. Figure 11.4 shows that the pool of students contemplating trades is overwhelmingly (84%) drawn from those who are enrolled in industrial BEP trades diplomas as a consequence of ‘imposed’ choices. Similarly, the students considering clerical and secretarial occupations are for the main part enrolled in vocational courses leading directly to these occupations (72% in BEP, 19% in *bac technologique*) (Figure 11.5).

¹³ Because each category is not exclusive, the total of percentages may be greater than 100. Students who did not provide at least one specific occupation are excluded from the table.

¹⁴ Secretarial and book-keeping. Tertiaire’ refers to service sector employment.

Figure 11.4 Percentage contribution of each diploma to 'trades' as an occupation

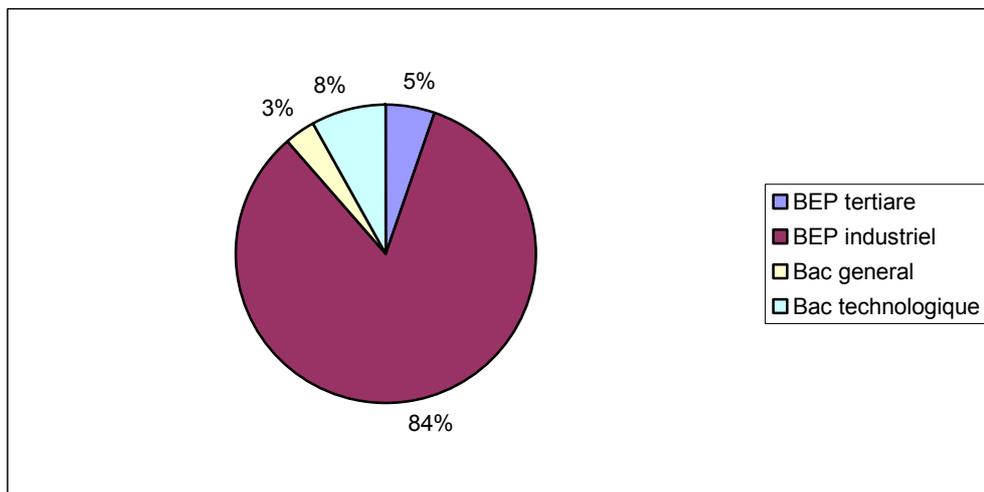
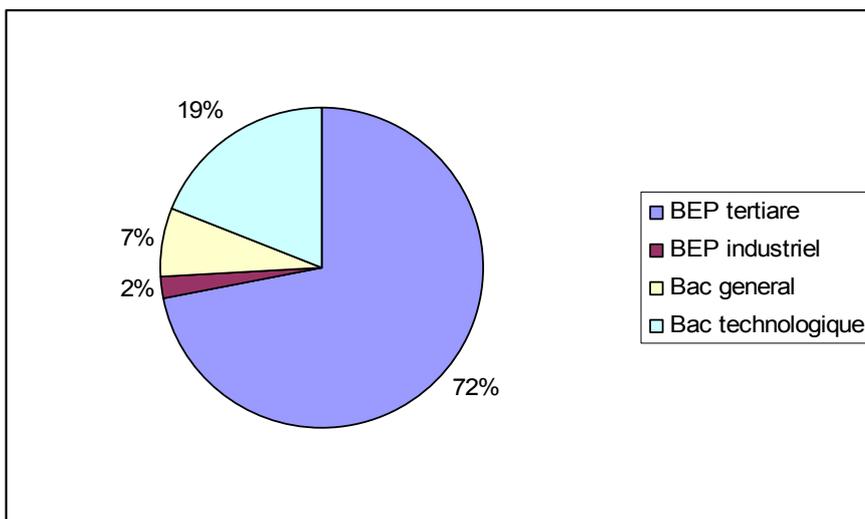


Figure 11.5 Percentage contribution of each diploma to the choice of 'clerical/secretarial' occupations



Ethnic segregation

Because aspirations are so strongly influenced by the diploma and stream students are enrolled in, the task of testing for the influence of individual background characteristics is difficult. The first step is to check whether students from various backgrounds participate equally in the various *sections*. Previous research also suggested that even within schools, there is some ethnic segregation between streams (Perroton, 2003). This finding is

supported by the present study. Migrant-background students are concentrated not just in vocational schools, but in the most devalued streams within each school (Table 11.3). Book-keeping has more migrant-background students than the more sought after secretarial studies at LP Dumas, while at LP Molière, the unpopular 'machinery maintenance' stream has around twice as many migrant-background students as other streams. Turkish-background students are most highly concentrated in this stream. The 'machinery maintenance' stream, least in demand from students, trains students to repair equipment on assembly lines, while other streams offer more varied employment contexts and more obvious pathways for advancement (towards engineering, for example).

At the '*polyvalent*'¹⁵ Lycée Claudel, migrant-background students are concentrated in the vocational wing of the school, making up more than two-thirds of the intake to the trades *section* but just a third of the intake to the prestigious scientific stream of the *bac général*. These distinctions are less in evidence within the academic streams at Lycée Voltaire, where the overall proportion of migrant-background students is smaller, but are visible between the academic and 'technological' *sections* (there are 20% more migrant-background students in the technological *section*).

¹⁵ Separate vocational and academic *sections* on a single site.

Table 11.3 Distribution of students into *sections* by ethnicity (percentages)

		Dominant Language	Turkish	Arabic/Berber	Other Backgrounds
<i>LP tertiaire</i>	BEP book-keeping %	38	7	34	21
<i>Dumas</i>	BEP secretarial %	46	6	27	21
<i>LP industriel</i>	BEP electrotechnique %	43	7	26	24
<i>Molière</i>	BEP maintenance %	21	16	32	32
	BEP production %	38	8	38	15
<i>lycee</i>	BEP electrotechnique %	29	4	29	38
<i>polyvalant</i>	Bac S %	61		17	22
<i>Claudel</i>	Bac ES*				
	Bac L*				
	Bac Tech (STI) %	47	6	35	12
<i>Lycée</i>	Bac S %	87	6	4	3
<i>général</i>	Bac ES %	87	11	2	
<i>Voltaire</i>	Bac L %	92	0	0	8
	Bac techno (STT financial services) %	69	10	10	10

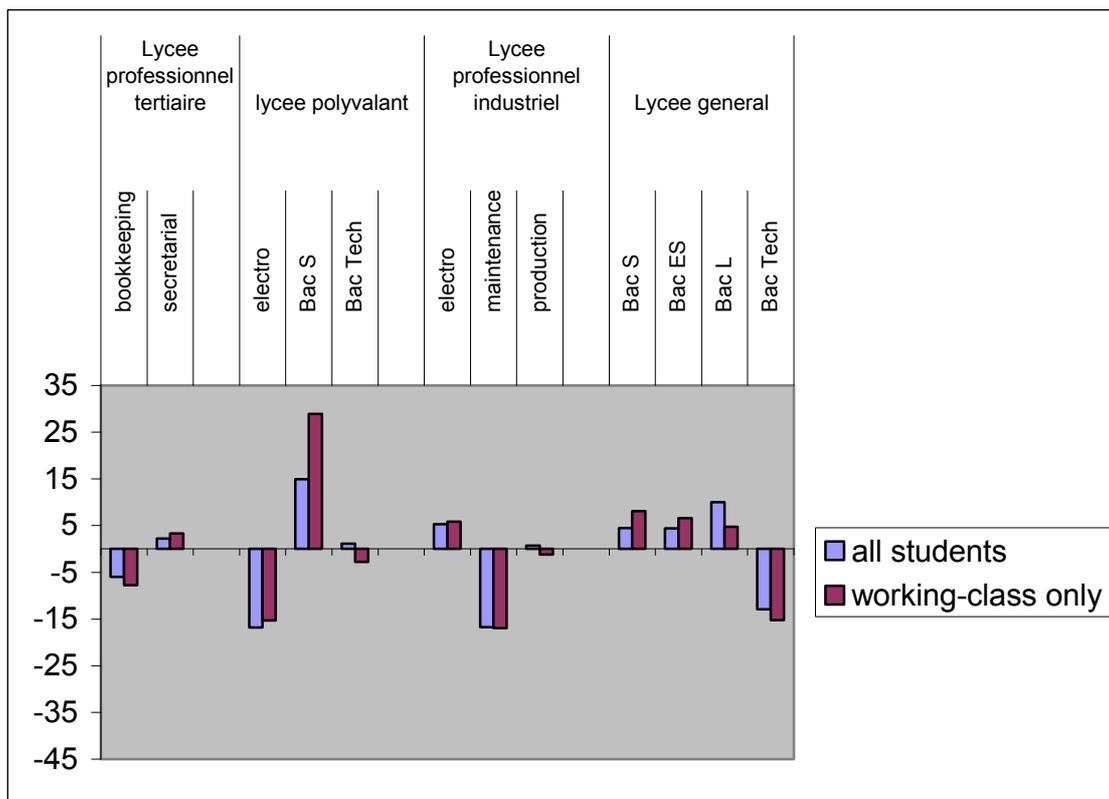
* small numbers (less than a class)

The data suggest that migrant-background students tend to be over-represented in the least desirable locations and that ethnic segregations within schools are likely to be visible to school actors. We might infer from this situation a somewhat weaker academic position at the end of *collège* for migrant-background students at the schools in this study, or at any rate less successful strategies for imposing an ‘*orientation*’ towards sought after streams. Unfortunately there are no data for the sample on academic performance at *collège*; however it may be possible to check whether ethnicity is masking the effect of socio-economic status in the distribution of students.

The small size of the sample makes division by socio-economic status problematic, however excluding students with middle-class parents from the analysis does not appear to alter the uneven ethnic distribution of students by more than a few percentage points. Figure 11.6 shows that taking the children of middle-class students out of the sample only substantially alters the ethnic distribution of students in the scientific stream at Lycée Claudel. Amongst working-class students, those without a migrant background appear to enjoy even greater access to the prestigious ‘scientific’ stream than when all students are considered¹⁶.

¹⁶ It should be noted that the social homogeneity of the sample means that this procedure only takes out a quarter of all students, and that the middle-class category is comprised primarily of ‘intermediate’ status or lower middle-class families.

Figure 11.6 Under-representation and over-representation of dominant language-background students by stream (percentage deviation from school total)



Given the process of reconciliation to one’s destiny that is reflected in occupational aspirations, it is difficult to measure from expressed aspirations the extent to which the students in the study might have had ethnically distinctive aspirations prior to the process of *orientation*. Previous French research suggests that migrant-background students are more ambitious than their peers in the earlier stages of their schooling (Brinbaum, 2005), and more successful in gaining access to high status streams ‘all else being equal’ (Vallet & Caille, 1995).

Students’ comments in interviews reinforce the image of imposed pathways. One student at LP Dumas commented that she is there simply because “lycee général est trop dure [sic]” (*lycée général is too hard*) (Female, BEP, North-African background, 515.9) while another said it was “en raison de la facilité” (*Because of its easiness*) (female, North African background BEP 489.9). Of students enrolled in a BEP, Arabic/Berber-background students declare a hope for ‘whatever makes me happy’ twice as

frequently as dominant language-background students or Turkish-background students (30% to 15%). This may be indicative of the greater imposition of unwanted pathways felt by North African-background students, but also a willingness to settle for any job on offer born from consciousness of discrimination on the labour market (Frickey & Primon, 2002).

In interviews, Turkish-background students also expressed their anxiety about finding any kind of work in a climate of racial discrimination. Two Turkish background students from Claudel named racism as the biggest obstacle facing them once they obtain their BEP. According to them, discrimination makes work experience more difficult to find. They consider that employers discriminate against migrant background job applicants 'a lot', and Ferid (enrolled in a BEP) was able to cite a study demonstrating how employers responded differently to CVs based on the name of the applicant. The potential of discrimination by employers and clients has led to instances where schools exclude migrant background students from certain streams in advance in order to save them the trouble (Perroton, 2003: 130). Ferid hopes to be lucky and find an employer who is not discriminatory, but other students have lost hope. The strongest expression of alienation from both school and society comes from a North African BEP student who links discrimination in local employment practices to the politicisation of Islam and the persecution of Muslims internationally:

Je dirait qu'en France c'est difficile pour une personne d'origine Africaine de réussir où de trouver du travail car il y a toujours quelqu'un qui est derrière vous pour vous casse. Surtout depuis le 11 septembre, tous les pays musulmans sont accusés de terrorisme ou d'antisémitisme et maintenant George W Bush attaque beaucoup même trop de pays musulmans. Mais il faudrait qu'il règle les histoires entre Israélien et palistinien. Je pense que nous vivons dans un monde de merde et qu'en France aucune personne d'origine étrangère ne peut réussir. (quelque personne réussisse bien-sur) *(I would say that in France it's difficult for a person of African background to succeed or find work because there is always someone behind you to bring you down. Above all since September 11, all the Muslim countries are accused of terrorism or anti-Semitism and now George W Bush is attacking lots, even too many, Muslim countries. But I think that he should fix the issues between*

Israelis and Palestinians. I think that we live in a shit world and that in France no foreign-background person can succeed. (some people do succeed, of course)) (Male, BEP, North African-background 699.11).

This example is extreme, but represents a perception of unfairness which is reflected in the crises in urban areas of high youth unemployment where riots, arson and conflict with police have become regular occurrences. Hostility towards and distrust of state institutions is reflected in the lower demand amongst-migrant groups for careers in the armed forces. The armed forces, police and emergency services are named by 1 in 5 dominant language-background students compared to just 1 in 10 students of Turkish or Arabic/Berber background.

Perhaps as a consequence of the perception of being at a disadvantage, and family desires to reach safer economic ground through prolonged studies, Arabic/Berber BEP students are most likely to nominate a 'fantasy' occupation (1 in 3 name one of the most academically demanding occupations). By contrast, one in 5 dominant language-background students seeks an occupation that is outside of the prescribed occupational field accessible from a BEP and no Turkish-background BEP students nominate any of the 'most academically demanding' occupations. This marks Turkish-background students out as the most 'adapted' group to the system, and represents a radically different perspective from that of Turkish-background students in Australia.

At the other end of the spectrum, where options appear greater and more appealing, students from all ethnic groups are less reluctant than their peers in vocational *sections* to name a profession they aspire to. Amongst students preparing a Baccalauréat, just 12% from each ethnic group express a desire for 'whatever makes me happy'. No clear ethnic distinctions emerge in the occupations specified by students, except perhaps a slightly greater concentration on 'top professions' amongst Turkish-background students¹⁷.

Despite apparent clarity in aspirations, a form teacher¹⁸ considers that students in academic streams do not have a clear idea about their future careers (Claudel, Maths teacher). According to this teacher, student

¹⁷ Small numbers make any inference unreliable.

¹⁸ Professeur principal.

aspirations tend to be family ideas, which are least realistic in Turkish families, rather than their own, until they reach *terminale* (the final year of schooling). At Voltaire, a teacher also commented that students struggle to come up with a '*projet professionnel*' and to think long-term (Male teacher, science). This is in keeping with the notion that academic studies are a means of postponing the moment of decision and keeping all options open. In the words of one student

Je ne savais pas quoi faire comme metier. Avec un Bac S, les 'portes' restent ouvertes (*I didn't know what occupation to do. With a Bac S, the 'doors' stay open*) (female, dominant language-background 604.10).

The doors are indeed most open to students in this stream, while the *Economique et Sociale* (economics and social sciences) stream is understood by teachers as a fallback position for students who have not done well enough to enter S (sciences) or L (literary) streams but have no greater clarity about their future (Male science teacher). Traces of this can be found in career dreams. One *bac ES* interviewee described her ambition to study Art History, seemingly mismatched with her '*orientation*' but congruent with the image of a would-be literary student who missed out due to poor results.

For students in academic *sections*, the '*bac*' looms as the only truly concrete horizon, and the arbiter of future pathways. Many students echoed the sentiment of student who explains that she is solely at school "pour avoir le bac" (*to get the Bac*) (female, 'Dominant language' background, 876.10).

Sources of Information and help beyond school

The quality of advice available to students from family members is likely to vary according to the consonance between the projected pathways of students and the actual pathways of family members. No matter what these pathways are, migrant-background parents are at a disadvantage. Table 11.4 below shows that parents from Turkey and North Africa have the least experience with school. This is most pronounced amongst mothers; close to half of those born in Turkey have never completed primary school. Aside from the 17 per cent of Arabic/Berber fathers who have attended university, French-born parents are much more likely than other parents to be able to

offer advice informed by first-hand experience on tertiary options and pathways. It is also worthy of note that French-born parents also have greatest experience with vocational pathways and apprenticeships.

Table 11.4 Parents' highest level of education by ethnic background

		Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other %	Total %
Mother	none	1	21	24	13	9
	primary school only	1	24	8	4	5
	some secondary	20	24	28	17	22
	completed secondary	18	6	13	10	15
	Apprenticeship/BEP/CAP	30	6	10	16	22
	University	17	3	4	16	13
	don't know	13	18	14	23	15
n		254	34	79	69	436
Father	None	1	9	22	14	8
	primary school only	0	24	7	3	4
	some secondary	15	18	23	10	16
	completed secondary	11	12	9	9	10
	Apprenticeship/BEP/CAP	37	15	10	13	27
	university	19	3	11	22	17
	don't know	16	21	17	29	19
n		251	34	81	69	435

This disadvantage is important in light of the reliance of students on their parents for assistance in planning academic and career pathways (Table 11.5). Support from siblings, particularly brothers, is able to compensate somewhat for this disadvantage, and they are more likely to understand the workings of the system.

Table 11.5 Help received from various sources with planning academic and career pathways (percentages)

<i>Help from:</i>	Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other Backgrounds %	Total %
Mother	59	31	41	43	51
Father	41	43	34	32	38
Brother	4	17	18	0	7
Sister	6	9	14	10	8
relatives/friends	22	26	19	16	21

At Voltaire, staff are acutely aware of the influence the quality of parental support on children's development of concrete and realisable

pathways. They evoke the problem of the efficacy of support that poorly educated parents can offer:

Ils [parents] manquent peut-être une connaissance du parcours... il est difficile d'avoir un oeil efficace sur ce que fait l'enfant si soi même on a à faire à un monde étranger (*They lack perhaps knowledge of the pathways...it is difficult to effectively monitor what the child does if one is dealing with a foreign world*) (Male French teacher).

Poorly educated parents are unable to form independent judgements and are reliant on their children and limited information from teachers to interpret their children's schooling (male mathematics teacher). This mismatch of parental evaluations and hopes, according to teachers, works against student engagement and places an additional burden on students. A female science teacher at Lycée Voltaire singles out Turkish parents as having extremely high expectations and pushing their children hard regardless of students' performance at school.

The children of Migrant-background parents, particularly Turkish parents, are indeed more likely than their peers to have a precise idea of what occupation(s) their parents hope for them (Two-thirds of Turkish parents and over half of Arabic/Berber parents compared to one-third of non-migrant parents). While parental wishes often coincide with students' own desires when these conform to the destiny laid out by the allocated stream, parents from all groups are less keen on the armed forces than their children. There is too little data to draw confident inferences on this point, but it appears that Turkish and Arabic/Berber parents more often aspire to law and medicine for their children than do other parents, or their own children. Of 13 Turkish-background students who reported specific parental wishes, 4 reported their parents hope for law and 3 reported medicine, but only 1 personally envisaged either profession.

For students hoping to pursue tertiary studies, sources of advice and assistance around careers planning are few. Although no strong lines of ethnic division emerge, it appears that students planning short studies or a direct transition to the workforce have greater contact with individuals who work in the field they aspire to than do students aiming for longer studies

(Table 11.6). Students who hope to attend university or preparatory courses for the '*grandes écoles*' ('*prépa*')¹⁹ are less likely to know anybody at all with the job they aspire to, and also less likely to know 'quite a few' people working in their preferred occupational field. The consequences of this situation are revealed in the way in which students set about planning for their future careers.

Table 11.6 Social contact with people in aspired to occupational field

	Plan Short/no studies %	Plan Long studies %	Total %
Nobody	33.2	41.1	35.3
one or two, not well	35.5	33.9	35.1
one or two well	15.7	15.2	15.5
quite a few	15.7	9.8	14.1
N	332	114	446

Plans for realising aspirations

For students enrolled in a BEP, the end of schooling is potentially only months away, and employment prospects are tightly circumscribed. As a consequence, their plans must be more concrete and immediate than those developed by students in *lycée général*. Despite this, a common strategy of prolonging studies for as long as possible is discernable across all *sections*.

Just 1 in 10 BEP students intend to make the direct transition to the workforce for which their certificates are designed (Table 11.7 below), while slightly more hope to combine work with some further training, through apprenticeships, for example. Even students hoping to join the armed forces, police or emergency services, generally need to formulate intermediate plans until they reach the minimum recruitment age (17.5 years for the army, 18 elsewhere). In fact just 1 per cent of students are contemplating an immediate transition to the armed forces.

Most commonly, students enrolled in the BEP hope to stay at school for a further two years to complete a '*bac pro*' (half the cohort – Table 11.8 below). The inflation of credentials in the French labour market and changes

¹⁹ In French higher education, elite institutions known '*grandes écoles*' provide university-level education to students who are successful in competitive examinations at the end of two years of preparatory classes. Students who fail to gain a place often enter the university system.

in the structure of that market mean that a BEP alone is of reduced value. Further, undertaking a '*bac pro*' is a way of remaining in the system and perhaps, ultimately, obtaining a reversal of educational fortunes if students become one of the lucky few who are able to make a transition to a more favourable segment of the system. One in 10 students studying for a *BEP tertiaire* ('services') even hope to make a direct transition back into the academic mainstream by undertaking a 'Bac general' or technologique.

A strategy for prolonged studies is also evident in a small minority of vocational students hoping to pursue short tertiary studies after the *Bac pro* (BTS) or attend university. While Turkish-background BEP students appear to bow to their prescribed destinies in the occupational aspirations they recorded for this study, in interviews some students spoke of dreams that include many years of further study. Ferid (Turkish-background, Claudel, *BEP industriel*), comments on where he expects to be in 5 years time:

Dans cinq ans, je sais pas. Peut-être encore à continuer les études dans une faculté ou quelque chose comme ça ou peut-être même changer directement de métier, de profession (*In five years, I don't know. Perhaps still continuing with studies at a university or something like that or perhaps even directly changing occupation*).

This student's plans involved redirecting himself towards Information Technology after his BEP and ultimately attending University. Even though the pathway is not entirely clear, this student's '*projet professionnel*' is quite concrete and focused beyond the constraints one might expect of his placement in a BEP in machinery maintenance. Nadir (Claudel, Turkish-background), a weaker and more anti-school interviewee, is representative of a more typical avoidance strategy in his vague prediction of his future five years from now: "président, je sais pas" (*President, I don't know*).

According to the CPE at Molière, over the course of their schooling, students come to realise a distinction between dreams based on 'luck' and working towards successful study outcomes. But he notes that some students are in perilous situations of failure, and "il est nécessaire qu'ils aient des illusions, sans cela ce sera fini" (*It is necessary that they have illusions, without that it will be over*).

otherwise it would be over) (Molière CPE). This frank revelation echoes the ambitions more effectively enacted in the dream-factories of Australia.

Table 11.7 Plans after current course of study by *section* (percentages)

	BEP tertiaire	BEP industriel	Bac general	Bac technologique	Total
Work	10	10	0	12	7
Repeat	3	7	3	3	4
Change streams		6		2	2
workplace training	26	13	6	14	14
Bac pro	47	51	2	2	25
Bac general/techno	9	1			2
BTS	5	11	24	56	21
University		2	48	2	18
Preparatory classes			18	11	8
N	107	114	159	66	446

Pessimism and dissatisfaction are also evident in the industrial *sections* of the BEP in particular, where 7 per cent of students believe they will be repeating their current year of study and a further 6 per cent see themselves repeating the same year level in a different stream. While there is little data on outcomes available, staying on to attempt a ‘*bac pro*’ is not always rewarded. For the study cohort attending Lycée Claudel, 62 per cent of students who attempted this course left the school with a diploma in hand, compared to 64 per cent at Molière and 74 per cent at Dumas (Direction de l’Evaluation de la Prospective et de la Performance, 2007).

In academic streams, pessimism is not apparent amongst students, but is observable in the misgivings of their teachers. More than 90 per cent of students enrolled in a *bac général* hope to prolong their studies, with two-thirds aiming for ‘long’ studies at university or a ‘*grande école*’. By contrast, over half the students enrolled in a *bac technologique* seek to pursue their studies with a two-year BTS (equivalent to a TAFE qualification). However many also seek a swifter exit from formal educational structures through work or work-based training.

Teachers see the decision to attempt academic studies as a mistake for many students who are forced to turn to a BTS once it becomes clear that their results will not allow them to pursue ‘long’ tertiary studies. Yet this is not

a disappointment to students in the '*Economique et Sociale*' (economics and social studies) stream at least, where students are interested in "*des études courtes*" and describe looking for a job based on enjoyment.

Although a wider range of options for further study are realistically accessible at *lycée général*, the dangers of failure are ever-present and drop-out rates range from 61 per cent at Claudel to 81 per cent at Voltaire (Direction de l'Evaluation de la Prospective et de la Performance, 2007). A mathematics teacher at Claudel observes that some students have been poorly guided into academic streams, resulting in them repeating several years of *lycée* without ever receiving a qualification. These students should have been directed to *lycée professionnel* by their *collège* (Claudel mathematics teacher). Real problems arise for such students if they fail *seconde*²⁰ twice and find themselves without any real pathway (Claudel mathematics teacher). The negative consequences for students' self-esteem of such a '*mis-orientation*', which appear particularly strong in the case of North African-background students, have been well documented by Beaud (Beaud, 2002). Certainly students in the academic streams do not appear to be as sheltered from their teacher's misgivings as their Australian counterparts and are more severe in their self-evaluation.

With deferral, however, comes the opportunity for discourses of perseverance and resilience to take hold in a way which is not dissimilar to the prevailing discourse in Australia. Although not as prevalent as amongst Turkish-background students in Australia, who receive greater institutional encouragement, some Turkish-background students in academic streams appear to adopt a voluntarist orientation:

Dans la vie faut être heureuse meme si on est destabilisé par des mauvaises notes. On peut toujours se rattraper. Je serai vraiment contente d'avoir mon bac (*You have to be happy in life even if you are put off balance by bad marks. You can always catch up. I will be really happy to get my Bac*) (female, Turkish-background, *bac technologique* 795.12).

²⁰ Equivalent to year 10 in Victoria.

It is revealing of the difficulty of the French labour market and the expansion of the French education system that that, across all *sections*, a majority of students seek to retain a position, however devalued, within formal education. The '*logique du cheminement*' (logic of progression), which has been identified amongst stronger students as an institutional logic of position-maintenance and deferral (Dubet, 1991), appears to be at work here across the board. Following this logic, most students hope to (or feel constrained to) go on with further studies. In all *sections* and across all ethnic groups, girls express the strongest desire for further studies, being about 10 per cent ahead of boys. This may reflect their greater vulnerability in the labour market (Duru-Bellat, 1989), as well as potentially greater investment in what schools have to offer.

Unlike their counterparts in Australia, Turkish-background students are not distinguished by a greater desire for study, although caution must be used in light of the small numbers in the sample (Tables 11.8, 11.9). Arabic/Berber-background students enrolled in vocational studies are more noticeably inclined towards studies (Table 11.8). This may reflect their fear of greater vulnerability on a labour market which discriminates against North Africans, but also a trend identified in other research for this group to seek to pursue longer studies (Brinbaum, 2002). This trend is, however, reversed amongst Baccalauréat students, where fewer Arabic/Berber-background students seek to pursue 'long' studies, preferring instead BTS courses.

Table 11.8 Plans after BEP by ethnic background (percentages)

	Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other %	Total %
exit formal education	41	38	30	42	38
further studies	59	63	70	58	62
N	88	16	64	53	221

Table 11.9 Plans after *baccalauréat général* or *technologique* by ethnic background (percentages)

	Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other %	Total %
Short/no further studies	49	42	74	50	51
University	51	58	26	50	49
N	171	19	19	16	225

Conclusion

This chapter has largely been the story of different school lives lived in different streams. Although the data collected come from a relatively small group of students, particularly once they are divided into streams, it is nonetheless possible to tentatively identify some distinctive elements of the French situation.

We have seen that the economic pressures and weight of family aspirations which shape the outlooks of Turkish-background students in Australia are not absent in France, but that they combine with institutional arrangements to produce radically different outlooks. Parental pressure to reach for glittering prizes such as law or medicine is intensified on those few students who remain in academic streams. However, the ambitions of even students in academic streams are eroded as they are confronted with constant pedagogical judgement and in the absence of the institutional assurances and insulation which provide sustenance to the high aspirations of students in Australia.

For other students, all that remains of the Australian perspective is an appreciation of the importance of attaining the highest educational level possible in the context of economic vulnerability. Alienation, discouragement and disillusionment are evident in the regard students have for their academic and professional futures. The effects of institutional and pedagogical distinctions are strengthened by, and feed into, and heightened political awareness amongst Turkish and other migrant-background students, contributing to a sense of unfairness in society, which I will return to in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 12.

Managing Schoolwork in France

The Turkish experience of managing schoolwork in senior secondary school in France may be seen emblematic of the experiences of migrant groups more generally, and is in many ways similar to the experiences of other marginalised non-migrant students. To a greater extent than in Australia, the stratification of students through curriculum diversification and intensive socialisation of students within their assigned streams can be held to account for the greater convergence of student experiences within those streams.

In France, the experience of school is not of the full breadth of a comprehensive establishment, as it is in Australia, but primarily of a curriculum stream, which offers a narrower scope for the maintenance of divergent personal projects and practices in engaging with schoolwork. The institutional position students occupy pushes towards the development of particular attitudes and 'performances' of the social role of student, to use Goffman's (1969) terms. The transformation of the self undergone in the senior years of schooling in France appears to impinge to a greater extent than in Australia on the projection of ethnically distinctive norms and personae, but these personae nevertheless retain a role in students' individual purposes and identity. Indeed they are strengthened in France even more than in Australia by wider discourses which 'problematise' ethnicity in relation to schooling and employment (Lorcerie, 2003).

The ways in which students are positioned by the institution are sensitive wider political, media and popular discourses around ethnic categories. 'Culture' and 'language' are understood by students and teachers alike as key to managing the demands of schooling, and are seen by many members of both classes in this study as deficient in migrant-background students. Popular theories of linguistic and cultural deficits appear to be attractive because they offer an explanation for the concentration of migrant-background students in the less sought-after streams and in situations of academic difficulty. Turkish traditions are singled out by discontent teachers at times, while at other times North African 'culture' is identified as

problematic. It is not the 'substance' of these traditions which is the problem, according to teachers, but rather their difference from, and inadequacy in relation to, modern, secular 'French' traditions. 'French' and 'migrant' cultural practices are often conceived of as exclusive, despite many similarities reported below. It is not too difficult to recall the justifications for the treatment of colonised peoples offered by the bearers of the '*mission civilisatrice*' in hearing the words of teachers bemoaning their charges.

I will argue in this chapter that while cultural-deficit explanations are misplaced, Turkish and many other migrant-background families have very limited knowledge of the workings of the French education system, and limited strategies for effectively assisting their children in their schoolwork. Both the perceptions of linguistic inadequacy and the realities of families' limited capacity to effectively mobilise around their children's schooling diminish students' academic self-esteem. Turkish-background students feel that they are coping less well than their peers in French classes across all '*sections*'¹ and are less likely to keep up to date with homework. They are also less likely to see much use in schoolwork. This disillusionment and demotivation is greatest amongst boys, who also suffer from the worst reputation amongst teachers and in wider French society. It is unsurprising that resentment and resistance arise from a feeling of discrimination and hostility felt by Turkish, but also North African, background boys. Consistent with previous research, both migrant and non-migrant-background girls appear to be more studious and accepting of school norms than boys.

The distinction of the migrant background students in the study in managing schoolwork is a somewhat shakier confidence in coping in French classes and a weaker grasp on tasks required to be completed outside of the classroom. In other areas of self-perception where Turkish-background students distinguish themselves in Australia, in France such distinctions are erased. In results expected at the end of the year and in reported coping in mathematics, few differences remain between ethnic groups once the influence of *section* has been taken into account. I will commence, therefore,

¹ I use the term *section* to refer to the divisions of *baccalauréat général*, *baccalauréat technologique*, *BEP tertiaire* and *BEP industriel* (presented in appendix 1). Other curriculum divisions are referred to here as 'streams'.

by outlining how the distinctive pedagogical characteristics of each segment of the system impact on the academic self-esteem of students.

I note again before embarking on this analysis that the smaller group of Turkish-background students and the division of students into streams reduces the weight carried by the quantitative analyses here, and that trends identified are done so only tentatively.

Differentiation and adaptation in curriculum and pedagogy

In the French system, academic expectations are set at clearly distinguishable levels according to diploma and curriculum stream. Evaluation weighs more or less heavily from school to school and from class to class, and selection is also more or less rigorous according to the social composition of the student population (Duru-Bellat, 1988). In the contexts of the present study, where the social mix is weak and students are frequently in situations of academic difficulty, pedagogical accommodation is evident. There is evidence, for example, of the phenomenon identified by Merle (1996) of teachers privileging student effort over results. However adaptation and accommodation are available to schools and teachers to unequal measure according to their place in curriculum structures.

Greatest freedom to shift the emphasis of schooling away from academic criteria appears at *lycée professionnel* (LP), where students destined for a swift transition to blue-collar or low-skilled white-collar work are clearly identified as not adequately fitting the traditional student mould from the outset. By contrast, there are tighter constraints on the schooling of those students selected for academic studies.

When students identified for the highest levels of the traditional academic system struggle to fit the scholarly mould demanded of them, the pressures of schooling weigh heavily in large part because the expectations are higher. The contradictions of distance between institutional demands and student dispositions is felt most acutely by those selected to *lycée général* only to be relegated to a *bac technologique* stream. While the self-esteem of students relegated to LP can be rebuilt from within specialised structures and through the development of a distinctive non-academic identity, *bac*

technologique students face continuing comparison with more peers attending the same school.

My argument here is firstly that students' perceptions of themselves as learners are framed by the distinctive criteria and ideals (academic and social) against which they are judged in each *section*. These criteria differ from LP, where teachers can focus on the nurturing and redemption of wounded subjects, to *lycée général*, where teachers struggle to uphold a curriculum for which many students are ill prepared. Whereas adaptation to students in the Australian system occurs through local negotiations and the flexible use of a common curriculum, in France, the organisation of studies provides a more systematised form of accommodation.

Variations in the curriculum are considerable. In academic and technological streams, students face their final French examination at the end of their current year of study. It is therefore a period of particular pressure in this subject. Mathematics, on the other hand, is examined together with other subjects at the end of *terminale*, and its contribution to the *bac* is variable. Mathematics counts for between 20 per cent (for the scientific stream) and 5 per cent (for the literary stream) of the total examination score (coefficient) received by students (Dorier, 2004)². In France, varying proportions of students' time is also devoted to mathematics. Out of the roughly 30 hours of school, students sit through each week in *première* (academic and technological streams), between 2 and 5 are spent on mathematics, depending on stream. In the vocational streams of the BEP³, the figure is usually lower at between 2 and 3 hours.

The *lycée professionnel* (LP) is the symbol not just of curriculum differentiation, but institutional accommodation to 'non-academic' learners. The LP, as a refuge for students who are publicly identified as weak, and known to be relegated with little regard for their actual interests, has carved itself a niche as a kind of charitable institution. Its teachers, trained separately from their colleagues, already have their professional identity as subject expert loosened by being obliged to teach *two* subjects (teachers in the

² In Australia, students who take mathematics can expect it to count for between 20 and 40 per cent of their university entrance rank.

³ *Brevet d'études professionnelles* (diploma of vocational studies)

academic *section* teach in a single area of expertise). Many identify their efforts as being directed towards the retention of students 'unsuited' to the rigours of school and of whom not too much can be expected.

This redemptive function represents a shift from an earlier period, when only the best working-class students stayed on in vocational education, while the rest entered the workforce directly. Now, as Beaud has noted, "in an almost mechanical manner students capable of following this [academic] path have suddenly been offered access to *lycée général*" (Beaud, 2002: 21). This reduces the historic academic standing of vocational education, and clarifies its redemptive and residual role in catering to only the weakest.

The development of such an institutional identity tends to promote further accommodation to students beyond that already incorporated in the curriculum. This phenomenon has been identified in research carried out by Jellab, who found that teachers adopt strategies aimed at reconciling students with the institution and adopt a focus on individualised teaching, 'revalorising' students and 'productive' work outcomes (Jellab, 2005).

In light of the difficulties teachers perceive vocational students as having in accessing written texts, at LP Molière some teachers bypass textbooks altogether and 'take another pathway'. Teachers who take this approach experience much lower rates of absenteeism amongst their students, according to the *Conseiller Principal d'Education* (CPE)⁴, responsible for monitoring attendance. Meanwhile, students are 'constantly' sent to the CPE's office by teachers who are "less flexible in their approach to teaching".

This approach is justified by a narrative of redemption. The CPE at Molière portrays himself as part of a fragile lifeline. Pointing out that the school is located in la Rue du Fil (*'Thread' street*), he reminds his students of the saying "si tu lâches le fil, tu es à la rue" (*If you lose the thread, you're on the street*). He explains,

⁴ A non-teaching role without an equivalent in Australia, responsible for discipline and student welfare.

L'établissement est considéré comme une prison, c'est Alcatraz, c'est pire que tout, quoi. Mais l'établissement est ta dernière chance, t'en aura pas d'autres...donc à la fois c'est une prison, mais une prison nécessaire. Parce que si on échoue dans cette prison, plus personne ne vous prendra (*The school is viewed like a prison, it's Alcatraz, it's worse than anything. But the school is your last chance, you will have no others...thus it's both a prison and a necessary prison. Because if you fail in this prison, no one will ever take you*) (Molière CPE).

The CPE at LP Molière considers that the hierarchy of *lycée* weighs heavily on students as they step onto its lowest rung, completely demoralised and almost broken by the system. When he looks at student files, he observes not only academic difficulties but also “des difficultés relationnelles avec la grande institution qui est l'école” (*a difficult relationship with the great institution of school*). He continues with a vivid portrayal of institutional vengeance:

L'école ne les valorise pas, et ben l'école n'est pas intéressante. L'école est quelqu'un qui dit 'tu ne fais pas bien, tu n'y arrives pas, tu n'es pas capable, donc du dois aller là [LP], tu vas donc faire quelque chose qui ne t'intéresse pas (*School does not value them, and so school is not interesting. School is someone who says you're not doing it properly, you can't do it, you're incapable, so you have to go there [LP], therefore you will do something which does not interest you*) (Molière CPE).

He sees the role of teachers as turning this attitude around and giving students a sense of self worth, a feeling that they have not failed everything. He considers that students are appreciative of how good they had it at LP only once they leave. It is worth noting that there are still reminders of academic positioning at LP Molière, where teachers divide BEP students within a class into groups based on their level, with 'group A' being the strongest and 'group D' being the weakest. A small number of students change groups over the course of the year on the basis of their results.

By contrast, students who go on to *lycée général* must constantly contend with the classical academic heritage of these institutions, and their guardians (teachers). The transition for working-class and migrant-background students is ruder when they are fortunate enough to retain a foothold on the academic *section*.

A teacher of Mathematics at Voltaire notes that some students who have been able to keep up without putting much effort in at *collège* flounder once they reach *lycée* and discover that they lack “des méthodes de travail” (*study strategies*) and “des bases solides” (*solid foundations*). A mathematics teacher at Molière makes the same observation, considering that such students do not know what to do when faced with unfamiliar difficulties. Here, students’ understanding of the process of learning (or ‘*rapport au savoir*’ (Bautier, Charlot, & Rochex, 2000)) appears to disadvantage them once they are without the familiar supports of *collège*. At Lycée Voltaire, situated in a semi-rural setting, teachers consider that students are relatively sheltered and closely ‘*prise en charge*’ (taken care of), perhaps too much (male biology teacher). The principal speculated that they would find the transition to other, much larger educational settings in the more urban context of Strasbourg challenging.

From survey responses, it emerges that fewer of the students who left *collège* for a LP experienced problems with this transition than students going on to *lycée général*. Just a third of BEP students report experiencing difficulties compared to 43 per cent of *bac général* students and 48 per cent of *bac technologique* students. It may be that the *bac technologique* students, identified as too weak for the academic streams but nevertheless retained within the same structure as stronger students, and taught by the same teachers, face the most difficult experience. In the BEP course, students have been recognised as weak and offered an adapted course, with differently trained teachers and separate schools. In a *bac technologique*, however, students who have been recognised as weak remain in the same setting as their peers in more highly esteemed academic streams, and are thus face the additional pressure of being compared to and judged negatively against them.

However, Beaud has pointed out that a vocational senior high school does not necessarily provide sanctuary from academic demands. He notes that even in vocational education,

The gulf grows between on the one hand the academic demands inherent to the 'bac pro and on the other the dispositions of 'under selected' students who above all find in this new stream the means to temporarily pursue their studies (Beaud, 2002: 21).

What stands out is the capacity for LPs to manage this gulf in a way which, as I will show in the following section, inspires greater academic self-esteem amongst students than appears possible at *Lycée général*.

At *lycée général*, by contrast, students of all ethnic backgrounds report feelings of shame and fear when they feel that they are not living up to the high expectations of them. A mathematics teacher at Lycée Claudel considers that students provide a realistic assessment of how they are going in one-on-one discussions, but are reluctant to reveal this information to their parents or in front of peers. Similarly, teachers at Voltaire observe a desire amongst students to "faire croire que tout va bien, qu'ils travaillent bien, qu'ils sont sérieux" (*give the appearance that everything is going well, that they are working well, that they are serious*), even to the point of denial of any difficulties (male teacher). At Voltaire, teachers lament that students do not speak up more or demonstrate curiosity. But students from a *Bac ES*⁵ class at this school suggest that they are too shy or afraid to speak up (Corinne, Simone, Claire). Even though formally *lycée général* appears least adapted to students in this study, it is likely that they would find studies in more privileged schools even more rigid. A survey by the Ministry of Education found that only 37.5 per cent of teachers in underprivileged *lycées* believe that 'it is realistic to study all of the curriculum' while in privileged settings 78 per cent believe that it is realistic to do so (Antigny, 1994). Despite their complaints, teachers in the academic streams of the schools in this study do admit to

⁵ The '*économique et sociale*' stream (economics and social studies), considered to be the least demanding and prestigious of the academic streams.

accommodating students and teaching differently to the ways they would elsewhere, in more privileged settings.

Culture and Language

One constant criterion in teachers' evaluation of students is 'culture' – understood in the present context as the possession of particular personal attributes necessary to learning. Often, 'culture' is understood as specific to a particular kind of upbringing. Teachers hold migrant-background students in low regard on this criterion, identifying a linguistic deficit and lack of written culture. Turkish-background students are inclined to agree with their teachers' attitudes towards them, and often feel that they are not coping in French classes. The vulnerability of Turkish-background students to the messages they receive from teachers, as in Australia, is greater than that of their non-migrant peers. Their families have fewer resources, scholastic experiences, and social contacts upon which students might build an alternative vision of themselves. The hope of ambition made good by effort alone is not available to students at this point in their school careers as it is to Turkish-background students in Australia. This is an important distinction.

The CPE at LP Dumas considers that the problems facing weak students may be summarised as a lack of ability to read and write and poor vocabulary. She notes that some students need texts read aloud in order to understand them. She attributes students' reading comprehension difficulties to the handicap of an early "lack of language" amongst migrant-background students. This leads to exasperation amongst teachers: "on ne sait plus comment les prendre" (*we don't know how to handle them any more*). Similarly, at Claudel, a mathematics teacher in the academic part of the school considers that the students in greatest difficulty are migrant-background students due to their poor mastery of French and limited vocabulary. This 'language difficulty' is felt across the curriculum, from learning mathematical concepts to history, and geography. According to this mathematics teacher, students have trouble learning lessons and grasping all of the "nuances que donne le professeur dans les échanges au cours de la classe" (*nuances the teacher gives in classroom exchanges*) (Claudel

mathematics teacher). Language is again evoked as a reason for poor academic levels amongst migrant background students by a French teacher at LP Molière. The CPE at LP Molière also sees comprehension of written texts – including mathematical formulations and maps – as being students' greatest weakness. For this CPE, the kind of student most likely to experience academic failure is “de milieu socio-culturel défavorisé, immigré de deuxième génération, ou nouveau arrivé de Turquie” (*from a disadvantaged socio-cultural environment, second generation migrant, or newly arrived from Turkey*).

This emphasis on the problems specific to migrant-background students is stronger in France than in Australia, a fact which is connected to the political framing of identity and citizenship in France. Migrant languages and allegiances to ethnic community are identified as a threat to ‘integration’, one of the primary purposes of the education system. Behind concerns about academic abilities lies anxiety about a cultural divide which teachers see as their duty to break down. Hearing Turkish or Arabic spoken on the streets or in the school-yard constitutes a concern for the teachers in France interviewed for this study and as a challenge to the universalist, rational, republican culture which it is their job to preserve and transmit.

Turkish-background students are singled out by teachers, and it is indeed true that they frequently use Turkish rather than French. In fact, they are less likely to use French than other migrant-background students in a range of social situations (Figures 12.1-12.6). The greater prevalence of Turkish may be due in part to the more recent arrival of the Turkish community in Alsace and the higher rates of endogamy amongst Turks, which promotes linguistic maintenance.

The language practices of Turkish-background students in France resemble those of their counterparts in Australia, although their use of Turkish is slightly more common in family situations and slightly less in school-oriented situations. It is interesting to note that Turkish-background students in France are more likely to read and write in Turkish than their Australian cousins, despite the greater boundaries established between the academic world and community life by the universalist ideology of the French system.

Figures 12.1 to 12.6 show that the use of Turkish declines as students move from interactions with parents, to wider family socialisation, to socialisation with others of the same generation and finally to communication for academic purposes. However, it rebounds in students' own cultivation of reading and writing outside of formal structures⁶.

⁶ No school in the study offers Turkish as a subject.

Legend:

■ all the time ■ often

Figure 12.1 Use of a language other than English with parents (%)

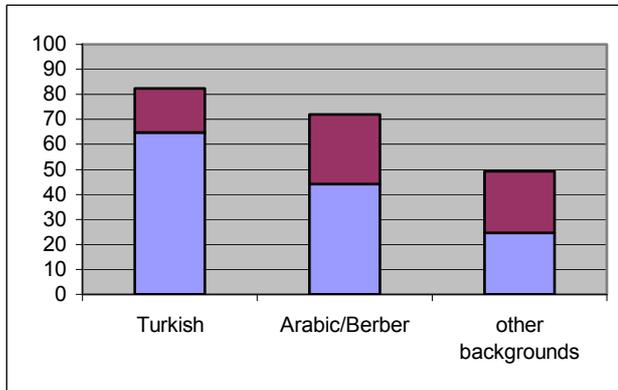


Figure 12.2 Use of a language other than English with relatives and family friends (%)

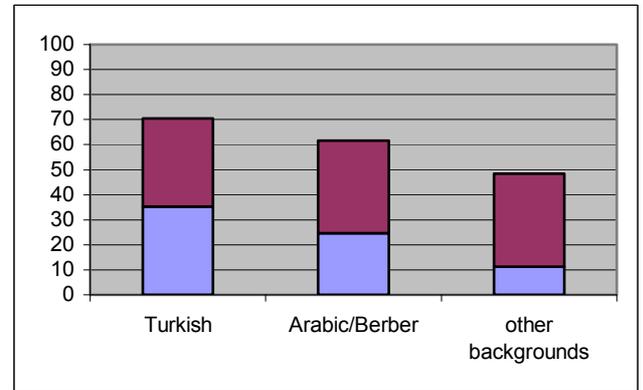


Figure 12.3 Use of a language other than English with siblings by background (%)

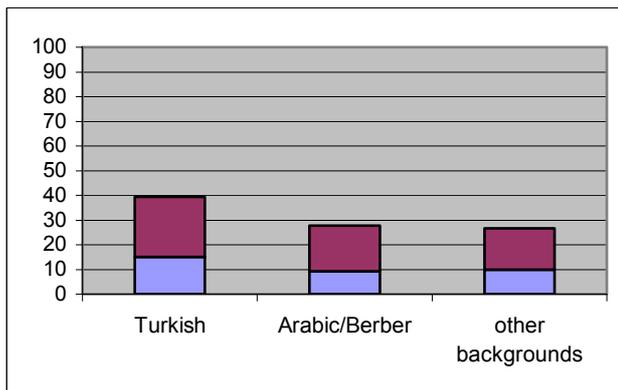


Figure 12.4 Use of a language other than English with friends/classmates by background (%)

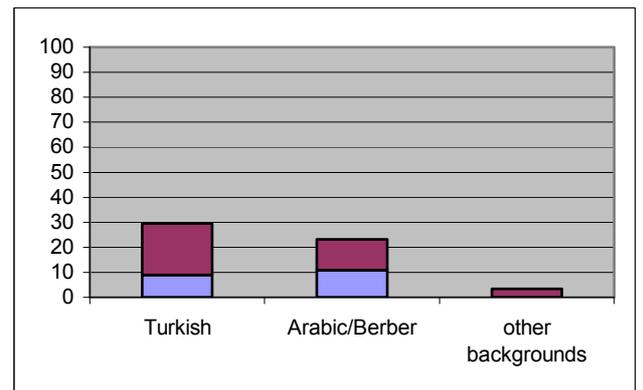


Figure 12.5 Use of a language other than English to discuss schoolwork by background (%)

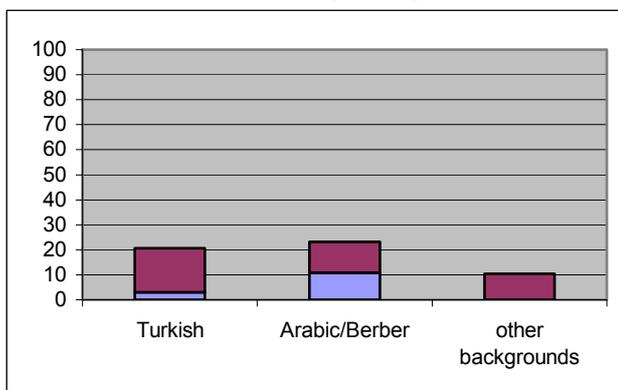
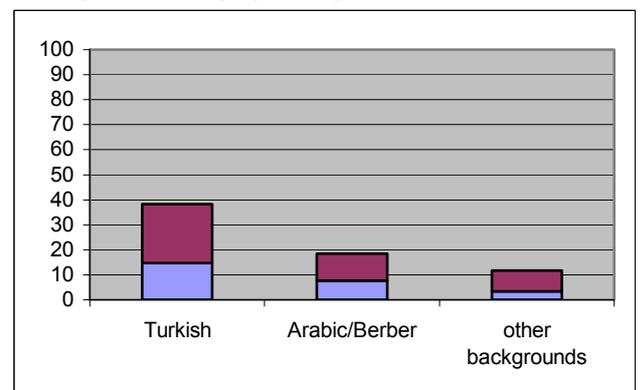


Figure 12.6 Use of a language other than English for reading and writing by background (%)



In addition to a lack of spoken French, many teachers express concern about the lack of books and reading in the home. In the settings of this study, few

students live in a home where books are read and discussed: just 1 in 5, a figure which does not differ significantly between ethnic groups.

Students' own reading practices and tastes differ more markedly between ethnic groups. Migrant-background students are less likely to read novels for pleasure than their non-migrant peers, particularly boys (Table 12.1). Whereas over a third of dominant-language background girls often read novels for pleasure, fewer than 1 in 10 Turkish girls do so. Amongst boys, where reading novels is less popular, Turkish and Arabic/Berber-background boys are least likely to ever pick up a novel outside of school requirements (Table 12.1).

These patterns reflect differences in taste and different relationships to the forms of written culture most closely associated with academic demands and most useful to school work. On the one hand, taste for novels is understood as culturally more appropriate for girls and students with an academic vocation, and other students may hence be discouraged from reading them. However, reading novels is also a sign of cultural proximity to the world and values of schooling, and as such the relationship between reading tastes and engagement with school is important.

This relationship precedes students' division in streams at *lycée*, but persists even within the different *lycée* curriculum streams. The greater interest of non-migrant students cannot be accounted for by their greater concentration in middle-class families: differences also persist amongst working-class families alone (chi-square =12.9, $p < .05$).

Table 12.1 Frequency of novel reading outside of school requirements

		Dominant Language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other Backgrounds %	Total %
boys	never	47	69	70	68	58
	sometimes	38	15	22	25	31
	often	15	15	9	7	12
	n	116	13	46	44	219
girls	never	31	36	51	48	37
	sometimes	34	55	22	24	33
	often	35	9	27	28	30
	n	143	22	37	25	227
all students	never	38	49	61	61	47
	sometimes	36	40	22	25	32
	often	26	11	17	14	21
	n	259	35	83	69	446

Chi-Square (all students) = 23.1, $p < .01$ (boys) = 11.3, $p < .01$ 2 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.54. (girls) = 14.1, $p < .05$.

Literacy, legitimate language and language acquisition

So far, I have suggested that teachers hold negative views of the linguistic abilities of migrant-background students. The basis of their explanations – the use of languages other than French, limited contact with books – has some foundation in students' lives. However, the performances upon which students are so negatively evaluated are not always related to cognitive ability. Nor can the performances of migrant and non-migrant-background students be so readily distinguished.

Students in the French sample typically speak a style of French which has little legitimacy at school, and counts as 'incorrect' when judged by the framework of formal standards. In addition, a distinctive and stigmatized style, accent and vocabulary are identified with migrant-background students, but extend beyond their use to influence the language of all young people in working-class neighbourhoods. This style fits ill with classroom expectations of decorum and form, but cannot be considered as being inherently less functional for the purposes of learning (Labov, 2003). Within the constraints of the language accepted by schools, students must, therefore, learn to superpose speech patterns they acquire externally from the dialect they have learnt from home and peers.

The strains are greatest when students move from speech to the written word. Regardless of the language used for speech with family and friends, the movement to writing for academic purposes and audiences is something that students in the setting of this study generally manage poorly. The survey administered to students provides some samples of writing which cast light on this strain.

Students' written responses to the final question on the survey reflect not merely a level of technical competency, but a particular understanding of the demands of the task and its classification either as an 'everyday' undertaking or a performance with specific and specialised requirements. Certainly, without some mastery of written conventions, students cannot reproduce them even if they were to recognise that they are called for. However, by the same token, lack of attention to written conventions reflects a limited awareness of the contexts in which they are called for and the functions they fulfil. In short, student responses tend to reflect a lack of distinction between the contexts eliciting everyday speech acts and those which elicit and reward a different set of conventions.

The question asked of students was 'if you were asked in a radio interview to describe your idea of a successful life, what would you say?' As I discussed in chapter 7, the question itself is posed in a hypothetical spoken context, but was undertaken by students as a classroom task and responses did not adopt the conventions of a radio interview. Most students present a direct and fragmentary answer which satisfies the substance of the question, while a minority show attention to the stylistic and formal conventions of academic writing. I wish to present examples of each posture in turn.

Students adopting the former posture, most common in BEP classes, distinguish themselves on the level of discourse through the brevity and fragmentary nature of their responses. The following example is typical (capitalisation retained):

TRAVAILLER, RÉUSSIR SA VIE PROFESSIONNELLE (*WORK, SUCCEED IN PROFESSIONAL LIFE*) (male, BEP French monolingual 729.11).

A second characteristic of this posture is that students show their disregard for spelling conventions from the outset by ignoring the spelling of 'une vie réussie' (*a successful life*) in the question and spelling it differently in their responses. Around half the students in the sample misspell 'une vie réussie'. They have not thought to check the spelling used in the question – which they have nevertheless been able to decode – or have not thought it important enough to bother with one spelling rather than another. After all, the meaning is not affected by the way the word is written down.

In the following example a student has realised that there is a silent ending of some form required to modify the adjective 'réussi' (successful), but mistakenly uses the noun form, and on a second occasion approximates a third person plural verb ending:

une famille reussite, un bon boulot, une vie trepidante et epanouie et des relations amicales reussitent (*a *success*⁷ family, a good job, a busy and fulfilled life and *succeed* friendships*) (male BEP French/Alsatian speaker 725.11).

Such errors suggest that students are inattentive readers and unable to recognise patterns in text they read in order to apply them to their own writing. The greater number of silent morphemes in French than in English, and the system of diacritic accents, means that there is ample room for errors arising from the distance between spoken and written language.

Errors pertaining to written conventions are common from students of all language backgrounds. A male BEP student who speaks both French and Alsatian at home confuses 'ce' and 'se', fails to make an adjective agree with the noun it describes, and misspells an adverb:

C'est une vie où l'on sait faire se qu'on souhaite (proffessionnellement, vie social) (*Its a life where you know *what* you want (*proffessionally*, *social* life)*) (733.11).

⁷ Asterisks are used to indicate where errors occur in the original as these cannot always be translated as errors in the English version.

This student does in fact make a gesture to a more formal register by using the construction 'l'on', a characteristic of an elegant literate style. However, on a second occasion, when *l'on* is more appropriate to avoid the contraction 'qu'on', he does not use this construction. This misplaced flourish suggests an attempt at a register distinct from informal conversation. As an audible sign of a formal register (characteristic not just of written text, but of formal speech), the flourish 'l'on' is certainly more accessible than precise spelling. Most students do not show even this accommodation to the written style and stick to very informal language:

Une vie réussie c'est quand t'a terminé tes études... (*A successful life is when *ya've* finished your studies*) (female, Turkish background 581.9).

The real traps for students lie in those constructions which are silent and have no existence other than on the page. Even when students are aware of a system of silent differences, they do not appreciate the function of its various components. For example, the silent 's' on the end of 'français' is taken as suitable silent ending for nationalities and extended to 'algeriens'. Many students have no use for morphemes which have no phonological existence in everyday speech. Thus, the response "d'avoir fait de bon etude supérieure" (*having done good *tertiary study**) (Turkish-background BEP student 171) omits markers of gender and number which are unsounded, but grammatically necessary in the written version of this sentence. Other common errors arising from lack of attention to written form are the confusion of homonyms and phonetic spelling:

...une vie stable un *travaille* qui me *plaie* un bon salire et ne pas avoir de difficulté d'argent" (*A stable life a *work* which I *like* a good *salary* and not to have money *problems**) (male BEP student, French/Italian bilingual 719.11).

Girls studying for a BEP make fewer errors than boys – which tends to support their higher rates of self-reported coping in French (discussed further

below). This in part results from the time many devote to revising their work. However, most attention, and revision is devoted by these girls to the most superficial elements of writing: neatness of presentation and well-formed handwriting, with almost obsessive use of white-out on every line. Thus, the efforts of their corrections, while they might have been rewarded at an earlier point in their academic career, do not contribute greatly to the quality of their writing. BEP girls commonly confuse infinitives and past participles:

Une vie réussie pour moi, c'est tout d'abord d'être installer dans une maison, d'être bien payer" (*A successful life for me, its firstly to be *set up* in a house, to be well *paid** (female 'French' background 571.9) .

And,

Je veux vite terminé mes études (*I want to quickly *finished* my studies*)
(female BEP, Ivorian background 562.9).

Voiced liaisons are sometimes mistaken for feminine forms of adjectives:

...un *bonne* emploie bien renuméré (*a *good* *well-paid* job*)
(male BEP, speaks French and German at home 727.11).

These examples show difficulty not just with spelling and sentence construction, but with punctuation and capitalisation. It is striking that first generation students who do show clear signs of incomplete acquisition of French are often more attuned to written conventions. As with the Australian sample, only a few first or second generation students showed signs of incomplete acquisition of French. The grammatical errors in the following example are typical of a 'non-native' speaker:

D'avoir une famille vivante danse une ambiance heureux, avoir des amie aussi, d'avoir un travail avec paie qui nous correspond à nos tâches et à nos niveau scolaire. De pouvoir pratiquer du sport ou

d'autre loisirs en dehors du temps de travail. De vivre dans la bonne santé (male BEP Cambodian background 693.11)

In this example, despite errors in syntax which might be signs of incomplete language acquisition, the spelling and use of accents and punctuation is actually more advanced than is the case for many 'native' speakers. This student's ease with writing can be connected to his unusual reading practices. Outside of school he reports regularly reading novels and magazines.

In the academic and 'technological' *sections*, the written language of students is predictably of a higher standard and the discursive structure is more obviously tailored to the task. Around half of the students in the most academically demanding stream, *bac S* (scientific baccalaureate), managed to answer the question without making an error compared to virtually no students enrolled in vocational studies. Some even took pleasure in correcting a spelling error which appeared on the questionnaire.

In academic streams, almost all students begin their response with a full sentence, demonstrating awareness of academic conventions for such tasks. Some come in the form of topic sentences indicating a structure for remainder of the text:

Une vie réussie prend en compte plusieurs facteurs... (male Bac S, 'French' background 915.12).

Students in academic streams also demonstrate that they re-read their work through more frequent self-corrections. Time spent on corrections was more evident in girls' than in boys' responses. Corrections were not always helpful to students. One boy carefully rewrote his response to read "je ne sait pas" (*Bac S*, French/Alsatian speaker 910.12).

The optimisation of the tools of rhetoric remains the preserve of those more confident students at the top of the hierarchy:

Mais qu'est-ce qu'une vie réussie? A quoi ça sert de réussir sa vie, il faut la vivre au jour le jour et adienne que pourra, je m'en fous. Chacun fait comme il veut et ça ne sert à rien de vouloir à tous prix

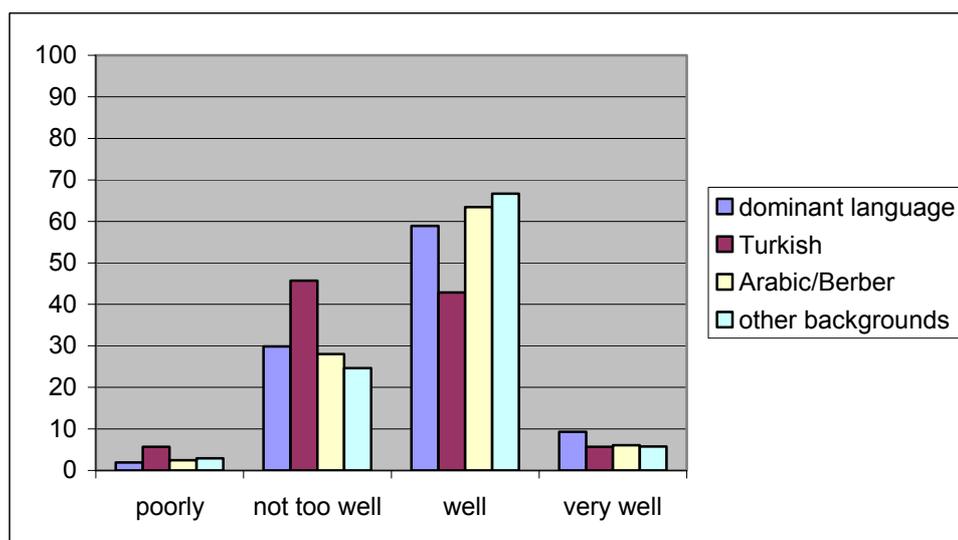
réussir sa vie puisque je pense qu'une fois qu'on a tout pour avoir une vie réussie, on ne sera pas plus heureux qu'avant et souvent bien au contraire! (*But what is a successful life? What is the point of a successful life, on must live one day at a time, and come what may, I do not care. Each does as he wishes and I think that once one has everything for a successful life one will be no happier than before, and often quite the contrary!*) (male, Bac S, dominant language-background, son of a teacher 905.12).

This student attempts an erudite style with rhetorical questions and the proverbial locution 'advienne que pourra', followed by a return to an informal register with 'je m'en fous'. The student also shows more scrupulous attention to written conventions, which separate weaker from stronger students. It is primarily in the written execution, rather than by virtue of a lack of fluency, that students fail in their responses to appear competent in French. However, many also appear clumsy in ignoring modes of personal implication and distancing expected in written discourse. This resembles the class and gender-based distinctions in 'the forms of subjectivity' invested in discourse previously identified amongst slightly younger students at *collège* (Felouzis, 1994: 67).

Reported coping in French classes

If we set aside for a moment the divisions of streams and *sections* to consider the overall experience of Turkish-background students, it appears that they stand out as coping less well than students from other groups. The contrast is even starker against the optimism of Turkish-background students in Australia. Whereas in Australia fewer than 1 in 5 students believe they are not coping well with English, in France, closer to half of Turkish-background students believe that they are not coping well in the corresponding class. Although numbers are too small to draw a strong conclusion, this does not appear as a generalised tendency amongst other migrant-background students, who are at least as confident as their non-migrant peers in their level of coping with French (Figure 12.7).

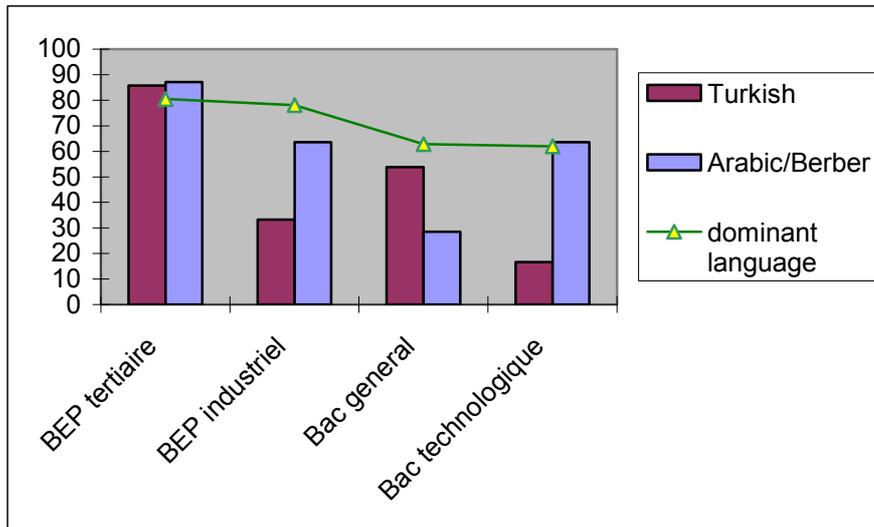
Figure 12.7 Coping with French classes by Ethnic Background (percentages)



Of course students' reported level of coping is relative to curriculum demands and pedagogical practices which are distinctive to the *section* and school in which they are enrolled. In theory, the level of difficulty provided by the French curriculum is matched to students' abilities by virtue of the process of '*orientation*' into different streams. Thus, the strongest students should face the most rigorous French classes, and the weakest face classes which are adapted to their lesser abilities. In fact, student perceptions of their level of coping are relatively stable, but are slightly higher in the BEP *sections* and lower in the *bac général/technologique sections*.

The most confident students, regardless of background, are those enrolled in a BEP *tertiaire*. Four-fifths of these students believe that they are coping well (Figure 12.8). The BEP *tertiaire* students are mainly girls, and they directed towards these streams because they are 'slightly less weak in French', in the words of the CPE at LP Dumas. Elsewhere, although numbers are small and do not give rise to great certainty, Turkish and Arabic/Berber-background students appear to feel less confident than their peers that they are coping with French. Reported levels of coping only rejoin those of dominant language-background students in the case of Arabic/Berber students enrolled in a *baccalauréat technologique*.

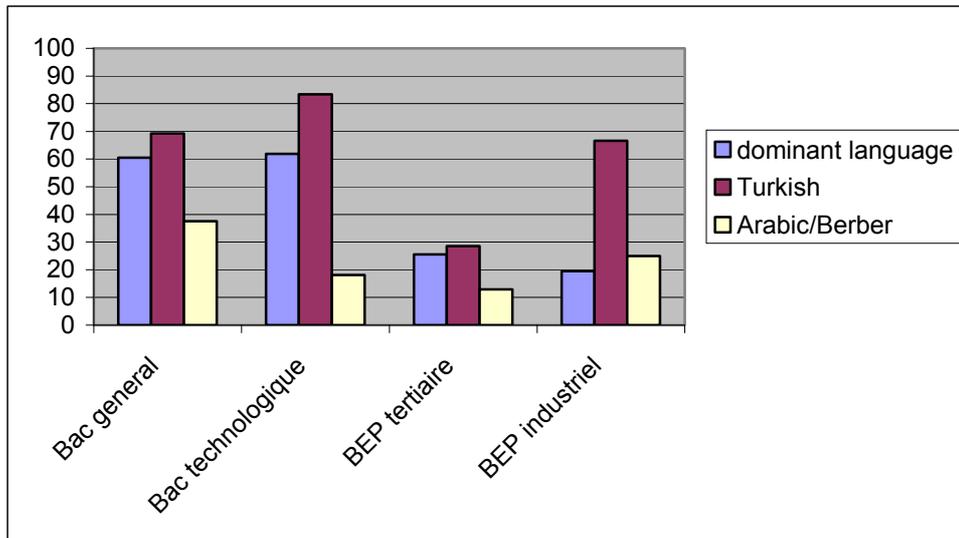
Figure 12.8 Coping well or better in French by ethnic background and *section* (percentages)



(Chi-square = 7.1, $p < .1$ for 'BEP industriel'. Chi-square = 6.8, $p < .1$ for 'Bac technologique').

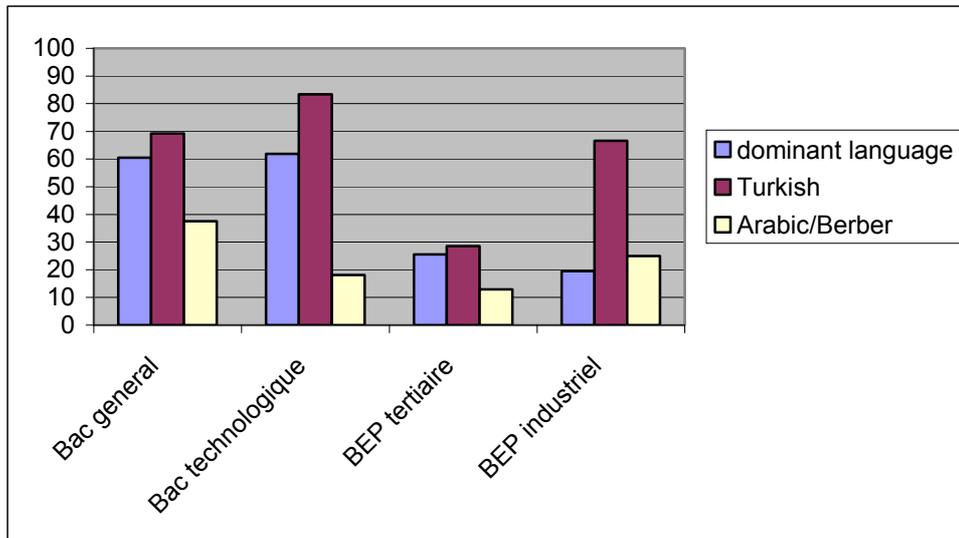
Students' confidence to perform various tasks in the classroom varies between sections. The students who most often experience difficulties identifying parts of a text are those enrolled in a *baccalauréat* (Figure 12.9). Turkish-background students appear to be less influenced by stream than students from other backgrounds, and consistently experience the greatest difficulty. Amongst students from other groups, students higher up in the system are more likely to recognise difficulties in such work.

Figure 12.9 Difficulties identifying parts of a text by *section* and ethnicity (percentages)



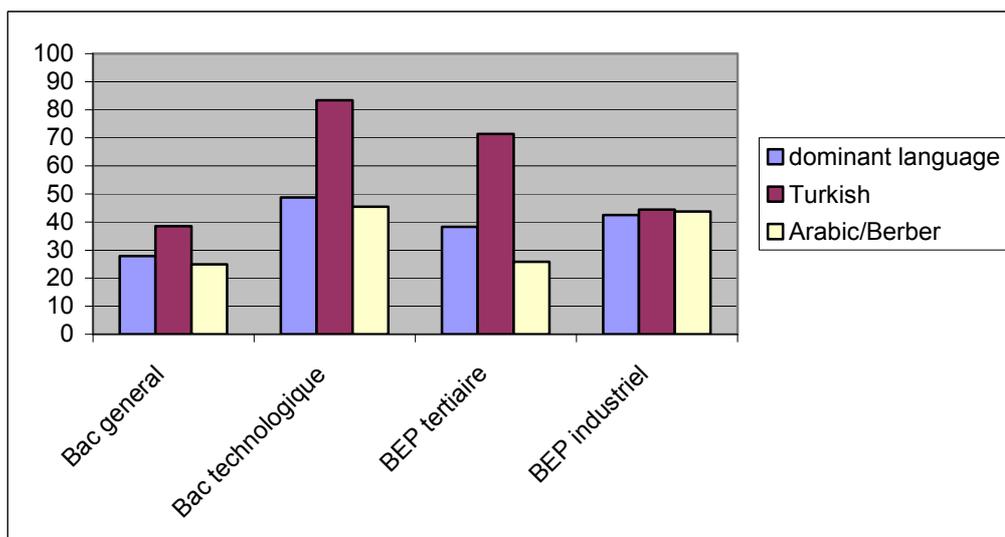
Another type of task which appears to be more favourable to weaker students, is explaining in writing the parts of a text (Figure 12.10). This type of task is approachable at a number of levels, from simple description to more complex analysis. Students enrolled in a BEP *tertiaire* are most likely to feel they have the measure of such a task, while a majority of *bac* students experience difficulty at the more demanding level. Again, across the *sections*, Turkish students appear at a disadvantage, while Arabic/Berber-background students are most confident in their capacities.

Figure 12.10 Difficulties with explaining parts of a text by *section* and ethnicity (percentages)



This picture does not hold when it comes to more the most demanding composition tasks (Figure 12.11). Students in *bac général* feel the most comfortable of any group presenting their own views in writing on a subject in an essay⁸, and ethnic differences are least pronounced in this *section*.

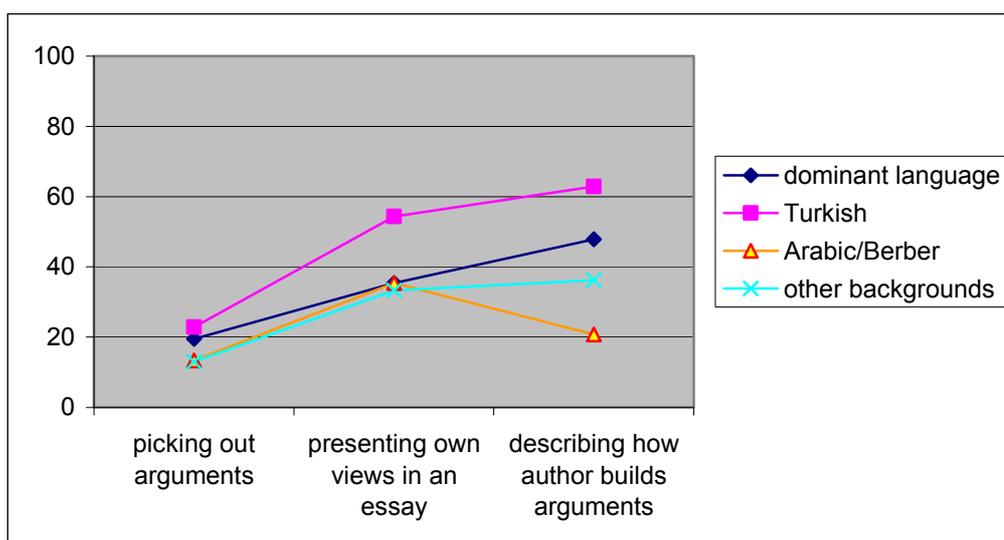
Figure 12.11 Difficulties with presenting own point of view in an essay by *section* and ethnicity (percentages)



⁸ *Dissertation* in French

The difficulty experienced by students with these various tasks points to the collapse of confidence amongst weaker students when it comes to writing more complex compositions, but also to the persistence of high levels of difficulty experience by Turkish-background students in all streams. The pattern of greater difficulty amongst Turkish-background students across the various types of task is most visible in Figure 12.12, which also shows how analytical and writing-based tasks separate students by ethnicity more strongly than the comprehension task (seen as easiest by all students). Whereas barely 1 in 5 students struggle to pick out the parts of a text (a comprehension exercise), providing a written commentary on a text presents difficulties for two-thirds of Turkish-background students. In light of small numbers, this apparent trend is, of course, far from conclusive.

Figure 12.12 Difficulty with various tasks in the French classroom by background (percentages)

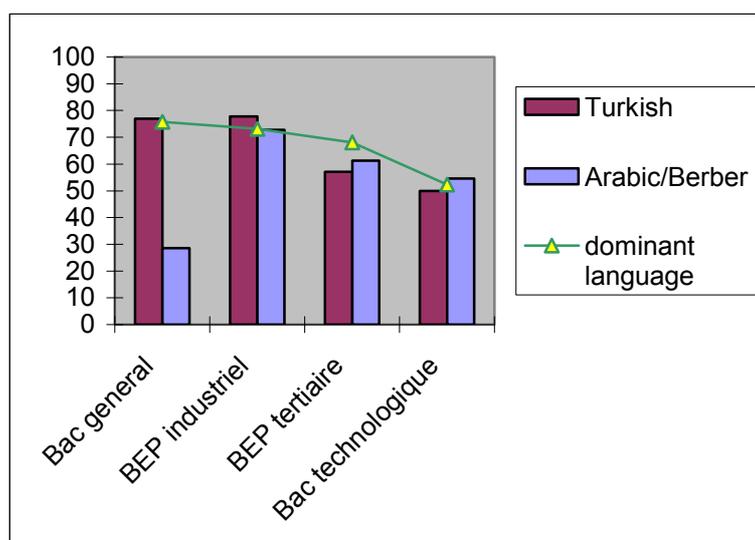


Reported coping with mathematics

Together with French, mathematics is the subject which fills students with most dread. As with French classes, the mathematics curriculum varies from stream to stream. These differences relate to the adaptation of the curriculum to the future vocational needs of students and to their presumed interests as students in a particular stream.

Students reported level of coping in mathematics appears to be much less influenced by ethnic background than is the case in French classes. Around a third of students feel that they are not coping too well, 57 per cent feel that they are coping well (except for Arabic/Berber-background students, who are 10 points lower), and around 1 in 10 are coping 'very well' (slightly more amongst Arabic/Berber-background students). If we look at how students fare within the various *sections*, this pattern of common perceptions between ethnic groups appears to hold (Figure 12.13). The exception is in the *baccalauréat général*, where Arabic/Berber-background students are more than twice as likely as their peers to report not coping in mathematics. The numbers in this *section* are too small to draw any conclusion from this (n=7).

Figure 12.13 Coping with mathematics by *section* and ethnicity (percentages)



(*Bac général*: Chi-square = 7.8, $p < .05$. 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.87)

Another view of differences between groups can be obtained from a 'confidence in mathematics' scale calculated from four items responding to question 44 on the survey, 'how did you find mathematics this year (or in the last year you did mathematics)?'. The scale ranges from 4 to 16 and is based

on level of agreement with four propositions presented⁹. On this measure, a one-way between-groups analysis of variance found no statistically significant difference based on ethnicity. An independent samples T-test did however show that boys have a slightly higher mean confidence (M = 11.0, SD = 2.2) than girls (M=10.2, SD = 2.4), with a significant but small effect size, following the guidelines proposed by Cohen (Cohen, 1988) ($p > .001$, $\eta^2 = .029$). As in Australia, this finding may reflect the influence of generalised gender stereotypes about the greater capacity and taste of boys for mathematics. These are likely to be strengthened by streaming practices which are strong mechanisms for indicating to students what kind of a person they are ('practical', 'literary', 'scientific').

Differences between *sections* are also significant when tested with a one-way between-groups analysis of variance, with a small to medium sized effect from *section* of enrolment in Cohen's terms (Cohen, 1988) ($F = 3.35$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = 0.04$).

Differences in the appreciation of mathematics and French

Is it possible to speak of adaptation of curriculum and pedagogy in French and mathematics in equal measure? In the first section on Australia, we saw that English classes have greater scope to be adapted to student needs and tastes than do mathematics classes, and that this is reflected in students' reported levels of coping. In France, however, only students studying for a BEP *industriel* report strong differences in their level of coping in French compared to mathematics, and it is mathematics which appears to be most adapted to students' abilities (Figure 12.14).

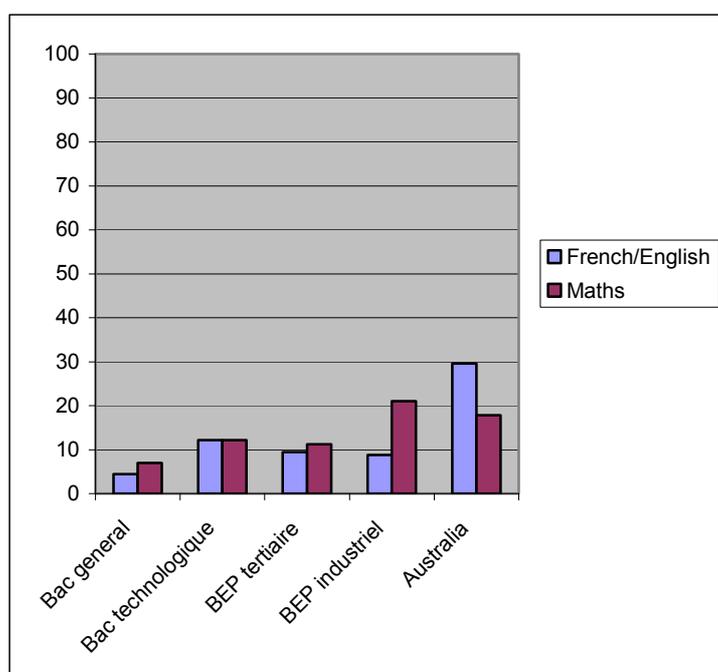
Indeed the form in which mathematics is presented to BEP *industriel* students appears to be more accessible to students than the mathematics offered to any other group of students in the French sample. Overall, both mathematics and French appear easier to cope with to BEP students than they appear to the most academically able students. Ferid (Claudel, BEP) describes the school work as easy, provided one pays attention in class and

⁹ The propositions were: In mathematics this year... 'I was confident in my work', 'I helped other students with maths problems', 'I did not understand the purpose of much of the work' (recoded), 'I found the problems both interesting and challenging'.

takes in what the teacher says and does. “If you study regularly, follow what’s going on in class and don’t leave it to the last minute, there shouldn’t be any problems”, agrees Nadir (Claudel, BEP). While both of these students agree that mathematics and French are the most difficult of their subjects, their greatest fear is the amount of reading required for the BEP examination.

The students who feel they are coping least well are those enrolled in academic streams. The demands of the curriculum are greatest on these students, and the cultural resources they have to draw upon are similar to those of their peers in other *sections*.

Figure 12.14 Coping ‘very well’ in French and mathematics by *section* (percentages)



Confidence in study success

As with perceptions of coping, expected results are strongly associated with the *section* in which students are enrolled. Again, the most confident students are those at the bottom of the educational hierarchy, where institutional expectations have been lowered. BEP *tertiaire* students most often expect good results (54%), reflecting their perception of themselves as coping well in class, particularly in French (Table 12). However even BEP *industriel* students, many of whom see little point in their work and see a grim future

before them, are at least confident in doing well in their examinations. The most nervous students are those studying for the Bac, none of whom expects 'very good results' and only a third of whom expect 'good results'.

This diminishes yet further for girls and migrant-background students. Of those studying for a *bac technologique*, less than 1 in 5 of whom from either group believe they will achieve anything more than a pass (compared to 50% of boys and 40% of non-migrant students). The higher levels of optimism in this *section* come from the all-male STI ('industrial) stream, and expectations appear to be most depressed in the mainly female STT ('services') stream. In other *sections*, disparities between streams and groups of students do not emerge from the data. No individual characteristics were able to add to *section* as predictors of confidence in results in a regression analysis (not included here).

If we compare the expectations of students in France to those in Melbourne, we can see that French students are less hopeful in every *section*. Even the *section* which inspires the most confidence in its students in France does not approach levels of confidence found in the Melbourne schools, where virtually no students believe they will achieve poor results and a fifth are waiting for 'very good results'. It is important to note that grades are expected to follow a bell-curve in French schools, ensuring that there are always weak students and strong students in the classroom (Crahay, 1996), while in Australia no such norm exists and grades are often aimed at encouragement.

Table 12.2 Expected results by *section* (percentages)

	<i>BEP</i> <i>Tertiaire</i> %	<i>BEP</i> <i>Industriel</i> %	<i>Bac</i> <i>Général</i> %	<i>Bac</i> <i>Technologique</i> %	<i>Total</i> %	<i>Australia</i> %
very poor results	1	2	3	3	2	1.3
poor results	3	3	13	12	8	1.3
a pass	35	48	48	52	45	27.5
good results	54	43	36	33	42	47.6
very good results	7	4			3	22.4
N	107	113	159	66	445	473

Chi-Square (for French *sections*) = 40.7, $p < .001$. 8 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.48.

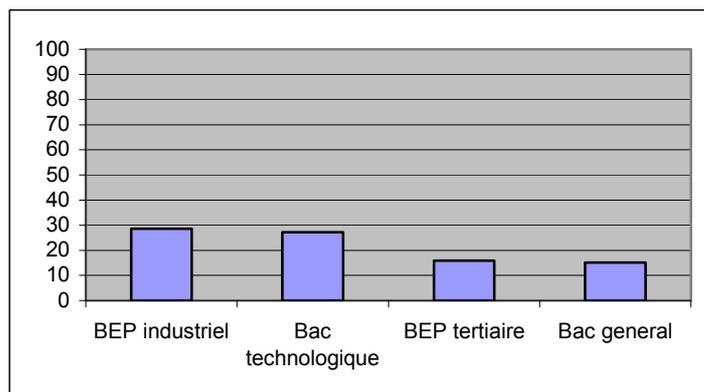
Investment in Schoolwork

Despite lower confidence in generalist streams, investment in schoolwork and motivation appear stronger than elsewhere. Many BEP students, in interviews, express a belief that attending in class is sufficient to pass a subject. Students at LP Molière even observe that “le programme est vraiment léger” (*the course is really light*). They expect teachers to realize that students are not academic and are highly critical of teachers whose explanations are skimpy because the teacher has not themselves ever experienced difficulties in that discipline. Many BEP students also struggle to see the relevance of the content they are asked to study.

Most students in the sample are able to see a point in schoolwork however 1 in 5 cannot see much use in schoolwork. This feeling is strongest amongst students in the BEP *industriel*, whose curriculum is designed to be the most practical and the most relevant to an immediately present work environment. In this course, closer to a third of students see little use in schoolwork, a view held by more than half the Turkish-background students in the *section*. Similarly, students in the practically oriented *bac technologique* are also likely to see little use in schoolwork. Numbers are too small in this course for differences to be significant, but it appears that as in the BEP *industriel*, students of Turkish background or from smaller migrant groups are over-represented amongst those who see little use in schoolwork. Of course, if the work students are being trained for itself has little meaning to students, then connecting the curriculum to this work cannot be expected to be rewarded through greater student engagement.

The practical studies undertaken by BEP *tertiaire* students appear more purposeful, perhaps because the endpoint appears appealing than in the BEP *industriel*. There are also practical reasons for them to maintain greater interest in their studies and their prolongation: the unemployment rate for graduates of a BEP *tertiaire* is higher than those of graduates of a BEP *industriel*. In the *Bac général*, which caters to those students who have been able to find greatest purchase on the core academic curriculum, the problem of finding meaning in schoolwork is less pressing, regardless of ethnic background.

Figure 12.15 Agreement with the proposition “I don’t see much use in schoolwork” by stream



From the gendered allocation of students to ‘sections’, we can guess that boys more often see little use in schoolwork than girls. In fact, overall, 26 per cent of boys don’t see much use in schoolwork compared to 15 per cent of girls (Chi-square = 7.3, $p < .01$). The influence of *section* cannot be held entirely responsible for the gender divide in students’ views, however, as even in the *Bac général*, girls less frequently see little use in their schoolwork than boys (23% to 10%, chi-square = 5.1, $p < .05$). This is in keeping with previous findings of the greater attachment of girls to school at *collège* level (Felouzis, 1994: 55). This gender distinction also closely mirrors that in Australia, where 16 per cent of girls don’t see much use in schoolwork to 28 per cent of boys. The ‘advantage’ on this measure of Turkish and Arabic/Berber-background students in Australia is not, however, replicated in France.

Teacher theories of success and failure

Teachers in France, as in Australia, have in mind a particular kind of person who is able to thrive on the daily work and academic trials of school. For teachers who are faced with many students who do not fit this mould, there exists the necessity of developing a typology of students, with explanations for their conformity to or deviance from the ideal student.

Personal investment is the quality teachers often mention as essential to successful studies in adverse settings. A mathematics teacher with experience teaching in ZEP *collèges* described the successful student as one who has learned to become autonomous from the teacher at an early age. In

contexts where the teacher must devote much time to providing individual help to weaker students, a stronger student learns to do without a teacher to some extent. This puts them in good stead for *Lycée*.

However, personal investment does not constitute the recipe for study success. Cultural capital constitutes a considerable advantage in the domains of both expression and reasoning:

il y a quand même toute la culture qui est apporté à la maison qui permet de réussir des devoirs de français, qu'un autre aura plus de mal... à partir du moment où il aura peu lu, il aura ..voilà. C'est surtout celui qui va dominer la langue, qui va avoir un peu de culture, qui va pouvoir s'exprimer en histoire en...et quand il a ces capacités là, si vous voulez, parce que finalement en histoire-géo on va lui demander un peu les mêmes capacités qu'en mathématiques, c'est pouvoir faire une analyse d'un texte et une synthèse (*Remember that there is all the culture which is provided at home which allows students to succeed in French tests, that another will struggle [with] ...from the point where he might have read little, he will...there you go. It's above all the one who will master the language, who will have a little culture, who will be able to express himself in history...and when he has these abilities, if you like, because at the end of the day in history/geography the same capacities will be asked of him as in mathematics, that is to be able to do a textual analysis and a synthesis*) (Mathematics teacher, Claudel).

At Voltaire, family background is also evoked by the principal and teachers as an important factor. One teacher considered that the ability to reason, broad vocabulary and ability to form syntax were the essential competencies setting apart successful students (Male teacher 2). While teachers consider the lack of cultural resources to be most severe amongst Turkish-background students, this lack is not exclusive to them and can also be found wherever parents lack 'academic culture'. An experimental study found that this type of explanation is, however, most common when a hypothetical struggling student are identified as of migrant-background. Explanations centred on psychological issues, temporary puberty problems or a lack of attention from

parents are offered when the same hypothetical student is identified as of high socio-economic status and non-migrant (Chrysochoou, Picard, & Pronine, 2001).

Nevertheless, teachers' concerns about the support available to migrant-background students are not without foundation. Turkish-background students are indeed least able to get help with homework – 20 per cent cannot get assistance compared to 26 per cent of dominant-language background students, 31 per cent of Arabic/Berber-background students and 42 per cent of students from other migrant backgrounds (chi-square = 8.9, $p < .05$). Parents are particularly unlikely to be able to help students (Table 12.3). Help from siblings supplements parental help somewhat amongst migrant-background students, but this is less readily available to those who are in the *bac général section*, where fewer siblings have themselves studied (12.4). With regards to mathematics, Turkish-background students are also least successful in finding assistance outside of school. Only a third of Turkish-background students are able to find help with mathematics, compared to a half of students from all other backgrounds.

Table 12.3 Help received from parents with homework

	Dominant language	Turkish	Arabic/Berber	other backgrounds	Total
No help from parents	63	86	94	84	74
help from parents	37	14	6	16	26
N	259	35	83	69	446

Chi-square = 38.7, $p < .001$

Table 12.4 Help received from siblings with homework

	Dominant language	Turkish	Arabic/Berber	other backgrounds	Total
No help from siblings	83	71	66	72	78
help from siblings	17	29	34	28	22
N	259	35	83	69	446

Chi-square = 12.9, $p < .01$

At Voltaire, the principal connected student difficulties to the lack of assistance at home and a generalised distance from written culture:

Nous sommes dans un monde d'enseignement, du livre et de l'écrit, et ils [les élèves] évoluent, dans ce secteur, beaucoup, dans un monde où ce n'est pas le mode de vie des parents, qui ont fait des formations courtes dans le temps, donc le monde du livre et de l'écrit dans lequel nous nous baignons n'est pas celui dans lequel ils baignent donc le rapport à l'exigence de travail est aussi connoté de cela (*We are in the world of teaching, of books and writing, and they [students] evolve, in this area, many of them, in a world where it is not the way of life of parents, who in their time left school early, thus the world of books and writing in which we are immersed is not that in which they are immersed, thus their relationship to work requirements is also coloured by this*).

The world of home is therefore 'out of touch' with the world of *Lycée général*. Language difficulties emerge not just for the Turkish second generation, but also for students growing up in homes where either standard German or Alsatian are spoken (CPE, male science teacher, principal). For a French teacher at Voltaire, rural dialects are a problem and "dans les villages il y a un déficit de vocabulaire" (*there is a vocabulary deficit in the villages*) (Voltaire male teacher 2).

As the comments above show, teachers in academic streams lament students' lack of a noble posture towards learning and the world of the mind, which constitute deficits of the person far graver than mere technical failings. For one teacher the question of written language was grave for the *baccalauréat* examinations, which have only minor oral components¹⁰. Across scientific and literary subjects, the demands fall on "organisation de la pensée, de vocabulaire, de rédaction" (*organisation of thought, of vocabulary, of writing*) (principal, teachers). The literary and academic language required is 'alien' to the student body at this school. Where students recognise the value of learning, this tends to be instrumental only. A French teacher

¹⁰ In fact, in the final French examination, students must pass a 20 minute oral examination in addition to the written component, with each being counted equally (except in the L stream, where the coefficient for the written section is greater).

considered the biggest challenge for him as a teacher was to make students see literature as something other than grades (Voltaire male science teacher). A mathematics teacher at the same school similarly complained that students struggled to give meaning to school work beyond grades, and hence struggled to build knowledge in a way that would allow them to appropriate it as an aspect of their lives.

Support from school

In light of the difficulties teachers see their students' confronting, the schools in this study all place special emphasis on the 'encadrement' (oversight/supervision) they provide to students. All French schools are able to offer students 'individualised assistance' in the subject(s) they struggle most with as part of the regular timetable. This is small-group teaching for students who have been designated by their teachers as in danger of failing. At LP Dumas students who are struggling can also get individual help with mathematics and French during periods allocated to electives such as music and drama.

At LP Molière, the school attempts to limit the number of teachers each class is in contact with in order to help with continuity and consistency. Molière also has a 'Lieu d'Accueil Temporaire Individualisé' ('time out space', for students kicked out of class, or students who need daily academic support).

Individual support is provided to students, and formal structures exist at in the first year of senior secondary school at Voltaire (the year below that focused upon in this present study). Teachers in academic streams feel that although students manage their work poorly, many are reluctant to admit to any difficulties (Claudel female mathematics teacher, Voltaire male French teacher).

Teachers also feel unable to bring some students up to the expected level. At Voltaire one teacher evoked the pain he felt at having to fail students to whom every assistance had been afforded, and who despite their own best efforts do not make the grade. He characterised them as being unable to overcome the 'handicaps' of their background and described this as a painful

experience for students to go through. (Male French teacher). Another teacher spoke of a process of mourning “tout le monde vient avec ses attentes, et il faut faire le deuil d’un certain nombre d’attentes” (*Everyone comes with their expectations and we have to mourn the death of a certain number of expectations*).

Keeping up to date with homework

Keeping up with homework appears to vary considerably between groups of students. We can expect that students who are sufficiently motivated to complete homework do so because they expect to be rewarded with good results, and that such students might be found in the most academic streams. Similarly, a vicious circle can be expected for students who do not complete homework, expect poor results, and thus have reduced motivation to attempt further schoolwork. This vicious circle will be strongest where students hold the fatalistic belief that there is little they can do to alter their results, while a virtuous circle will be strongest where students believe that effort on their own part will make a difference to their grades. We have already seen in the Australian context that the voluntarism of the virtuous circle is strongest amongst Turkish-background students. A logistic regression model has been set up to test whether this pattern holds in France (Table 12.5, below).

Table 12.5 Likelihood of keeping up with homework (percentage probabilities)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Gender (<i>Ref: male</i>) female	87***	86***	81***	66*
Ethnic background <i>Ref: Dominant language</i>	74**	72**	64**	50
Turkish	62*	61*	45*	33
Arabic/Berber	56***	54***	51*	48
Other	56*	55*	42***	39
A parent has Bac or higher (<i>Ref: no</i>)		77	69	48
Expect good or better results (<i>Ref: no</i>)			84***	80***
Section ¹¹ <i>Ref: BEP tertiaire</i>				50***
<i>BEP Industriel</i>				44
<i>Bac général</i>				79***
<i>Bac technologique</i>				76**
Intercept	74***	72***	64*	50
Nagelkerke R Square	.087	.091	.102	.230
Chi-square value	22.7***	27.7***	33.7***	73.4***

Reference category is indicated by italics. * p<.1, **p<.05, ***p<.01.

We can see from Table 12.5 that when ethnicity and gender alone are considered, Turkish and other migrant-background students appear less likely than their peers to complete homework. Whereas there is a 74 per cent probability of dominant language-background boys keeping up with their homework, this falls to 62 per cent for Turkish-background boys and 56 per cent for boys from other groups. Dominant-language background girls are most likely to keep up to date with homework (87% likelihood), although girls from other backgrounds are also more likely than boys to keep up (the likelihood is 76 per cent for Turkish-background girls). Having a parent with a *bac* (year 12) or higher qualification does not appear to significantly add to the likelihood of students completing homework. By contrast, students who are confident of good results or better at the end of the year are significantly more likely to complete homework. The reference group, for example, shows an increase in the likelihood of completing homework of 20 percentage points. Once the *section* in which students are enrolled is taken into account, the

¹¹ Although the inclusion of the variable 'section' mixes two levels of analysis, it provides some indication of school effect in the absence of the conditions necessary for hierarchical analysis. For a discussion see Methodology p x.

predictive power of the regression more than doubles (from pseudo R Square .102 to .230). All else being held constant, the impact of confidence on homework completion (or vice versa) appears strongest on Turkish-background students. Whereas belief in good or better results alters the probability of completing homework 20 percentage points from 66 to 89 per cent probability amongst dominant language-background girls in BEP *tertiaire*, the probability for Turkish-background girls jumps 30 points from 49 per cent to 79 per cent. For boys in the BEP *industriel*, the discrepancy is not so large, but Turkish-background boys start from the lowest probability – just 28 per cent – which increases to 61 per cent while for dominant language-background boys the shift is from 44 to 76 per cent. In *bac technologique*, the difference is around 20 percentage points for all groups (from around 75 per cent to 95 per cent). In the *bac*, the divide between confident and under-confident student is even smaller, and does not distinguish amongst girls, who are the most conscientious (88%+ probability even with low confidence), but Turkish-background boys who anticipate poor results have a likelihood of completing their homework of just 66 per cent.

What then is the nature of the relationship between the ability or willingness of students to complete homework tasks and the expectation of good results? Firstly, the answer appears to be associated with the diploma being prepared, with greatest variation in homework completion being found in the vocational streams, and particularly those vocational streams populated by boys. Certainly, students who do not attempt homework cannot expect good results unless they are supremely confident. By the same token, the expectation of poor results lowers students' motivation to complete homework, particularly when academic talent is perceived as innate and unable to be built upon through application. Many vocational students who recognise difficulties view them with a fatalistic attitude: "il n'y a rien à faire" (*nothing can be done*). Compositions in French and reading comprehension across subjects, including mathematics, are mentioned in interviews as tasks students struggle with and abandon in these settings.

Academic talent is most frequently seen as innate (and lacking in themselves) by BEP and *bac technologique* students, while *bac général*

students more often believe that success is the fruit of effort. Thirty-five percent of BEP students strongly agree that “some students do badly because they are just basically no good at certain subjects”, an opinion shared by 34 per cent of students enrolled in the *bac technologique*. By contrast, just 15 per cent of *bac général* students strongly agree with this proposition (chi-square $p < .05$). Interestingly, despite suffering from low levels of confidence, strongest disagreement with the proposition that some students do badly because they are ‘no good’ can be found amongst Turkish-background students, suggesting that not all students have internalised the fatalistic attitude which their poor levels of coping might be expected to instil. Instead, Turkish-background students are more likely to blame their lack of application or taste for studies than limited abilities for their poor academic performance. While this distinction offers a glimmer of hope for a reversal of fortunes or attitudes towards education at some later date, it pales relative to the emphatic voluntarism of students in Australia. In total, 85 per cent of students in the French sample either agree or strongly agree that “some students do badly because they are just basically no good at certain subjects” compared to a slim majority (64%) of students in Australia.

In France, as in Australia, teachers are scathing of students’ failure to keep up and study regularly, which they see as a fundamental misrecognition of ‘what it means’ to be a student. A teacher of German at LP Molière complains that “you have to ask several times and still nothing”. A workshop teacher at the same school even joked as students were completing the questionnaire that they should situate themselves at a lower point than my minimal homework option (“I often don’t attempt or complete homework tasks”). In this vocational setting, homework is mainly given in the academic subjects (mathematics, science and language), and even in these subjects teachers show flexibility in their demands. For example, at a class which I observed at LP Molière, students successfully negotiated with their French teacher for the delay of a test the day before it was due to be held. Despite their complaints of overwork in the course of their negotiations with this teacher, in interviews students from the class report that the homework load is fairly minimal. Like some of their counterparts in Australia, some do not

always realise that they have been assigned homework, and the consequences of this are not so grave as to prevent this becoming a regular habit.

A small minority of students take a pro-active stance towards work outside of school, even in the vocational settings where homework is often ignored. Ferid, a BEP Turkish-background student at Claudel notes “moi je fais tout le temps le soir même (*I always do it on the same evening*). This student informed me that he revises even if doesn't have homework, memorising parts of a machine in mechanics, for example. This declaration brought vehement reactions from other students in the group interview, unanimous in their disagreement: “On laisse tomber, nous” (*we don't bother*), “si j'arrive pas, je laisse tomber” (*if I can't do it, I give up*). In fact, in the BEP *industriel*, many students report that they never study or attempt homework unless it is the night before a test, and even then, it is usually in front of the television.

It also appears to be the case that many students attempt homework, but are unable to complete it and do not have access to resources (human or otherwise) that would enable them to persevere. Working together offers one way for students of attempting to overcome difficulties. Ferid observes “on révise ensemble des fois” (*sometimes we study together*), because the friend he studies with is stronger and so helps him. Studying together also has the benefit of reducing the temptation of distractions. Ferid reports that when studying alone, his concentration lapses after about 10 minutes and he goes on to the internet or watches television. Faced with a difficulty completing homework, the internet also provides him with a resource which he makes frequent use of.

Although it is not associated with ethnic background, working together with other students does appear to offer some advantage in successful completion of homework. Eighty-two per cent of students who study together with other students keep up to date with homework compared to 70 per cent who don't. The practice is widespread in academic and technological streams of the *bac*, as well as in the BEP *tertiaire*, where it is favoured by girls. The practice is rare amongst boys studying for a BEP *industriel*.

It is noteworthy that, across the different settings teachers, do not draw on students' predilection for working together. Homework tasks, and indeed tasks completed in class, almost always consist of the individual memorisation of lessons or the completion of text-book exercises. This contrasts with the group-work and research tasks regularly set in Australian schools and points to the high value placed on individual autonomy and self sufficiency as defining qualities of 'studenthood' in the French system. Of course, being a student in the French system is recognised as a different proposition depending on where in the curriculum hierarchy students are located.

While teachers of students in vocational streams complain about the lack of homework and revision by their students, many nevertheless feel resigned to this state of affairs and more or less accept it. Teachers of students preparing for a *bac* are less forgiving of their students, who despite being academically selected, fail to adequately work at home:

On arrive facilement à travailler, facilement à les associer à ce qu'on fait, ils travaillent volontiers, mais le travail à la maison est beaucoup plus difficile" (*We easily manage to work, and to involve students in what we're doing, they work willingly, but homework is much harder*) (mathematics teacher, Claudel).

This mathematics teacher warns that as a consequence of their poor study habits, students will be poorly prepared to manage their time during the long examinations for the *baccalauréat*, which can last for up to seven hours. As at Claudel, at Lycée Voltaire, teachers complain that students in the academic streams do not have a clear idea of how much revision at home they need to do – with many students considering that fifteen minutes in the evening is sufficient (French teacher, Voltaire).

Nevertheless, a more serious attitude is evident from interviews with students. Corinne (Voltaire, *bac ES*) reports working in her room on the night she receives homework, while Claire and Simone mix homework together with time spent on the internet and listening to music or watching television. Some students reveal strategies for managing difficult homework tasks such as putting aside work and then returning to it (Claire, Hélène), calling friends, or

asking friends who are online with instant messaging services such as MSN. Not all of these strategies are likely to convince their teachers, and none can compensate for the absence of readily available academic assistance in the home. Yet this is precisely what most of these lower working class *lycée* students must do without, and the absence of support is most severe for migrant-background students. While the demands made upon them far outweigh those made upon their peers who have been relegated into vocational streams, the support available to students in academic streams does not similarly increase. On the contrary, autonomy and prior knowledge of how to meet academic expectations is assumed of these selected students. Such expectations sit in contrast with the more relaxed expectations of the Victorian school system in Australia, where greater tolerance of unscholarly dispositions is extended to all students. I wish to finish therefore by returning to some of the key differences between the French and Australian settings in the management of schoolwork.

Differences between the French and Australian contexts

It is clear that students in France share a greater unease about their ability to manage schoolwork than their counterparts in Australia. In part, this may be attributed to differences in pedagogical approach. The absence of group-work in favour of individual tasks, assessment almost exclusively through graded tests, and willingness to fail students all contribute to the differences in student perceptions of themselves as learners. The lock-step approach of teachers and practices involving student humiliation indeed appear to be more common than in many other countries (Osborn et al., 2003: 103-115). The more restrictive French framework places pressures on weaker students which are not felt to the same extent by students in Australia, where judgement is softened and deferred in order to maintain retention rates and academic self-esteem.

For its part, the French education system offers a structural response to the presence of weaker students in the form of the diversification and segmentation of curriculum provision. This indeed appears to offer some comforts to students who have been identified as lacking academic

capabilities and who are therefore provided with a 'lighter' and more 'adapted' curriculum. Nevertheless, such students cannot entirely escape from the strictures of academic study, and must face them with the knowledge that they have been evaluated and found wanting by the end of their junior secondary schooling. Motivation to persist with academic tasks is thus greatly reduced for students' whose turbulent careers as scholars have led them to some temporary respite in the most despised sections of the education system. This motivation is further reduced for students from Turkish and North African backgrounds, who see hostility from the institution of school and discrimination in the labour market. Negative ethnically based stereotypes lay out clear roles for boys in particular as 'delinquents', and many students seek to establish identities which emphasise points of opposition and resistance to dominant norms (most notably through identification with local forms of global youth hip-hop culture). These identities are less accessible to ethnic-minority girls, who also retain a stronger engagement with schoolwork.

The stronger academic engagement of girls compared to boys is a point of similarity between the Australian and French contexts. Amongst girls, keeping up to date with homework and helping each other with tasks appears more prevalent in both settings. The ethnic distinctions in Australia, which see Turkish-background girls amongst the most confident and ambitious, appear to have been largely levelled by the force of streaming in the French system. Some traces of the voluntarism evident in the Australian system can be found in the complaints made by teachers of the excessive expectations of Turkish families, which suggests that this ethnic distinction is not absent, but rather has been overwhelmed by the workings of the system. Clear external signs of status given by the hierarchy of streams combine with the intensive socialisation of students who spend all of their time together within those streams to create common understandings and self-perceptions.

At the top of the academic hierarchy, where teachers expect to find the traditional clientèle of upper secondary schooling, the pressures placed on those working-class and migrant-background students who make it through to *lycée général* are greatly intensified relative to those placed on their less fortunate classmates. Teachers do not hesitate to evoke cultural and

linguistic deficit theories in order to explain why their students fail to live up to the expected academic ideal. Such theories are lavished upon Turkish-background students, whose parents have little education and who speak Turkish at home.

It is possible to identify from these distinctions some of the key elements of distinctive cultural logics at work in the two national settings. The ways in which the pressures of social distance are managed result in starkly contrasting student perceptions, which are only partly guided by attitudes and dispositions which reflect an ethnic dimension of social identity. There is less space for these distinctions to be retained in the French setting as far as academic self-esteem is concerned, ethnicity is strongly present in social relations at school, as the following chapter will show.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how the profession of student in the senior years in France is a divided one. Students must adapt to distinctive expectations, curriculum and projected careers. The store placed in perseverance over the odds motivated by a desire to uphold family honour and status which was evident in the approaches of Turkish-background students in Australia has largely been displaced by this distinction of the French system. Despite some limitations the quantitative data which limit confidence in interpretation of its analysis in the French context in particular, evidence from both countries outlined in previous chapters suggests that it is the transformations brought about by schooling which primarily account for the differences in student outlook. These transformations do not constitute the abandonment of ethnic identity, but rather the partial insulation of the forms of 'ethnic' action observable in Australia from the processes of schooling in France.

In France, the salience of ethnicity in the generation of attitudes and actions re-emerges most strongly through its prominence in popular theories of success and failure and its connection to ascribed learner attributes. These theories circulate at both a local level, through staffroom and schoolyard talk, and at the level of the nation through political and media discourses. They operate both externally, through the judgements passed upon students, and

internally through the acceptance of beliefs about lack of capacity for written expression – or even spoken expression – or intelligence. The pessimism often felt by students in relation to school does not cross over to all spheres of their lives, and does not necessarily carry over to other social situations in which young people feel confident in expressing themselves, competent and proud of their abilities. These non-scholarly identities sometimes stand in deliberate opposition to their devalued scholarly identities, and defiance of the imposed and oppressive norms of educational institutions can form an integral part of urban youth culture, which also has a strong ethnic inflection.

In the next chapter I will focus further on youth cultures and the development of solidarities and tensions in schools. I show how the schools in France are less able than their Australian counterparts to draw students into a sense of security and comfort, but how they nonetheless fulfil important social functions which offer some consolation for their relative failure in fulfilling academic functions.

Chapter 13.

Social and pedagogical relationships in France

In seeking to find some purpose and enjoyment in the experience of school, students who identify weakly with academic tasks and the vocational destinies assigned to them instead focus on the social dimensions of school life. The previous two chapters have shown how the schools in this study struggle to work as a vehicle for *personal integration*, which must be pursued through academic success imbued with a sense of purpose. Instead, as I will argue in this chapter, these schools are able to function on at least one level thanks to the *social integration* provided by solidarity between students and between teachers. In other words, when academic returns are poor, school becomes meaningful to students primarily with reference to the development of friendships and group affinities. Friendship stands as a relative strength compared to the failure of schools to sustain the integrative functions performed by the personal identification with curriculum content and purposes which prevails in more traditional academic settings.

Of course traditional academic settings are also powerful vehicles of social integration, but in privileged schools social integration is not relied upon as it is in the settings of this study to fulfil the tasks required for institutional survival. In contexts of disadvantage, by contrast, for students who fail to achieve good marks and who are unlikely to find a secure and rewarding career pathway through their schooling, the returns school can offer as a vehicle for social integration may be the only ones that they are afforded. Such consolations are limited for students, but serve the interests of the system by helping to mask its underlying dysfunctions.

Social integration works to offer some meaning to the school day, but the integrative performances which establish peer-group solidarity often build relationships with the institution which are at cross-purposes with the functions of individual integration through academic success. Social integration facilitates retention of students at school, but the preservation of dignity, pleasure and self-worth embodied in particular student cultures and subcultures, can further undermine academic engagement.

In this chapter I will show how the problem of making meaning of school does not trouble all students equally, and that those who have the greatest difficulty also find the greatest comfort in the social dimensions of school. I will show how social integration is influenced by ethnic solidarities, gender and location in the curriculum hierarchy. Students and streams which are furthest from the academic pinnacle of the system appear to be relatively more successful on the score of social integration. *Lycée général*, which has not abandoned the task of forging scholars through individual trial and commitment to traditional academic ideals (i.e. personal integration) appears to struggle more with social integration than those structures which have all but given up on personal integration delivered through academic success. As with previous chapters presenting data from the French sample, the small number of Turkish-background students allows for only very tentative quantitative analysis of ethnic distinctions.

Distinctions in location and perspective

In the settings of this study, students' overall relationship to school is fragile. Classroom interactions, and relationships to teachers and peers, are coloured by the divisions of educational provision and student populations. Turkish students begin their school careers eager to bring pride and honour to their families through brilliant academic careers, but boys in particular are dissatisfied with the environment in which they find themselves.

I suggested in chapters 9 and 10 that the climate of ethnic tension is higher in France than in Australia, and that school is an important site for the playing out of these tensions. The increasingly visible ethnic dimension of social relations at school, characterised as 'ethnicisation' by Lorcerie (Lorcerie, 2003), weighs heavily on both students' and teachers' minds. This dimension forms part of the greater institutional alienation evident in student attitudes which emerges through a process of bruising academic judgement.

Despite the permeation of ethnic conflicts into school relations, in many regards the influences of institutional arrangements and peers overwhelm difference in individual background. The social experience of school, like the academic experience, is primarily defined by a student's place within the structure of curriculum offerings. Students spend their time amongst, and are

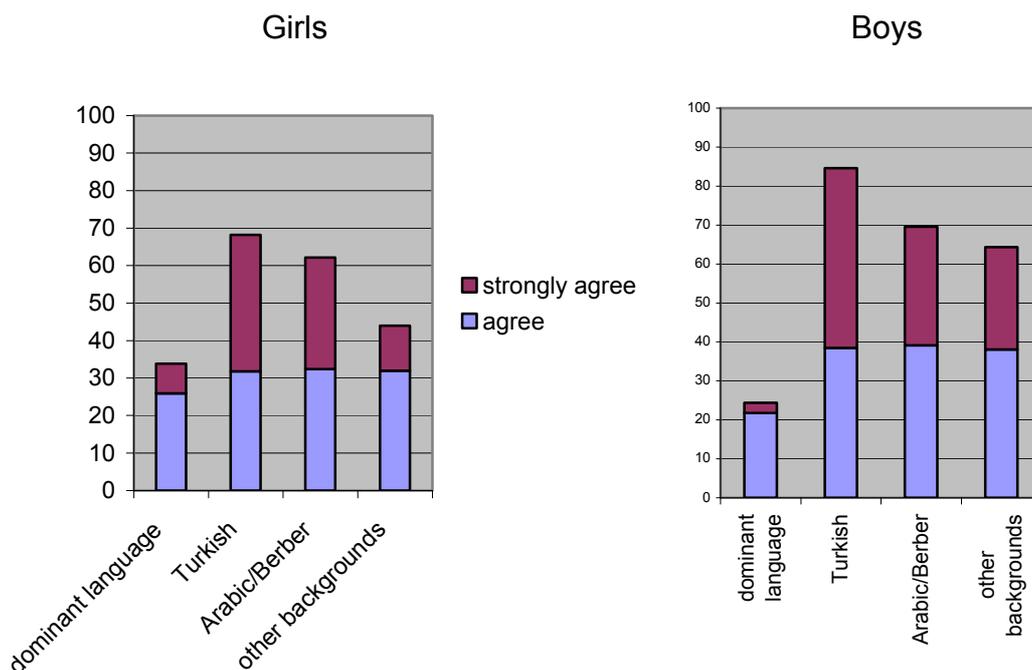
defined as learners by, the stream to which they are allocated at the start of senior secondary school. I wish to begin here by drawing out some of the variations in the ways students perceive the purposes of schooling and the enactment of those purposes.

Faith in the purposes of schooling

Students must rationalise their presence at school as best they can in the circumstances in which they find themselves. For students who have been given strong signals that they have little academic ability and poor career prospects, this is a challenge indeed. A common theme in the research literature is the strong motivation which migrant-background students draw from the hopes of their parents. Pleasing parents is indeed often the most important reason for doing well at school in the minds of Turkish-background students (Figure 13.1).

This alone is not a solid foundation upon which to build a relationship to the world of school, lacking a base in intrinsic interest and taste for study. It is nevertheless the primary motivation for migrant-background boys in particular (Figure 13.1). Girls more often find other reasons for working hard at school, but the desire to bring family pride is twice as strong in Turkish and Arabic/Berber-background girls as it is amongst dominant language-background girls. More than two-thirds of Turkish-background girls believe that 'the most important reason to do well is to make my parents happy', (with similar numbers in agreement from the Arabic/Berber group) compared to a third of dominant language-background girls believe. The figures are even more striking amongst boys, with more than 4 out of 5 Turkish-background boys believing that the most important reason to do well is to please parents, a motivation which is foremost in the minds of just 1 in 5 dominant language-background boys. This emphasis on pleasing parents reflects the strength of family bonds and pride. However, in the case of boys in particular, it may also reflect a lack of intrinsic motivation and highlights again the more fragile connection of boys to the curriculum outlined in the preceding chapters.

Figure 13.1 Responses to the proposition ‘the most important reason to do well is to make my parents happy’ (percentages)



With some uncertainty about the reasons for engaging with school, students are nonetheless able to reach some consensus on what they expect schools to deliver. Students overwhelmingly accept as legitimate those purposes which senior secondary school purports to enact. Previous studies suggest that at least from the outset of *collège* (junior secondary school), students are caught between the ideals of school, which they recognise as legitimate, and the ‘logic’ of the peer group (Felouzis & Cousin, 2001). While students in the present study generally agree on what school should be providing them with, at least half do not find what they seek in their own school. There is strong agreement amongst students that school should give them confidence in their own abilities, should inform them about careers, and prepare them for further study (Figures 13.2-13.4).

With differences in the roles of each ‘*section*’¹ of the system, it is unsurprising that not all students expect that school should provide them with job skills for when they leave (Figure 13.5). More surprisingly, not all students

¹ I use the term ‘*section*’ to refer to the divisions of *baccalauréat général*, *baccalauréat technologique*, *BEP tertiaire* and *BEP industriel* (presented in appendix 2). Other curriculum divisions are referred to here as ‘streams’.

expect school to help them achieve good results (12% do not – Figure 13.6). This expectation is near universal in the Australian settings. It is revealing of the differences in pedagogical approaches and relationships between the two national contexts that some students do not see teachers as helpers with a responsibility for the success of their charges. Instead, particularly in academic streams, greater autonomy is expected by the French system and accepted by students. In Australia it is the demands made by students on schools which shine through; in France it is the demands schools make on students which are most visible in the academic streams. In French vocational streams, the balance of expectations more resembles that found in Australia.

Another sign of the distinction between instruction of students and development of the person, which divides academic and vocational streams in France, is that students do not all concur that school should ‘teach you to respect and care for others’ and ‘help you form good friendships’ (Figures 13.8, 13.9). While there is broad agreement with the traditional roles of education amongst students, many students do not see even the purposes around which there is greatest consensus being enacted at their own schools to the extent they would like. Despite the stronger vocational focus of the curriculum in France, students in Australia are twice as likely to strongly agree that their school provides them with job skills for when they leave school (20% to 10%, see Chapter 8 for full data on Australian responses). Similarly, strong agreement by students that their school teaches them to respect and care for others drops from 22 per cent in Australia to 10 per cent in France.

Figure 13.2 The good school should give you confidence in your own abilities (%)

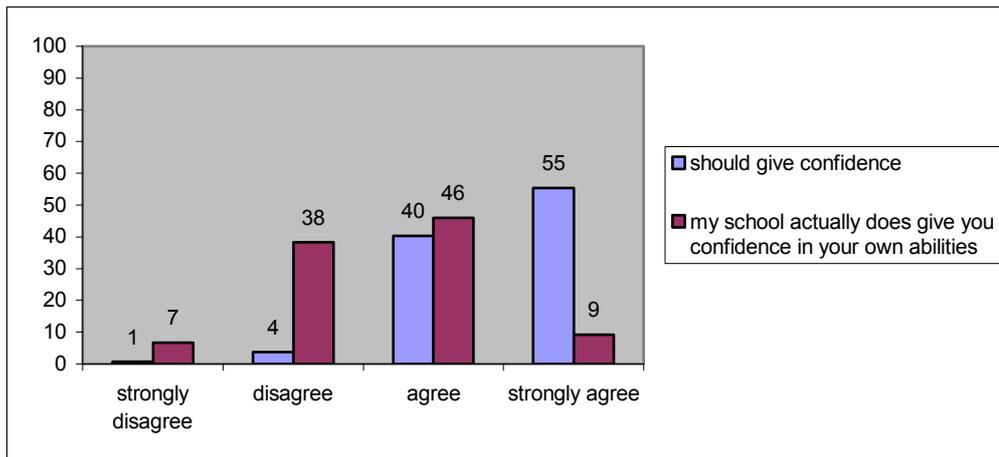


Figure 13.3 The good school should inform you about careers (%)

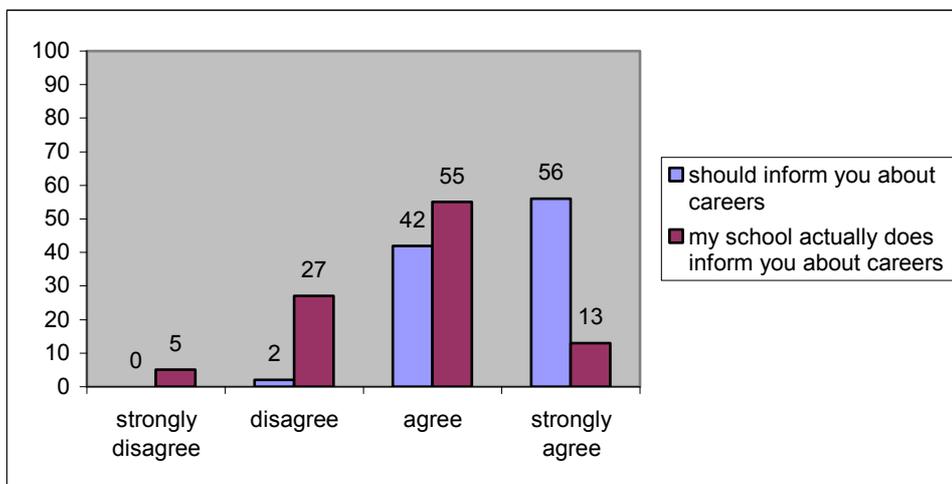


Figure 13.4 The good school should prepare you for further study beyond school (%)

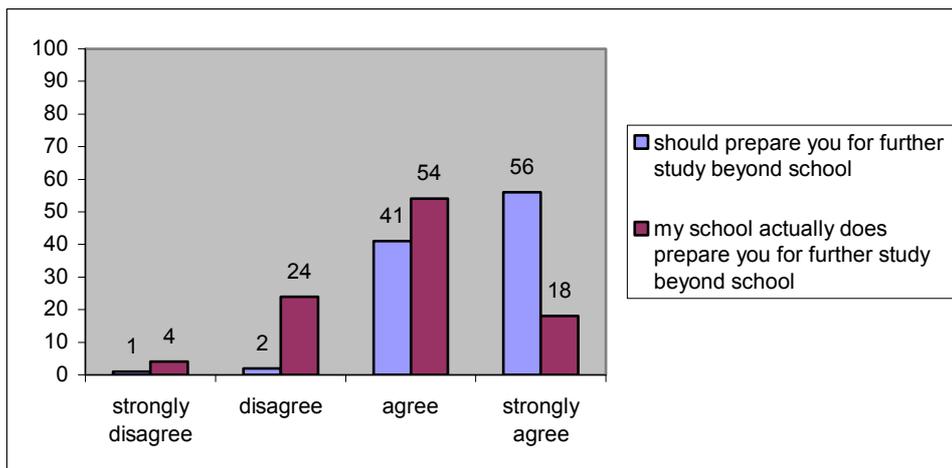


Figure 13.5 The good school should give you job skills for when you leave school (%)

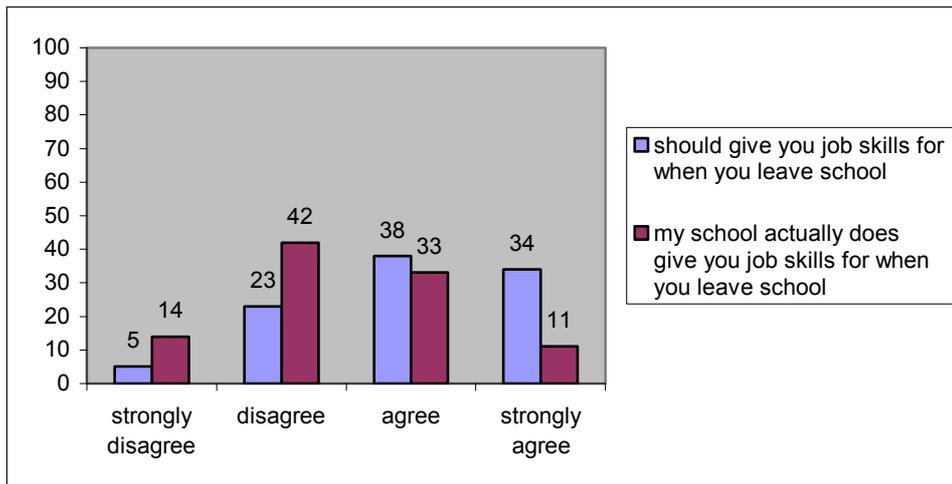


Figure 13.6 The good school should help you achieve good academic results (%)

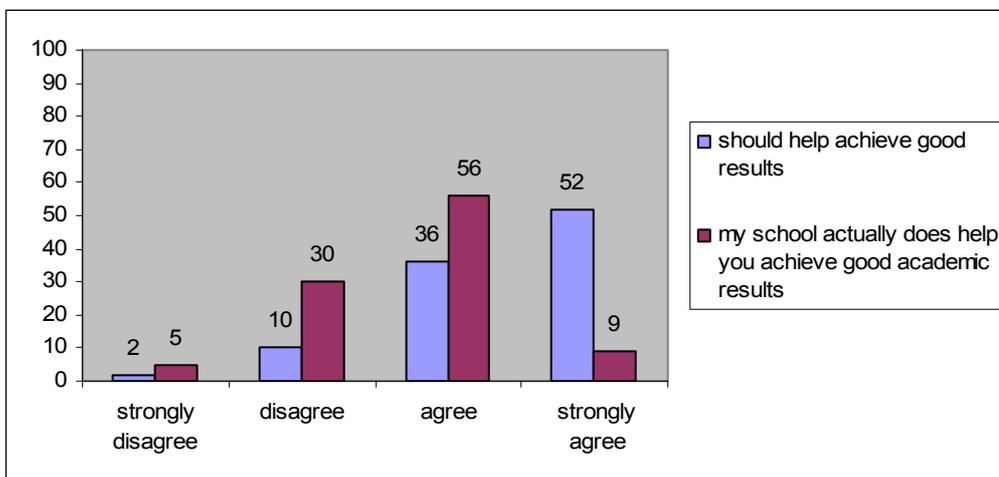


Figure 13.7 The good school should teach you to respect and care for others (%)

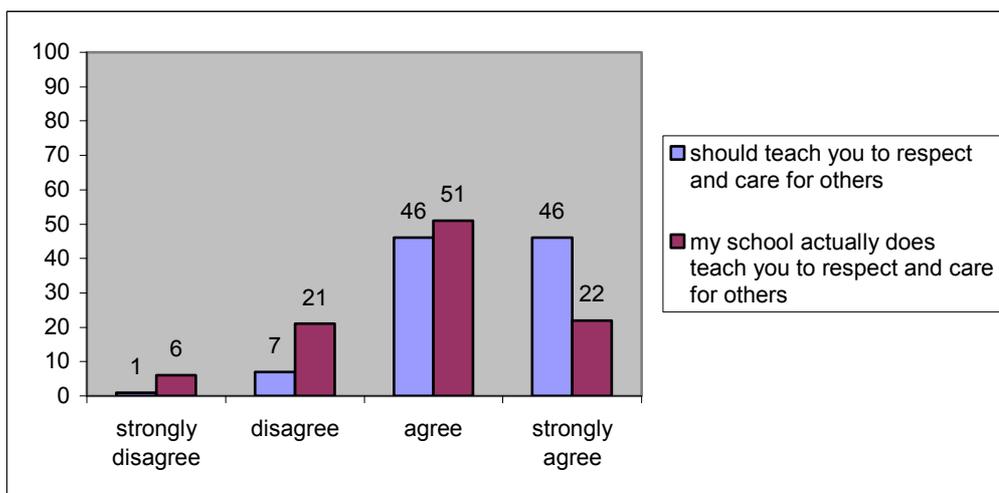
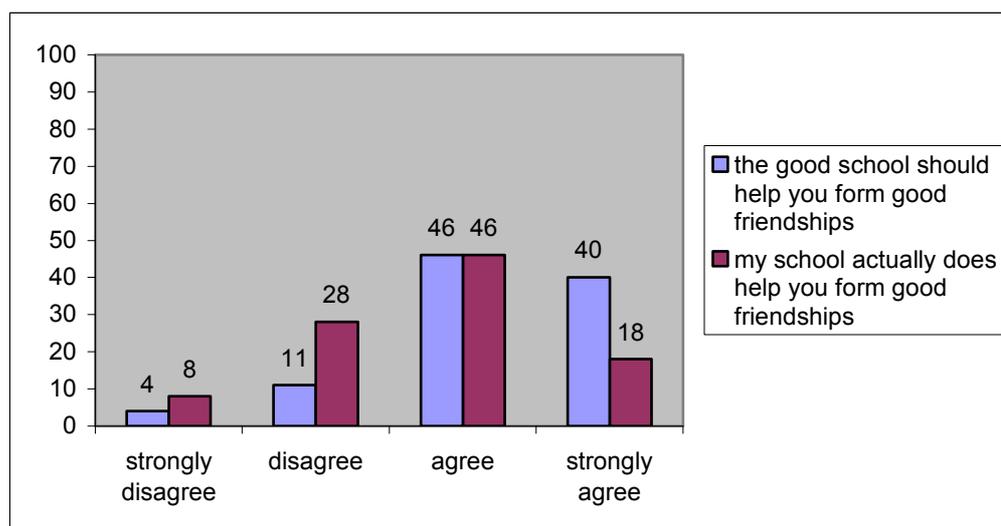


Figure 13.8 The good school should help you form good friendships (%)



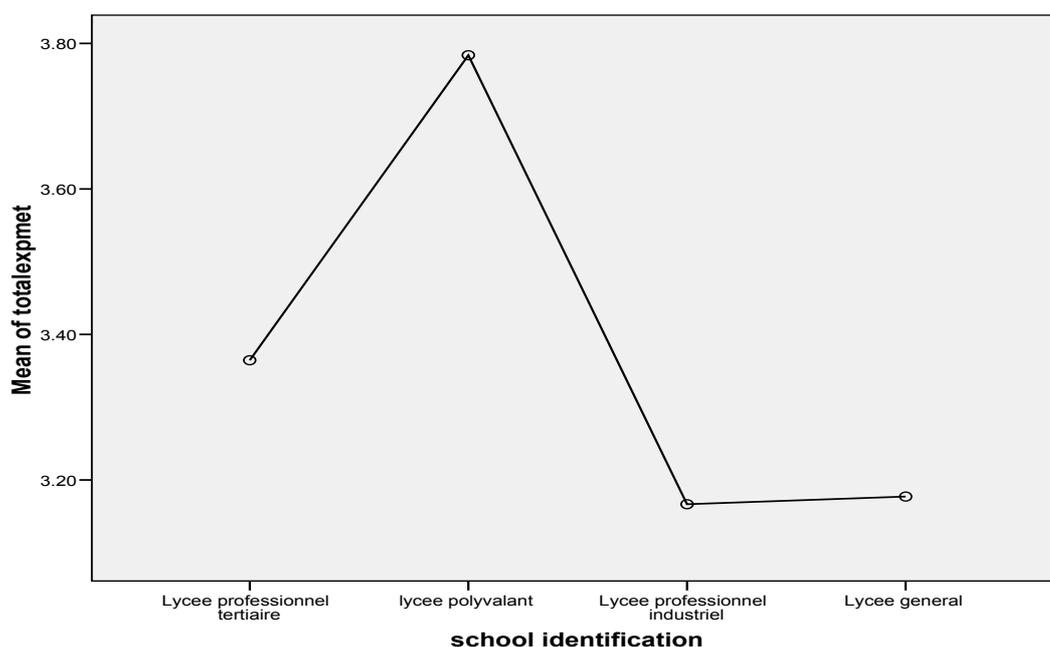
Satisfaction with the achievement of these purposes can be approached by examining whether students' conceptions of 'the good school' are at least matched by the reality of their own school. Thus, if a student agrees that the good school should help you achieve good academic results, their expectations will be considered to have been met if they agree or strongly agree that this is the case at their school. Overall, students are least satisfied in the ability of their school to develop their self-confidence (65% are dissatisfied). Many are disappointed in the ability of their school to inform them about the world of work (58%), help them achieve good results (57%) and prepare them for further study (54%). A majority are also dissatisfied with the performance of their school in preparing them for post-school transitions. But students are scarcely happier on other measures, only relaxing their criticism on the ability of their school to promote friendships. However 34 per cent remain dissatisfied.

Based on a global satisfaction scale running from 0 to 7, one-way between-groups analysis of variance found no significant effect on satisfaction from ethnicity, and a paired-samples t-test showed no significant difference between the scores of boys and girls. However, Turkish-background boys are significantly less likely to agree that their school helps students to form friendships than their peers (54% disagree to 29% of dominant language-background students (Chi-Square=6.7, $p < .1$)). Boys from Arabic/Berber-

backgrounds and other ethnic minority backgrounds (54% and 57% respectively) also find school to be a less friendly environment.

An ANOVA found no significant differences in students' appreciations on the basis of *section*, although *BEP industriel* students appear more dissatisfied than others. An ANOVA run by school came close to statistical significance ($p=.110$), and suggested that the most satisfied students can be found at the urban *lycée polyvalent* (Claudel), and the least satisfied at the LP *industriel* (Molière) and the semi-rural *lycée général* (Voltaire) (Figure 13.9)².

Figure 13.9 Mean satisfaction with school (scale: 0-7)



Students from Lycée Général Voltaire are particularly dissatisfied with the ability of their school to give them confidence in their own abilities. Just a quarter of students feel that the school does this, compared to 36 per cent at LP *industriel* (Molière), 41 per cent at LP *tertiaire* (Dumas) and 46 per cent at Lycée Polyvalent Claudel ($\text{chi-square}=12.3$, $p<.01$). By contrast, students at *lycée général* are more satisfied with the ability of their school to promote good friendships amongst students (72 per cent to 65 per cent at *lycée polyvalent* and LP *tertiaire*, and 54 per cent at LP *industriel* ($\text{chi-square}=8.2$, $p<.05$)).

² See Appendix 1 for a presentation of the schools

Rates of dissatisfaction do not in fact vary greatly between Australia and France. In France, however the first signs of alienation emerge in these data from the greater sentiment amongst Turkish and Arabic/Berber-background boys that schools are not conducive to the formation of friendships.

Reputation of the school and local area: maintaining boundaries

Students' relationships to school are heavily influenced by their perceptions of the local contexts of schooling in which they find themselves and the regard teachers have for these environments. The students in this study are placed in devalued educational contexts with poor reputations, which are understood by both teachers and students as being overly porous to the local neighbourhood. Ferid, from Claudel, explains:

c'est lié à la situation géographique du lycée dans un quartier, comment dire ? Assez chaud, assez dangereux (it's linked to the geographical location of the school in an area, how should I put it? Fairly rough, fairly dangerous).

Van Zanten has identified the crisis in blue-collar jobs and residential segregation as sources of increased delinquency, explosions of violence, and the development of 'working-class racism' in France (Van Zanten, 2001). Economically depressed areas are constituted as 'spaces of relegation' as all leave who are able to. This tends to strengthen social boundaries around such areas, and the perception that they stand apart from the normal workings of society (and school). This is most dramatically illustrated in the settings of the present study (the suburbs of Strasbourg) by a series of tragic events sparked when a young man died of hypothermia after jumping into a pond while fleeing police. His death was followed by clashes between young people from the local area and police, and ultimately the fire-bombing of Lycée Claudel, from where the deceased man had been expelled only a few months earlier (Peter, 2002). In this series of events, which is not isolated, school stands for those it has rejected as a symbol of unjust state power, and

school in turn is vulnerable to the fragility of state order in disadvantaged areas.

The CPE³ from LP Dumas describes her students as coming from “quartiers sans foi ni loi” (*suburbs without faith or law*), while students from Claudel describe their school as being in “un quartier assez chaud” (*a fairly rough area*). A mathematics teacher at Claudel agrees that the school is in a “quartier difficile” (*difficult area*), and that while she enjoys teaching there, many teachers refuse to work in the area. Similarly, due to the school’s poor reputation, many ‘good’ students choose other schools by selecting a curriculum specialisation which is unavailable at Claudel.

Opportunities for bypassing the local school are both enabled and constrained by the specialised nature of educational offerings in France. When only one school offers the course students have been allocated to, then no choice exists. However, if students have the choice between several courses and options, by virtue of their academic record in *collège*, it may be possible to avoid those schools which suffer from the worst reputation. In the present study, virtually all students report that they had no choice at the end of *collège* as to which *lycée* to attend.

The most negative image associated with schools, according to teachers, is the reputation of having lots of migrants. This encourages the phenomenon of ‘white flight’, identified by Felouzis in Bordeaux (Felouzis, 2003). The concentration of migrant background students was highlighted as particularly damaging to the school’s reputation by the CPE at LP Dumas.

One advantage enjoyed by the French schools compared to the Australian schools is that they do not suffer from the dilapidation which inspires shame and further lowers the reputation of schools in Melbourne’s north. The students at Claudel, for example, boast that the school is well equipped technically. It is location rather than neglect which brings schools into disrepute in France, and this disrepute appears sharpest in the eyes of teachers, who often come from outside of the local area and who seek to maintain boundaries between the world of the neighbourhood and the world of school.

³ *Conseiller Principal d’Education*. A non-teaching role with responsibility for welfare and discipline.

As a consequence of the location of their schools on unfavourable terrain, some teachers present themselves almost as missionaries, civilising the dregs of society. Part of the problem is that “*Maghrébins* and Africans want to retain their culture, but it does not serve society”, complains the CPE at LP Dumas. She describes her greatest satisfaction as seeing the development of ‘bad students’. Success is making a student into someone “who integrates, opens their spirit, acquires certain values, accepts rules and laws and has been made to reflect”. This ambition is motivated by her perception that school, in this setting, must not only provide instruction but compensate for inadequate upbringing (*‘éducation’*).

A French teacher at LP Molière suggests that conflict between more relaxed norms of discipline at home compared to at school explains a lack of respect for teachers amongst migrant background students. However, she singles out recent arrivals from Africa as being better behaved. The views presented by these teachers fit those identified by Van Zanten amongst *collège* teachers, who adopt a ‘moralising’ stance towards students when distance appears between home and school norms (Van Zanten, 2001: 156).

According to the CPE at Molière, the school seeks to keep out not only the barbarity of the local neighbourhood, but the global pressures which exacerbate ethnic tensions. He is proud that such tensions are contained by the efforts of staff within the school, but are ‘manifested’ outside of school, fanned by media representations. He states:

Il est possible, à certains moments, quand le contexte politique mondial est tendu, qu’il puisse y avoir une problématique qui resurgisse tout d’un coup...Quand il y a une force néo-colonialiste, impérialiste, que je ne nommerai pas, qui essaye de jouer l’arbitre du monde pour favoriser les uns et écraser les autres, nos élèves ici le manifeste. Il y a un impacte, et il est très fort” (*It is possible, at times, when the global political context is tense, that issues can suddenly surface...When there is a neo-colonialist force, which shall remain nameless, which attempts to play world umpire in order to favour some and smash*

others, it is reflected in our students. There is an impact, and it is very strong) (Molière CPE).

Students do not consider that they pay much attention to media representations, although Sarkozy appears to be a recognised figure “avec ses methodes assez directes” (*with his fairly direct methods*) and even the object of graffiti in the school (Ferid, Claudel BEP).

Racism is recognised as being generated by a political elite by students, but as being generated primarily from local sources by teachers. The CPE at LP Claudel cites gang warfare as an instance of conflict outside of the school, made visible through graffiti such as “ZUP⁴ nique tout” (*The ‘ZUP’ [neighbourhood] fucks the rest*). He explains that gang membership is based on neighbourhood rather than ethnic background. Students more often see tensions as coming from wider society rather than from the neighbourhood. Fewer than 30 per cent of students in the sample believe that everyone in France is respected regardless of ethnicity or religion. Those students who have been relegated in the system feel this lack of respect most intensely. Thirty-five per cent of BEP students strongly disagree that everyone in France is respected regardless of ethnicity or religion compared to 25 per cent of students studying for a *bac*.

Within the BEP cohort, minority-background boys studying for a *BEP industriel*, feel the greatest sense of alienation. Two thirds of Turkish-background *BEP industriel* students and close to half of Arabic/Berber-background students strongly disagree with the proposition compared to 1 in 5 dominant language-background students. In all, just 1 in 10 Turkish-background students enrolled in a BEP (*industriel* or *tertiaire*) believe that everyone in France is respected regardless of ethnicity or religion, while 1 in 5 Arabic/Berber-background students are of the same opinion. Dominant language-background students and those from other minority backgrounds have greater faith in society, with 1 in 3 believing that there is no discrimination on the basis of race or religion. The contrast which emerges is between a feeling of respect amongst peers, which is strongest amongst minority-background boys (46% of Turkish-background boys strongly agree to

⁴ “high priority urban zones” (Zones Urbaines Prioritaires—ZUP).

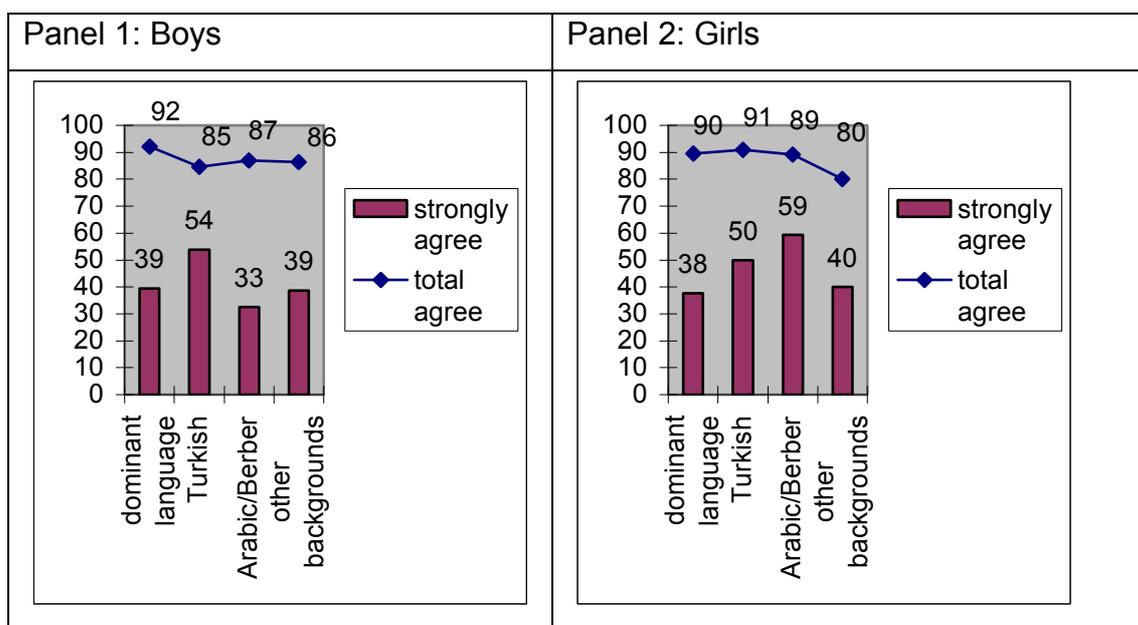
20% of dominant language-background boys), and of disrespect from society. This is reversed for dominant language-background boys, who are less at ease in the immediate local peer environment, but believe there is greater equality in society.

Peer relations

As in Australia, friends are considered almost universally to be the best thing about school. Girls at Voltaire place particular emphasis on spending time socialising with each other as the main positive thing about school.

Although minority-background students are critical of their schools' efforts to develop friendships, most students consider that they have lots of friends at school, regardless of background. It is interesting to note, however, that Arabic/Berber-background girls agree far more strongly than Arabic/Berber-background boys that they have lots of friends at school (Figure 13.10). This fits in with the perception boys hold that school does little to facilitate friendships. It may also be a sign of the weaker hold of school on these boys, for whom neighbourhood friendships and alliances outside of school are more important.

Figure 13.10 Agreement with the proposition 'I have a lot of friends at my school' (percentages)



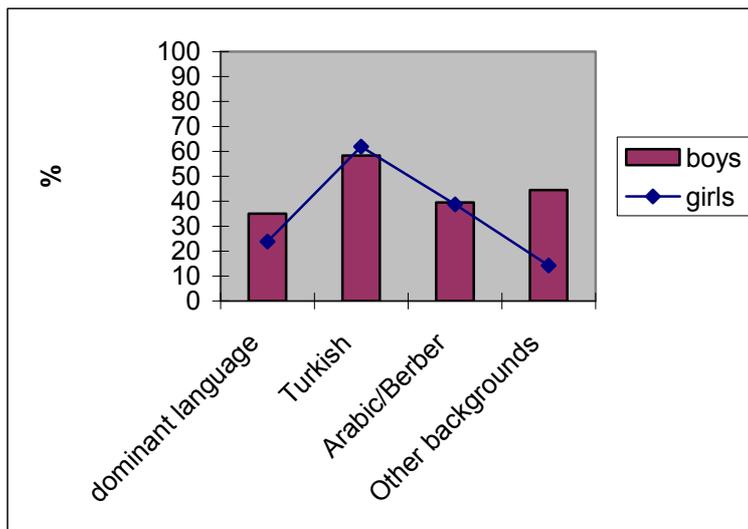
Often boys and girls are not socialising in the same schoolyard or classroom. Girls are most often schooled mainly with other girls, and boys are most often schooled mainly with other boys in the settings of this study. The mix of students at LP Molière, for example, is extremely unbalanced in favour of boys. For a teacher of German at this school, unwanted attention from boys is the main concern arising from this for girls. Nadir, who attends a school with both vocational and academic wings (where there are more girls), notes the advantages of this arrangement: “c’est grand...il y a des filles” (*It’s big...there are girls*). Where schooling is mixed, students complain of unequal treatment by teachers. Some boys in the academic streams feel that girls are favoured by teachers and get into trouble less. Indeed opinions differ as to whether teachers treat girls and boys differently: 38 per cent of boys in academic streams think so compared to just 15 per cent of girls⁵.

Other boundaries between social groupings are perceived by teachers to be strong. A teacher at Voltaire characterises relations between distinctive groups of students as ones of indifference. Similarly, at Lycée Polyvalent Claudel, which recruits working-class students from within Strasbourg, but also more ‘bourgeois’ students from the surrounding villages where the socio-cultural (and ethnic) mix is different, teachers report that the two components don’t really mix. According to one mathematics teacher, tensions between the two groups are expressed in the form of racism.

Across the schools, Turkish-background students most often mix with others who share their cultural background – 60 per cent compared to 40 per cent of Arabic/Berber-background students. The gender disparity other migrant groups is due primarily to variations in the size of particular groups within dominantly masculine and dominantly feminine *sections*.

⁵ Chi-Square=10.9, p<.01 with continuity correction.

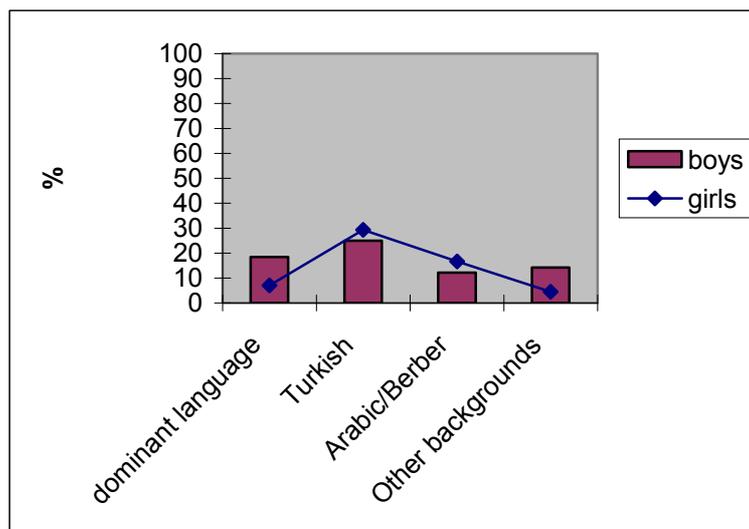
Figure 13.11 Percentage of students who in the schoolyard 'mix with people who mostly share my cultural background



Boys: Chi-square = 3.04, $p > .1$. Girls: Chi-square = 16.27, $p < .01$.

Mixing primarily with family friends is also most common amongst Turkish-background students, a quarter of whom do so (Figure 13.12). This figure is lower than in Australia, where 50 per cent of Turkish-background boys and 30 per cent of Turkish-background girls mix with people who are mostly family friends. Mixing with peers from the same ethnic community or who are family friends represents an important continuity between neighbourhood life and school life in students' lives.

Figure 13.12 Percentage of students who in the schoolyard mix with people who mostly 'are family friends'



Boys: Pearson Chi-square = 1.56 , $p > .1$, Girls: Pearson Chi-square = 10.43, $p < .05$, 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.73.

Conflict and resentment

As we saw above, teachers in particular highlight the potential for ethnic tensions to emerge from divides between friendship groups. The CPE of LP Dumas considers friendship groups amongst students to be like opposing clans, with rural students pitted against city students and North African students pitted against 'French' students. Rivalries between groups and students are common, according to her. The problem, according to this CPE, is that there are too many migrant background students compared to French students. Such is the concentration that she is obliged to carefully manage the placement of 'French' students in classes: "on est obligé de saupoudrer les français" (*we have to sprinkle the French ones through*). The CPE characterises migrant background students as sticking together, leading to "problems of aggression".

Only students at Claudel agree with teachers' concerns that "there is lots of conflict", and cite an incident involving the theft of a scooter and fire-arms. Frequently, insults and stares can result in physical confrontation at Claudel, according to students, but this is considered by some to be of a "generally minor" intensity, and unrelated to ethnic divides (Ferid, Nadir, Claudel BEP).

It is noteworthy that minority-background students do not feel a lack of respect from their peers more strongly than other students. In total just over 9 in 10 students believe that there is mutual respect amongst students, and the intensity of this feeling is highest amongst minority-background students. Turkish and Arabic/Berber-background students most strongly agree that students respect each other at their school (28% and 42% to 19% of dominant language-background students, see Table A13.1 in appendix 2). Similarly, minority-background students are less likely to believe that being different can be a problem, although the differences between groups are not significant (Table A13.2 in appendix 2).

By contrast, there is a greater intensity of feeling amongst Turkish-background students, but not other minority groups, that students are sometimes picked on because of the way they look (Table A13.3 in appendix 2). With the exception of this final point, it appears that persecution from peers is not foremost in the minds of migrant-background students in the schoolyard. The sources of discrimination appear, instead, to be either from above (teachers) or beyond the local environment.

Teachers and staff therefore have contrasting theories of ethnic conflict. The position of teachers is closest to that of the dominant political discourse – trouble comes from below, from disruptive and destructive youth. Students, on the other hand, see divisions as being promoted from above, and not from their immediate environment, where respect and solidarity amongst peers is strong. This divide in perceptions is emblematic of the different understandings of the world teachers and students bring to school and of the misunderstandings which therefore arise between them.

Relationship with Staff

The importance of the relationship with teachers is emblematised by the student declaration that “tout dépend du caractère du professeur” (*everything depends on the teachers’ personality*) (Nadir Claudel BEP). This relationship is often fragile. For the CPE at Lycée Molière the more staff whom students come into contact with, the greater the risk that one will break the connection between the student and the school and undo the work of the others:

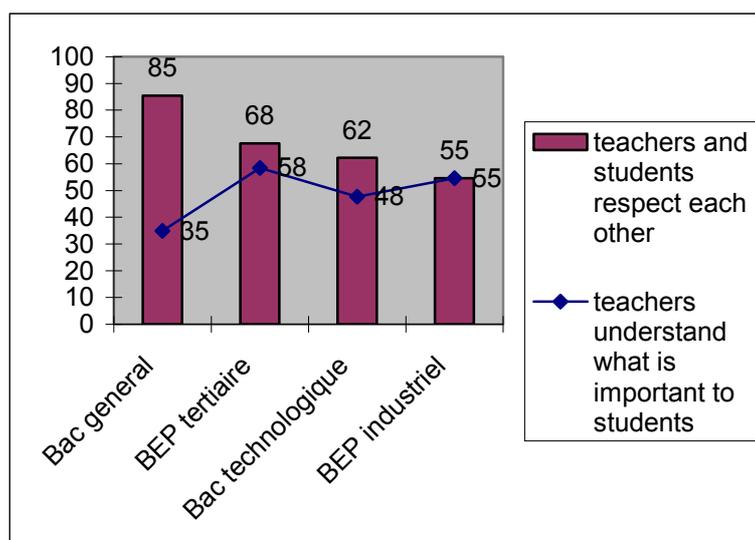
Les relations humaines sont très très importantes, elles sont d'autant plus fragiles que plus il y a d'intervenants dans un groupe plus ça va être fragilisé (*Human relations are very, very important, they are all the more fragile because the greater the number of staff entering a group, the more those relations will be weakened*).

On a general level, there are no significant differences between ethnic groups in perceptions that 'everyone gets a fair go' at school (64% agreement). However, dominant language-background students more often feel that students and teachers respect each other than do their migrant-background peers (75% to 67% of Turkish and 63% of Arabic/Berber-background students)⁶. This confirms findings from previous studies of a greater feeling of injustice amongst migrant-background students (Payet & Sicot, 1997).

The sentiment of mutual respect peaks amongst students in academic streams and is at its lowest in the *BEP industriel*. However respect is not accompanied by understanding, and students in academic streams have little confidence that their teachers understand what is important to them. In fact, students in vocational *sections* who believe there is less respect between themselves and teachers more often find understanding from teachers (Figure 13.13).

⁶ Chi-Square=6.9, p<.1.

Figure 13.13 Perceptions of teachers by *section* (percentages)



Respect: Chi-Square=15.8, $p < .01$. Understanding: Chi-Square=10.8, $p < .05$

This illustrates how relationships with staff are constituted differently in academic and vocational streams. Those students who have lower academic standing appear to benefit from having been marked as ‘non-academic’ through the greater understanding (but not respect) accorded to them by teachers. At LP, as the previous chapter outlined, academic accommodation is greater and teachers understand their roles as protectors and redeemers rather than intellectual guides. This ambition to develop the person, not just the learner, contrasts with the prevailing ethos of French schooling, but is in keeping with the kinds of relationships teachers in difficult areas attempt to build with students at *collège* level (Van Zanten, 2001).

The closing of the traditional distance between teachers and students is favoured by the length of stay of teachers, nine years on average at Molière for example, which favours the weakening of conformity to the centre of the system and the development of local norms. The German teacher at Molière comments on the high levels of solidarity between teachers and “très bonne ambiance entre professeurs” (*great atmosphere amongst teachers*).

However, their authority is more fragile than that of their colleagues in *lycée général*. In academic streams, a more socially distant stance by teachers is characterised by fewer discipline issues and greater respect, but frustration from students at the intellectual pride and pedagogical weakness of teachers. One result of this combination is that teachers and students alike

consider that there is little active participation in classes. Students from an economics and social sciences stream (*'bac ES'*) with a majority of girls suggest that they are too shy or afraid to speak up (Corinne, Simone, Claire, Lycée Voltaire). As a consequence, while discipline is not a problem, some joke “justement, c’est trop calme pour mon goût” (*precisely, it’s too quiet for my taste*) (Corinne). At Lycée Polyvalent Claudel, the atmosphere is not so calm and a mathematics teacher expresses her satisfaction that “the students speak to us”, making teachers better aware of the difficulties students face, and can assist them.

Lycée général students are scathing of intellectually vain teachers who draw attention to the distance in knowledge between themselves and their students: “il y a des profs qui veulent vachement montrer qu’ils sont supérieurs à nous” (*There are some teachers who really want to show that they are better than us*) (Françoise). Such teachers are characterised as humiliating students who ask questions revealing ignorance, which students see as hypocritical given that they are constantly being exhorted to speak up more. The teachers that students value most are those who seek to develop a close affective relationship, by, for example asking students how they are. Teachers who deliver their class with a minimum of eye contact and quickly skip out are described with scorn (Françoise, Claire).

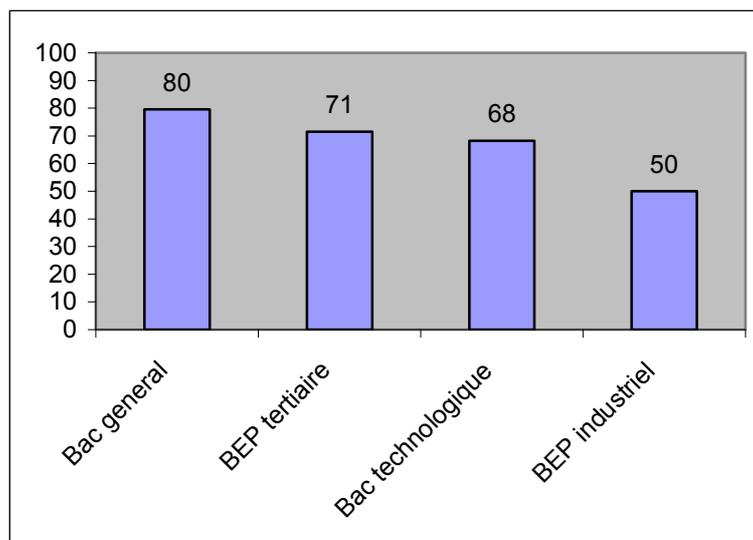
While at *lycée*, pedagogical relations are characterised by distance and frustration, at LP, learning of any kind requires a massive effort, and affective relationships require constant tending to. For students at *Lycée Molière*, the ability of teachers to provide individual support to students, and not leave behind struggling students, is chief among the school’s positive attributes (Laurent, Sandrine). The willingness of teachers to answer questions is also mentioned favourably (Mathieu, Abdi). Students are also appreciative that teachers don’t just follow the curriculum in the way they imagine teachers in *lycée général* do. For students at Molière, “Il y a une très très bonne entente avec les professeurs” (*There is a very good understanding with teachers*) (Ferid, Claudel), but this often comes at the cost of the kind of environment necessary to learning: “à part le chahut il y a aucun problème dans ce lycée” (*Apart from the uproar, there’s no problem at this school*) (Maxime, Claudel BEP). Strict teachers are resented by students, and the most important thing

is to be able to “s’entendre bien” (*get along well*) with the teacher who is “assez compréhensif” (*reasonably understanding*) (Nadir Claudel BEP). Ferid and Nadir disagree on the extent to which teachers are indeed accommodating and accepting of student differences. Some students do not realise that they “parlent mal” (*speak badly*) to teachers, because that is their usual way of speaking, they note. The qualities these students value in teachers contrast with the value placed on teacher expertise and effectiveness in socially privileged settings (Dubet, 1991).

It is on the level of discipline that the fragility of teacher authority at LP most clearly emerges. Some students feel that particular teachers have it in for them: “des fois on sent qu’on nous aime pas... il nous virent pour rien” (*sometimes we can tell they don’t like us...they kick us out for nothing*) (Nadir Claudel BEP). Students do not feel like they have a chance to be heard or be listened to in instances of conflict with teachers. A relatively pro-school student noted “si on arrive devant le proviseur, c’est automatiquement le professeur qui a gagné” (*if we end up before the principal, the teacher automatically wins*) (Nadir Claudel BEP). Teachers are felt to be attempting to establish “c’est moi qui commande” (*I’m the boss*). Nadir complains that some teachers seek to make examples out of students in order to strengthen discipline “il y a des profs qui veulent imposer leurs lois” (*some teachers want to lay down the law*). Ferid (Claudel) suggests that some teachers may be afraid of students, particularly certain groups of students and for this reason they are separated into groups designated by teachers. Certainly, the images of urban warfare presented by some teachers might lend support to this theory.

Although numbers are too small to achieve statistical significance, Turkish-background *BEP industriel* students appear to feel particularly aggrieved about the management of discipline – only 1 in 5 think it is fair compared to around half of students from other backgrounds in this *section*. In other *sections*, more students believe that discipline is fair and consistent; an opinion most widespread in academic streams (Figure 13.14).

Figure 13.14 Agreement that 'discipline is fair and consistent' by section (percentages)



Chi-Square=26.9, $p < .001$.

Perception of the fairness of discipline is closely correlated to respect (.467, $p < .05$).

Thus, we find a picture of disaffected students in the *BEP industriel*, amongst the most disaffected of whom are Turkish-background boys. Girls studying for a *BEP tertiaire*, while they are similarly positioned in the academic hierarchy, show proof of stronger attachment to school and to academic values.

The CPE: between nurture and repression

It is important to recognise the distinctive role of the Conseiller Principal d'Education in the French context as an interlocutor with a special place in pedagogical relations. The CPE, rather than teachers, has primary responsibility for discipline, attendance and student wellbeing. The CPE at Molière is keen to distinguish his role and perspective from that of teachers, and to establish the centrality of his work in negotiating between students, teachers and parents. He considers that he knows students better than teachers, and is better able to analyse their problems being outside of the "processus vicieux entre élève et professeur" (*vicious process between student and teacher*). He acknowledges that his advocacy of students "in crisis or distress" can put him at odds with colleagues whom he considers to

be in the wrong. The CPE at LP Dumas identifies confrontation with students as a constant theme, even if they are sometimes appreciative of teachers' efforts. For her, discipline involves returning to and repeating the values of being well brought up, which she considers to be lacking in students, particularly those of migrant background 'trapped' between two identities. For the CPE at Lycée Molière, limiting the damage is all he can hope for in the way of professional satisfaction – instead of half a class dropping out, only 35% 'evaporate'.

Classroom atmosphere

It is worthwhile examining the expectations of classroom behaviour students hold. The most serious and engaged attitude is to be found amongst students in academic streams, but also amongst the predominantly female *BEP tertiaire* cohort. For example, 44 per cent of *Bac général* students strongly agree that they are expected to work hard compared to 39 per cent of *Bac technologique* students, 35 per cent of *BEP tertiaire* students and just 26 per cent of *BEP industriel* students⁷. *BEP tertiaire* students outdo even students in academic streams on some other measures of attachment, however. They more often feel that there is constant pressure to succeed (66% to 52% of *bac général* students), that extra effort is worth it (83% to 71%) and that students want to do well (90% to 86%)⁸. *BEP industriel* students agree least on each occasion, with *bac technologique* students occupying an intermediate position. The LP Molière *BEP* interview group indeed consider that a disruptive minority of students do not know why they are at school. Views appear to be widely agreed upon within each *section*, with little influence from ethnic background surviving into perceptions of the classroom.

Nadir, a *BEP industriel* student, describes the general classroom atmosphere at Claudel as "la bordelle" (*chaos*). Ferid is quick to reassure that "il y a des jours où il y a des moments d'ambiance de travail" (*There are days when there are moments of a studious atmosphere*), even though at other times "ça déborde les limites" (*It's out of control*). Similarly, students at

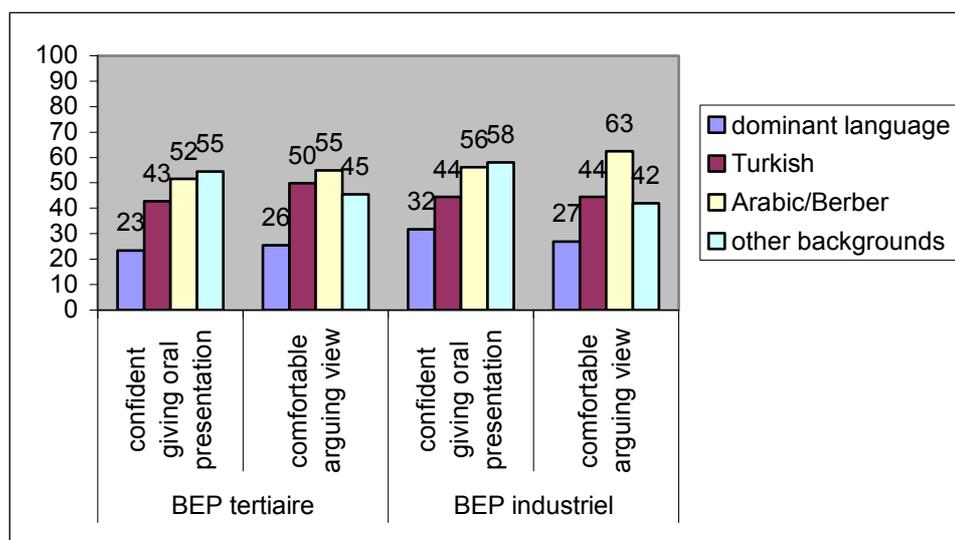
⁷ Chi-Square=26.26, $p < .01$, 5 cells (31.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.34.

⁸ All significant at $p < .05$.

LP Molière feel that classrooms are noisy and that only two or three disruptive students can destroy the work atmosphere (Abdi, Mathieu, Luc, LP Molière).

When it comes to active participation in the classroom, some differences do emerge between different ethnic groups. It appears that amongst the weakest students (in BEP *sections*), dominant language-background students are most uncomfortable speaking up in the classroom. In fact, as Figure 13.15 shows, dominant language-background students are on average half as likely as migrant-background students to 'often or always' feel confident in giving oral presentations or to 'often or always' feel comfortable arguing their point of view to the class. Arabic/Berber-background students appear to be most at ease making vocal contributions to class. This ease does not suggest the lack of language imputed to migrant-background students by teachers, and seems at odds with other signs of alienation from school. It does demonstrate that confidence in self is not lacking, even if confidence in school is. The ease with which these students speak up is also the cause of problems for them, when it is interpreted by teachers as insolence and lack of due respect for authority. Such is teachers' frustration with overly vocal students, that some report that the positive side of high levels of absenteeism is a calmer classroom.

Figure 13.15 Proportion of students responding 'all the time' or 'often' by curriculum stream and ethnicity (percentages)



Confident: *BEP tertiaire* Chi-Square=9.13, $p < .05$, 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.75, *BEP industriel* Chi-Square= 6.50, $p < .1$, 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.22.
 Comfortable: *BEP tertiaire* Chi-Square=7.48, $p < .1$, 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.38. *BEP industriel* Chi-Square= 9.38, $p < .05$, 1 cell (12.5%) has expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.82.

In fact, vocal participation in the classroom appears to be favoured in LP settings, where students who are too quiet are called 'sucks' (*fayots*) by their peers. At LP, just as at *lycée*, only half of all students believe that 'high achievers are well regarded'.

Whereas silence in LP is interpreted as a sign of excessive adherence to school norms, in academic streams, it appears as a sign of students' intimidation by teachers. Girls in academic streams are particularly reluctant to ask for help or put their point of view before the class. There is some indication from girls in the academic *section* that they fear ridicule from teachers, and even boys in the classroom. This is perhaps part of the explanation for girls preferring to work with other girls. The strength of single-gender kinship solidarity may also be responsible for the particular preference of Turkish-background students for working with single-gender groups. Turkish-background students stand out as preferring to work with other students of the same gender when they have the choice (Table 13.1).

Table 13.1 Who students prefer working with in groups by gender⁹
(percentages)

		dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
boys	Other boys	12.2	40.0	25.0	19.2	18.1
	Girls	5.4	10.0	21.4	3.8	8.7
	Indifferent	82.4	50.0	53.6	76.9	73.2
N		74	10	28	26	138
girls	Boys	.9		10.3		2.2
	Other girls	18.6	35.0	17.2	15.8	19.9
	indifferent	80.5	65.0	72.4	84.2	77.9
n		74	10	28	26	138

Boys: Chi-Square=14.8, $p < .05$, 5 cells (41.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .87. Girls: Chi-Square=13.8, $p < .05$, 6 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .42.

Home and school

Parental involvement is less encouraged in France than in Australia. There are also few opportunities for students to participate in school-initiated activities, such as sport, debating or excursions, outside of the classroom. Previous research has indicated that the involvement of migrant parents in their children's schooling (assistance with homework, contact with teachers) is less than that of other parents who share similar social characteristics (Vallet, 1997). This even leads Vallet to ask whether migrants are 'irrational' to have high hopes but not match them with high levels of investment in their children's education, although he speculates that language is likely to act as a barrier.

In all, around a quarter of students in the study report that their parents keep in touch with school and participate in school events, regardless of ethnicity or school. This contrasts with the high levels of participation and ethnic mobilisation around the two private community schools in Melbourne, where closer to three quarters of parents have regular involvement with school.

⁹ Only students who work in small groups and have the choice of working with students of both genders are included in the table.

The CPE at Molière considers that parents do not have much involvement in their children's education because students are mature enough to manage their own relationship with school. He notes that very few parents participate in the election of parents to the 'conseil d'administration' (*school council*), but this is increasing. Attendance at parent-teacher interviews can be as low as 25 per cent, with the parents of troublesome students least likely to be involved.

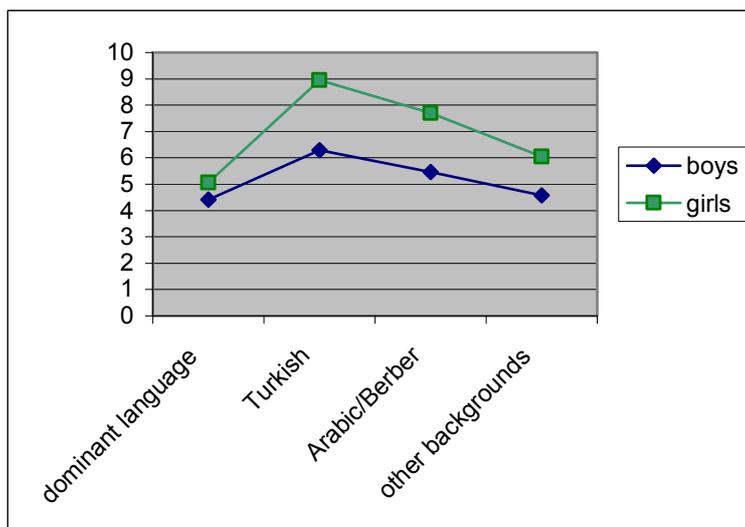
A range of constraints press upon both families. Aside from cultural distance and language barriers, teachers are also aware of material difficulties facing families. The CPE at LP Molière names single parent families as being the most at risk while family difficulties are also named as an obstacle by several teachers at Voltaire. Van Zanten has highlighted the psychological burden which accompanies the material difficulties of uncertain or no employment, isolation, poor housing and lack of money, and which affects' parents' ability to be involved in their children's schooling (Van Zanten, 2001: 156).

Some students also have other constraints on them outside of school. Student involvement in paid employment is much less common in France than in Australia, but still concerns 7 per cent of students. This figure is almost double amongst Turkish-background students, 13 per cent of whom have a job. Turkish-background students also work longer hours – 10 per cent work more than 10 hours a week compared to 2 per cent of students from other groups.

Many Turkish-background students also spend much time helping out at home. Unsurprisingly, across the sample, girls contribute significantly more than boys to domestic labour (Figure 13.16)¹⁰. The gender disparity is greatest amongst Turkish-background students, even though both genders contribute more than either boys or girls from the dominant language-background.

¹⁰ A scale from 0-15 has been calculated from responses to question 51 (English version questionnaire).

Figure 13.16 Mean score on domestic help scale by gender and background (scale: 0-15)

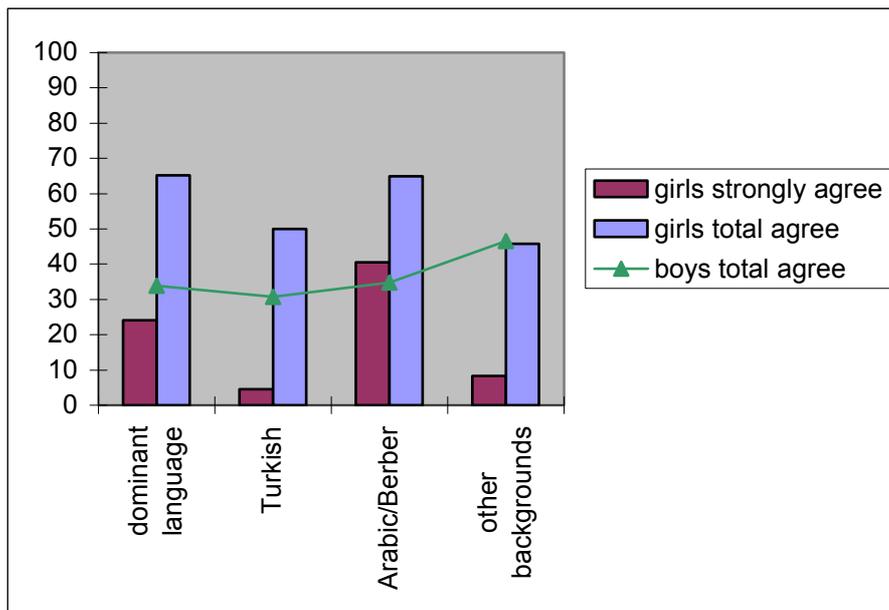


ANOVA: Boys: $p > .1$. Girls: $F = 11.12$, $p > .01$, large effect size (Eta squared = .851)

Pressures on girls come in other forms too. One Turkish background student mentioned the banning of the hijab as an instance where teachers had not accepted student difference (Fatima, Claudel, *bac technologique*). Dominant language-background girls also brought up the ban, suggesting instead that it is a positive step allowing migrant students to ‘disappear into the mass’ (Simone, H el ene, Claire, Fran oise, Corinne, Voltaire).

A clear majority of girls in the French settings believe that men have more freedom and opportunities than women, a perception which is less common amongst boys. This sentiment is most intensely felt by Arabic/Beber-background girls, but girls from all backgrounds are in strong agreement that the opportunities of women are fewer than those afforded to men (Figure 13.17).

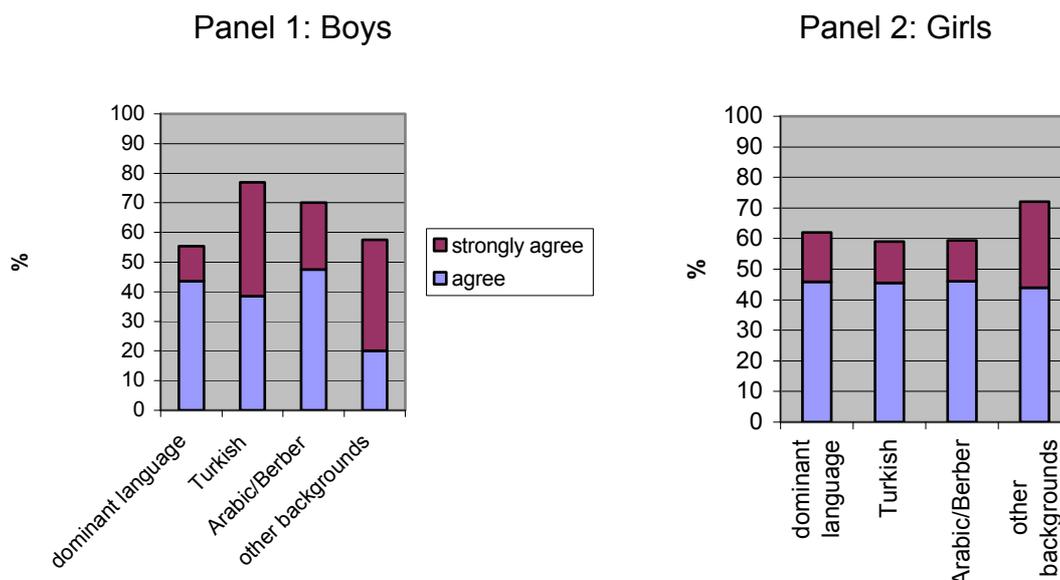
Figure 13.17 Agreement with the proposition 'men have more freedom and opportunities than women' (percentages)



Girls: chi-square=22.8, $p < .01$, 3 cells (18.8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.65, Boys: chi-square=12.5, $p > .1$.

Students from ethnic minority backgrounds are however distinguished from dominant language-background girls in holding the belief that there are constraints placed on the behaviour of girls. Many students believe that girls need to pay attention to their behaviour in order to be accepted (60%), with this view most commonly held by Turkish and Arabic/Berber-background boys (Figure 13.18).

Figure 13.18 Girls need to be careful how they act or they will not be respected



Boys: Chi-Square=31.3, $p < .01$, 5 cells (31.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.15. Girls: Chi-Square=3.4, $p > .1$.

In these figures there may be some trace of ethnic-specific norms around honour influencing the perceptions of boys at least. This is connected to differences in the institutional arrangements of schooling, as well as the existence of both strong local solidarities and a feeling of discrimination from wider society.

Conclusion

Student perceptions of the overall functioning of school reveal dissatisfaction amongst a majority. Students are happier with the sociability of the school environment, but mindful of the poor reputation (connected to ethnic composition) of the school and local area. Teachers are more alarmed than students by this poor reputation, painting a picture of dangerous gang warfare in local neighbourhoods. This menace is primarily associated with boys, who in turn are more suspicious of teachers.

A sentiment of unfairness and discrimination from above is evident amongst Turkish-background students participating in the study, but also amongst students of other migrant backgrounds. This discrimination is indeed foremost targeted at the cohort identified as '*Maghrébin*', which all 'non-white' students tend to be amalgamated into. It is true that ethnicity plays some

role in constituting friendship groups at school, but this role is smaller than in Australia, where the thesis of consequent ethnic conflict is less frequently evoked by those in authority.

This chapter has shown that fundamental contradictions arise in the relationships between students and teachers – with Turkish-background boys being most alienated by these contradictions. In academic classes, teachers are frustrated by the lack of academic autonomy amongst students, who in turn resent the frosty scorn of some teachers. A more convivial atmosphere is possible in vocational settings, where the academic personae of student and teacher alike are diminished. With conviviality comes the need for ‘crowd control’ and repressive measures which lower students’ respect for teachers.

At the heart of the tensions felt in both academic and vocational classrooms is the distance of students from the curriculum. Without the strength of curriculum connection and the rewards of individual success, pressure is intensified and schools can only be saved from dysfunction by transferring some academic tasks to social tasks. This transformation is least possible at *lycée général*, and most viable at *lycée professionnel*, but is a poor consolation which is successful only relative to failure of the system on other levels.

In the next chapter I will turn to how the management of educational disadvantage produces such effects as heightened peer sociability through a more sustained comparison of the French and Australian cases side by side.

Chapter 14.

Dreams and Despair: cultural logics of meritocracy

The previous chapters have shown that Turkish-background students in French and Australian sites have very different appreciations of school and very different school experiences. Through these chapters I hope to have demonstrated that while the educational outcomes of Turkish-background students are similar or worse than those of their peers of like socioeconomic status, similar ends do not always imply similar pathways. While the concept of social and cultural distance from the world of schooling represents an improvement on earlier theories of cultural deficit, it must also be allowed that students required to travel this distance do not all come from the same direction. Students travel across different terrain and from different starting points, even when their destinations coincide.

The task of this chapter is to bring to the fore the explanatory mechanisms which appear to account for these ethnic differences in angle of approach and draw them into a wider account of educational inequalities. Chief amongst the differences to explain is the maintenance of dreams or 'fantasies' in the comprehensive environment of Australian schools and the hastening of disillusionment and a more highly visible disaffection in the French context. For the many students in this study who are faced with poor educational outcomes at the end of their secondary studies, the Australian system appears to offer a 'soft landing', while in France a 'hard landing' is provided, to borrow a metaphor from the world of economics. These tendencies appear to be generalised across lines of ethnicity, however they are sharpest in the case of Turkish-background students in the contexts of the present study.

Given the similarities in the economic profile and social structure of the Turkish communities in Australia and France, differences in Turkish-background student experiences must be sought in the ways in which relationships to schooling are differently structured to translate individual and community attributes into student identities. The interest of focusing on ethnicity is therefore that it appears to guide some aspects of students'

relationship to school, and that a comparison of the terms of this relationship as they are offered on the side of the institution is revealing of the power of various educational institutions to integrate students into their declared aims and undeclared functions. This is further revealing of the extent to which schools are able to mould students into their own image and their effectiveness as vehicles of social control and 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1977).

However ethnicity is present at school not only through pre-existing identities, values and principles of action, but as a principle of action and value which is developed and evolves in the course of interactions at school. As Lorcerie has observed, the mobilisation of ethnicity at school forms part of power relations and processes of domination and social classification (Lorcerie, 2003: 163).

The standard explanatory model for educational inequalities begins with social relations (as emergent structural properties), shows how these give rise to embodied dispositions to act, and relates how such actions are structured by collective practices (Nash, 2003). In this chapter I will show how the location within broader social relations of the Turkish populations of Australia and France provides for similarities with other groups in the objective difficulties of engaging with the curriculum as it is framed by educational institutions. I will also suggest that dispositions moulded by ethnicity – as a situated social identity – favour distinctive perceptions and subjective experiences of schooling. My argument is that it is in perceptions, rather than in management of academic tasks, that the ethnic distinction is primarily located. Nevertheless, the two are intertwined, and subjective experiences at school lay the basis for future relationships with the academic world.

A distinctively 'Turkish' experience?

What ethnically specific norms or practices are reflected in the schooling of Turkish-background students across both French and Australian settings? A starting point for answering this question may be found in the high aspirations of migrant parents more broadly identified in the research literature. Put crudely, without the burden of their own parents' negative experiences with

schooling (which colours the aspirations of non-migrant-background students) and with the pressure of repaying parents for their sacrifices, many Turkish-background students walk through the gates of school with a dream of academic success. What happens next is largely a function of the messages they receive from the system, to which they are particularly susceptible in the absence of alternative sources of strategic knowledge.

The findings reported in earlier chapters confirm that Turkish parents have high educational aspirations for their children, but that these are largely crushed by a relegation to vocational streams in the French setting. Small sample size requires caution in the weight given to the trends identified through the previous chapters study, and the discussion which follows centres on the specific sites of the study, and only tentatively beyond that.

In the academic *lycée général*, aspirations remain high amongst some Turkish parents, even as their children adopt more modest hopes. In the comprehensive settings of Australia, by contrast, even weak students may express adherence to their parents' aspirations for careers in medicine or law.

In Australia, Turkish-background boys aspire to university almost 5 times more frequently than in France (Table 14.3). The size of this margin is boosted by the additional supports offered by private community schooling in Australia, but it remains wide even when state schools only are considered.

Table 14.1 Proportion of students planning on attending university¹

		dominant language	Turkish	Arabic/Berber	other backgrounds	Total
		%	%	%	%	%
Boys	France	26.7	15.4	2.2	18.2	19.2
	Australia	38.0	68.0	47.1	53.1	51.9
	Increase in %	11.3	52.6	44.9	34.9	32.7
Girls	France	39.9	40.9	10.8	8.0	31.7
	Australia	44.2	87.8	58.8	68.3	63.5
	Increase in %	4.4	46.9	48.0	60.3	31.8

¹ Differences between ethnic groups in the numbers aspiring to university are significant in every case at $p < .05$. University includes 'grandes écoles'.

For Turkish-background girls, the gap is not quite so wide, and in both countries girls express greater hopes than boys for university studies. Though the increase is smaller than for boys, the proportion of girls planning on attending university still more than doubles from 40 per cent in the French schools to almost 90 per cent in Australia.

High educational aspirations are not, of course, an exclusive or universal 'Turkish tradition', particularly as far as girls are concerned. Rather, investment in education can be understood as a response to the particular economic constraints and conditions which channel prosperity, status and security through academic success. The ability to bring pride and honour to the family, which *is* anchored in traditional norms, is now reliant on the modern institution of schooling as the modern arbiter of status. Even in France, where hopes have been dampened, most students still recognise the centrality of education with great keenness. However for boys in particular, pride and honour in the French settings must often be sought in a peer sociability which falls outside of the academic realm which has found them lacking.

The 'ethnic' impetus of family honour, community pride and repayment of parents' commitment extends to the other migrant groups identified in this study, but their power to influence aspirations appears weaker than in the case of the Turks. Nevertheless, the influence of elevated parental hopes is evident in the proportion of Arabic/Berber-background students aspiring to University in Australia, which stands more than 10 percentage points above the proportion non-migrant background students (47% of boys, 59% of girls). In France, however, parental hopes translate into student plans to study at less frequently for Arabic/Berber-background parents than is the case for any other group in the study.

While the forces of community and family expectation extend to a number of ethnic groups in France and Australia, many of the migrant groups absent from this study are not obliged to play out their hopes on the same unfavourable terrain as the Turkish, Lebanese and North African students whose experiences I have been analysing. Students from other ethnic groups, who access different parts of the system and with different volumes

and composition of capital, find a different purchase, and thus their hopes and aspirations translate differently into the academic careers of their children.

Other community strategies are also adopted outside of school by particular groups. In Australia, for example, extensive use is made by the Chinese community of weekend 'cram schools', which have been set up to coach students for examinations. A similar strategy may be observed in the example of Özel College, and may perhaps expand in the Turkish community in the future.

Distinctive roles and norms for boys and girls in Turkish families, although they vary greatly, also appear to be reflected in their experiences of schooling. Girls appear to be more strongly invested in education and less frequently come into conflict with school norms than do boys. This may be understood as resulting either from socialisation into a set of roles which suits them better to the role of student, or, in some cases, a desire to escape from dependence on family through educational success. The investment of girls in education is also linked to the even greater scarcity of jobs available to them than to boys. In the French setting at least, tertiary studies are also more rewarding for second generation Turkish girls than for boys (Silberman & Fournier, 2006).

Commonalities in the management of schoolwork

Although the French and Australian education systems are quite different, they operate in some similar ways when confronted with students who are unable to manage traditional academic demands.

The first sign of an attempt to manage 'new' student populations within an education system is the development of new segments of the curriculum into which weak students may be quarantined. Despite their high hopes, few students in Australian schools are enrolled in those academic subjects at the core of the traditional curriculum which grant access to high stakes courses in elite universities for middle class students. Few students intend to study Specialist Mathematics² in year 12, and a number of students who hope to

² The most advanced mathematics subject, it offers strategic advantages in seeking entrance to university.

continue on to this subject are not enrolled in the prerequisite units. Low levels of knowledge about how the Victorian Certificate of Education works and absence from those academic disciplines which provide leverage in the competition for tertiary places suggests that student aspirations are not supported by the concrete and strategically astute approaches of private schools and elite state schools. Indeed, many students have little contact with members of the professions they aspire to, and who could provide them with strategic knowledge and guidance. Given that the curriculum is not structured into a hierarchy which is visible to most students, many are consequently oblivious to their objective chances, which are poor indeed.

In France, disillusionment is hastened by a system which insists at every turn on reminding students of their position in the academic and social hierarchy. However, the specialisation of the curriculum does serve to lessen the pressure on those students who have been relegated to vocational streams, even as it is intensified on those who survive into academic streams. Vocational streams at least offer the prospect of an occupational socialisation and a convivial atmosphere, which is stifled by the struggle to maintain academic performance in the more unbending upper reaches of the hierarchy.

Despite efforts by teachers in both France and Australia to reach an accommodation with students and sustain their interest, only when academic judgement and curriculum demands are diluted and loosened can such efforts lull objectively weak students into a temporary feeling of confidence. This strategy is only marginally effective in the French system, even though text books are all but abandoned in some vocational schools. Yet efforts by teachers are not designed merely to trick students, but to make their own roles as educators liveable under difficult circumstances and faced with a curriculum which is poorly suited to students.

Academic self-esteem

The practice of schoolwork does not vary as much as the way it is experienced. The experience of the same practice in Australia (such as ignoring homework) can be a relatively untroubled one, while in France it is painfully revealing of inadequacy, and framed as a demonstration of such by teachers. Students in vocational streams may laugh off the demonstration of their inadequacies, but they cannot ignore them as students in Australia often can.

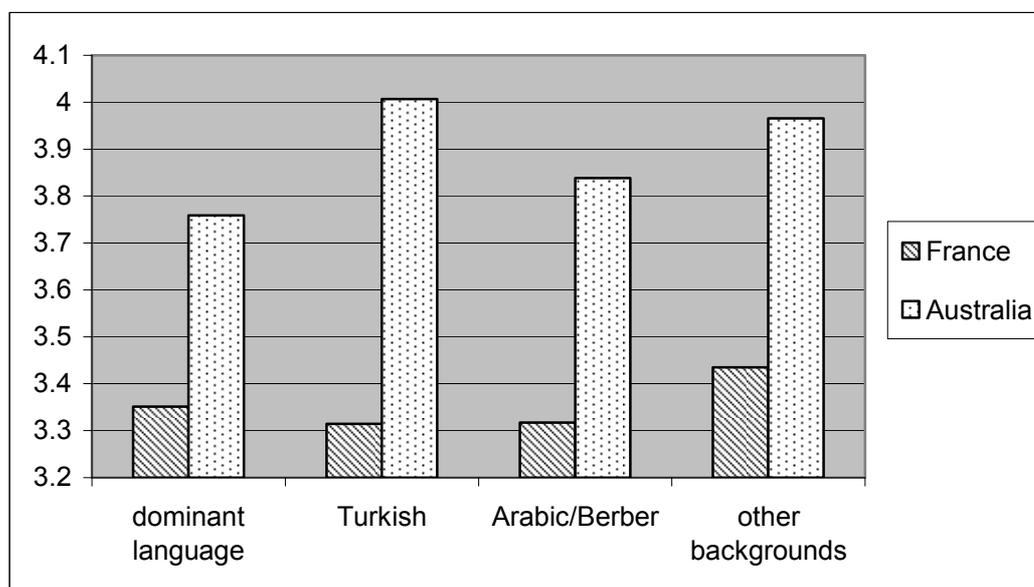
In Australia, high levels of confidence are founded on a belief that any ambition can be realised if sufficient effort is invested. Here we find a mode of self-affirmation which perhaps fulfils a morale boosting function, and also reflects messages from school. The meritocratic ideal of doing what you are capable of and suited to combines with the liberal optimism that anything is possible with sufficient effort.

The weight of negative academic judgement and the fragility of students' survival within the system are reinforced to students in France by the large numbers forced to repeat one or more years of school. Whereas in Australia, just 1 in 10 students has ever repeated a year, in France virtually every second student has failed at least one year of school and 10 per cent have failed multiple years. The burden of repeated years weighs least on dominant language-background students (36% have repeated), and heaviest on Turkish (51%) and Arabic/Berber-background students (68%), while 44 per cent of students from other backgrounds have also repeated. Even amongst students in academic streams, just 60 per cent of Turkish and Arabic/Berber-background students have survived their academic careers without repeating a year compared to 90 per cent of dominant language-background students.

As I have already alluded to, the plunge in academic confidence from Australian to French settings is greatest amongst Turkish-background students (Figure 14.1). They appear to be the group most vulnerable to the encouragement and discouragement embedded in the dynamics of each system. The deferral in Victorian schools of judgement and decision-making creates a space for hope, but it is only a temporary refuge. In France, by contrast, it appears that school has already been able to steamroll divergent

dreams and confidence levels into the channels established by its own organisation. Thus, expected academic results do not differ significantly between ethnic groups in France when tested with an ANOVA and a non-parametric alternative (Kruskal-Wallis). In Australia, with greater encouragement for the development of 'dreams', the effect of ethnicity on expected results is significant ($F=2.90$, $p<.05$) and large (Eta Squared= .98)³.

Figure 14.1 Mean confidence in study success by nation and ethnicity (scale: 1-5)



In all, the proportion of students expecting good or very good results jumps an average of 24 percentage points from France to Australia, but 36 points in the case of Turkish-background students. This can be largely accounted for by differences between girls (Table 14.2, below).

The greater inflation of expectations in Australia can be found in all migrant groups, which suggests that the expectations of dominant-language background students can be lowered by a family history of often wounding experiences with education in Australia. Migrant families, with less experience of education in Australia and few educational credentials, are better able to sustain a belief that hard work at school will be rewarded, and successfully transmit this to their children. Further, the intense strategic

³ Also significant at $p<.05$ using Kruskal-Wallis test.

mobilisation and selectivity of Özel College in Australia provide a segment of the Turkish population with additional confidence.

Table 14.2 Proportion of students expecting 'good' or 'very good' results by gender, nation and ethnicity (percentages)

		dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
Boys	France	41.4	61.5	35.6	45.5	42.2
	Australia	57.1	71.6	61.8	69.6	64.9
	Increase in %	15.8	10.1	26.2	24.1	22.7
Girls	France	46.2	31.8	52.8	56.0	46.9
	Australia	64.5	85.1	76.5	78.0	74.8
	Increase in %	18.4	53.3	23.7	22.0	27.9

In France, the relative confidence of Turkish-background boys (62% expect good results to 42% of dominant language-background boys) is closely linked to the accommodations afforded to them in vocational education settings. Indeed both French and Australian schools demonstrate that there is considerable accommodation to students who do not fit the academic model around which the formal curriculum is based. However, they also demonstrate the limits of this strategy. In Australia, mathematics proves to be less susceptible to local adaptations than English, while in France, both mathematics and French curriculum at *lycée général* are unbending before student difficulties and distance from 'academic culture'.

In perception and self-projection, a distinctively ethnic dimension of students' social identities is often discernable in Australia. In France, 'Turkish' distinctions appear to be more closely related to relegation within the curriculum hierarchy. In both cases, however, beyond Turkish norms and primary socialisation, the grip of the environmental constraints of home resources and local school settings appears firm. Schools, for their part, in seeking to manage these constraints and justify the poor learning conditions with which Turkish-background students are provided, are compelled to emphasise freedom over constraint in Australia and to emphasise individual student inadequacies in France.

Stigma and social control

Besides the roles played by school in the academic stratification of students and the justification of this stratification, school is also an important location for the inculcation of social norms. Practices which form an important part of Turkish identity – language and religion – also play a part in students' experience of school through their exclusion from the 'public knowledge' of school and the social stigma which is attached to them by this exclusion. Recently, students who identify as or are identified by others as Muslim have faced greater alienation from school. Religious beliefs and practices are increasingly identified as incompatible with schooling, and thereby play a role in identifying students as objects of discrimination. This phenomenon appears strongest in France, where the visibility of discrimination on the job market also has a powerful radicalising effect. However the strengthening of ethnic boundaries and their political mobilisation permeates the experience of school in both settings.

Ethnicity and cultural difference are conceived of in the relations between institutions differently in France compared to Australia. These differences involve the construction of nationalism and the relationship of social cohesion to linguistic and cultural diversity in the construction of a national identity. However in both cases, citizenship and national identity, central to any state ideology, are defined by the exclusion of particular alien subjects and identities. The status of ethnicity in relations with school is shaped by the economic and geographical location of a given minority population: working class and in disreputable suburbs in the case of the Turks. These negative evaluations in turn impact on minority groups in terms of status, identity and boundary maintenance.

In France, the intensity of feeling about the dangers of labelling students by their cultural background is demonstrated most recently by widespread opposition to the collection of such 'sensitive' information for a new national data-base (*'Base élèves 1ier degré'*) (Thorel, 2007). For the first time, this data-base will collect information on nationality, country of origin, language spoken at home, cultural background or date of arrival in France. Fears centre on the potential for such information to provide a spurious basis

for decisions about schooling and increased control over migrant populations, including deportation. This underscores the fragility of the republican model which treats all citizens as equal, but increasingly seeks the expulsion of members of the population who are non-citizens. In Australia, anxieties about ‘illegal immigrants’ and race riots on Sydney’s beaches indicate that an officially more inclusive policy masks deepening tensions.

Nevertheless, students in the Australian schools participating in this study have stronger faith that ‘everyone is respected, regardless of race or religion’ than do their counterparts in France (Table 14.3). Fewer than 1 in 3 students in France agree with this proposition, compared to closer to 1 in 2 in Australia. Turkish-background students differ the most between the two contexts, with 30 percentage points separating them. Dominant language-background students are most in agreement: between 30 and 40 per cent believe that everyone is respected regardless of race or religion. In France, a similar proportion of Turkish-background girls agree, but in Australia, that figure doubles to make Turkish-background girls the most idealistic of any group of students.

Table 14.3 Agreement with the proposition ‘in France/Australia, everyone is respected regardless of race or religion’

		dominant language	Turkish	Arabic/Berber	other backgrounds	Total
		%	%	%	%	%
Boys	France	31.0	16.7	30.4	25.6	29.0
	Australia	39.5	48.6	52.9	48.9	46.3
	% increase	8.4	32.0	22.5	23.3	17.3
Girls	France	28.9	31.8	18.9	44.0	29.2
	Australia	41.1	62.2	43.3	61.0	51.3
	% increase	12.2	30.3	24.4	17.0	22.0

Students’ perceptions of society at large differ from their perceptions of their school. Girls in France more often believe that discipline is ‘fair and consistent’ than their Australian counterparts across all ethnic groups (Table 14.4). The story is different for boys, with Turkish boys particularly critical of

the level of fairness afforded to them by teachers. From teachers' perspectives (in both Australia and France), this is the most troublesome group.

Table 14.4 Proportion of students who agree 'discipline is fair and consistent'

4

		dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
Boys	France	64.9	38.5	65.9	60.5	62.6
	Australia	49.4	60.0	87.1	59.1	59.9
	Difference in %	-15.5	21.5	21.2	-1.4	-2.6
Girls	France	75.2	76.2	73.0	68.0	74.1
	Australia	47.8	63.9	71.4	61.0	57.9
	Difference in %	-27.4	-12.3	-1.5	-7.0	-16.2

In teachers' minds, again across settings, but most strongly in France, Turkish-background students stand out as inadequate academically. These judgements are based on evaluations of literacy, but the explanations teachers offer are based on cultural deficit.

Labelling Turkish-background students as deficient in language as a consequence of their status as second generation migrants presents their difficulties at school as a question of integration. This positions these difficulties as external to the relations produced by school. School may intervene, and indeed has a duty to do so, but is not responsible for the deviancy of this 'out group'. The work of school is made almost impossible by the presence of 'too many' migrant-background students in the classroom, according to some teachers. "How would you feel if there were only 3 Australians in the class" a teacher in France asked me rhetorically, as one 'native' to another.

The perspective of some teachers is that try as they might, they cannot compensate for these students who fit so ill with the institution, and this expectation becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy. Past research has established that the labelling of students is integral to their treatment by teachers, and the

⁴ Differences between ethnic groups are significant in every case at $p < .05$.

views they eventually come to form of themselves and their capacities (Rist, 1977).

In Australia, some stereotypes relating to language ability appear to be internalised by students, but students from 'despised' minorities appear to face negative stereotypes with defiance and a feeling that they can overcome those obstacles which they face. Although ethnicity is evoked in schoolyard tensions, students from minority groups appear to largely believe that they are not subject to any particular discrimination in society and, that if discrimination exists, they will prove that it can be overcome.

In France, by contrast, students from 'despised' minorities clearly recognise discrimination in society, which they name as racism. The resentment and hostility generated by this recognition is a radicalising phenomenon, which loosens bonds of conformity to the system and undermines its legitimacy. Other stereotypes, notably relating to gender, appear to operate in a more uniform manner across national contexts and ethnic groupings. Girls are universally more apt to view curriculum, teachers and their own abilities more positively than boys, and to aim for longer academic careers. Boys, for their part, appear to maintain a stronger affinity with the curriculum in relation to mathematics, but to falter before the cultural content of 'language-based' subjects.

Peer relations and comfort at school

Convivial peer relations stand as one of the few comforts of schooling for the students in this study. While teachers express dismay about the emergence of ethnic divisions in friendship groups, students are less concerned and few contrasts between groups emerge in student perceptions. Students generally consider that they have good friends at school, and that school is conducive to forming friendships. This is one domain in which students exert greater agency and control. They are able to show competency and derive practices which are beyond the grasp of imposed institutional logics and which contribute to valued social identities – even if this value has little currency outside of the circle of peers. Students' perception of respect amongst students does not vary greatly – between 80 and 90 per cent of students

agree that there is mutual respect amongst peers, regardless of nation, gender or ethnic background. This sociability works for boys in particular according to principles of value which are at odds with the styles of interaction conducive to institutional and academic recognition. While teachers are keenly aware of this, students are not.

Peer sociability nevertheless provides an important source of emotional support and self-worth. Amongst Turkish-background girls, investment in school-sanctioned sources of self-worth is greater, and greater efforts are made to conform to school expectations. Girls' sociability is less often in overt conflict with the purposes of school. Practices such as completing homework together provide valuable supports and encouragement for girls. The differences between boys and girls in this regard are strong, as socialising tends to be gender segregated, particularly for migrant-background girls. Many students also mainly mix with peers of the same cultural background as themselves, or who are family friends. Indeed a majority of Turkish-background students, though more girls than boys, mix with people who mostly share their cultural background in the schoolyard.

However, despite amicable relations with peers, Turkish-background students in France rarely feel 'at home' at school (Table 14.5). In the Australian settings, which are characterised by the presence of strong cultural and kinship networks in schools which are tightly integrated into the local space, migrant students are *more* likely to feel welcome and at home at school than their peers. It appears that schools in Australia are more tightly cocooned into a 'safe' local neighbourhood, which offers reassurance to students which cannot be replicated in the French system, where the demands of the centre are more insistently relayed to its outposts. In France, Turkish and other migrant-background students consequently express feelings of alienation from school, even as they find a sociable environment there.

Table 14.5 Proportion of students who feel at home at school⁵

		dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
Boys	France	20.2	7.7	23.9	18.6	19.9
	Australia	28.9	38.7	61.8	46.7	40.4
	Increase in %	8.8	31.0	37.9	28.1	20.5
Girls	France	28.9	18.2	37.8	16.0	27.9
	Australia	35.9	60.6	51.7	35.0	45.3
	Increase in %	7.0	42.4	13.9	19.0	17.4

A point of communality amongst students alienated from school emerges around the definition of self as a member of a particular subculture. A number of boys in the both national settings, from all backgrounds, make reference in discussing their lives and futures to the centrality of hip-hop music and culture, including drug culture. The importance of a transnational urban youth culture as a reference point is evident for a group of (male) students in both settings. It offers a sense of dignity which school does not offer, and provides an alternative regime of value around relations of honour and solidarity.

Families relating to school: barriers and mobilisation

We can understand many of the barriers facing students as arising from residential and social segregation, economic hardship and distance from the cultural and strategic knowledges which secure academic and professional success when they are pooled in more exclusive educational settings. In many Turkish households neither parent is active in paid employment, and education levels are low. Levels of contact with the school are low in these circumstances, and parents are often unable to help their children with their homework. Further, students and their families must place their belief in the educational system's claims of equality and just rewards in the absence of access to strategic knowledge necessary to devise effective strategies. While students have access, in many cases, to supportive peer and family networks,

⁵ Agree or strongly agree with the proposition 'I feel at home at school'. Differences between ethnic groups are significant in every case at $p < .05$.

this support is of limited effectiveness in the absence of such knowledge. Rather than emerging with triumphant strategies for social mobility through schooling, Turkish families appear to suffer more than most from the internal logic of education systems as they operate in disadvantaged settings.

Subsidised private education in Victoria has nonetheless provided the space for collective strategies aimed at minimising the risks of educational failure to be developed by a section of the Turkish community. The two private schools in the study are both around 10 years old, and are largely staffed by first generation migrants whose backgrounds mark them off from the longer established community. The Islamic school is run by a local association, whose presence is felt in every aspect of the school's operation and where student welfare and moral growth is considered central. The nominally secular private school is part of a foundation which operates schools around the world and has a more academic focus. Students at both private schools are also more likely than other students to be tutored outside of school. This emergent phenomenon has left other schools in the area all the more impoverished. For the academically selected students who attend Özel College, improved results come at the cost of cram-school conditions. In France, families have less control over schooling, except to put their wishes forward at the moments of great decision making.

Structural location

The distribution of social power and the principles of social control are reflected in the distribution of resources and organisation of educational structures. These operations and distributions often remain hidden or misrecognised. I wish to focus now on some of the broader structural elements of schooling as it is experienced by the Turkish populations of Australia and France. There are three key points to be made in relation to school structures. Firstly, Australia and France both provide examples of educational fields which produce social inequalities. They both follow a logic of hierarchical operation in which the centre dominates a periphery – although the periphery also impacts on the operation of the centre. These hierarchies are characterised by social segmentation within school, and local effects are

produced by the social composition of both dominant and peripheral sites. Secondly, the educational fields of Australia and France have both been altered by an influx of 'new' students, all the while retaining the legitimacy of the forms of capital inherited from an earlier stage of their development and jealously guarded by their traditional users. Yet the French and Australian educational fields appear to be appreciated in quite different ways by their weakest participants. Importantly, and this is my third point, weak participants increasingly remain incorporated within the system. The institutional strategies for managing and legitimising inequalities differ markedly between systems, but with the common objective of retention through quarantine. It is possible, therefore, to speak of different pathways to the same ends.

The schools in this study sit at what Van Zanten (Van Zanten, 2001) has called the 'periphery' of a system, which has its centre in well established, academically successful middle-class schools. Not only are central or 'fortified sites' (Teese, 2000) dominant in academic outcomes, they set the norms for the system through control over the curriculum. The State, various bureaucracies, professional organisations, universities and the 'market forces' represented by privileged parents are able to exploit the malleability of education systems.

An illustration of the tight control over curriculum development and assessment exercised by fortified sites in the Australian context may be found in the relocation of the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (responsible for examinations). The examination centre recently relocated from an upmarket area of Melbourne, where the teachers from privileged schools who are responsible for examinations are most strongly concentrated, to a more downmarket part of town, close to the settings of the present study. This move provoked horror amongst examiners, who feared that the system might collapse as few would be prepared to travel to the new, peripheral, location. Despite these fears, the relocation did not result in any change in the profile of examiners, merely complaints about the extra travel time required to a place variously described as 'an outpost', 'a colony', and 'the foreign legion'.⁶ In France, control over the curriculum and its examination is

⁶ This anecdote comes from my own first-hand experiences as an examiner.

even further removed from peripheral sites and less responsive to 'new' student groups.

Students in the contexts of this study typically recognise that schoolwork is important to their futures, but do not have a clear appreciation of the informal workings of the system, and have no contact with those who devise and assess the curriculum they must follow. Bourdieu's distinction between mere *reconnaissance* (recognition) and *connaissance* (knowledge) (Bourdieu, 1984) might be applied to the ways students at the periphery and those at the centre are differently related to the realisation of academic goals.

School mix undoubtedly plays a role here. In Australia, the schools have an intake which is almost exclusively lower working class and provide learning environments where poor achievement is the norm. Appreciation of the informal workings of academic hierarchy is sharper in other schools, with mixed intakes, which seek to increase their attractiveness to middle-class parents through streaming programs. Streaming in mixed settings also makes explicit the social position of particular migrant groups, as we saw in the case of the Lycée Claudel in chapter 12. There are signs that even in Australia, streaming is on the rise in semi-gentrified areas as schools seek to retain and attract middle-class parents. In such a setting, the students in an acceleration stream have been known to ask "how come there are no 'Lebs' [Lebanese] in this class" causing discomfort to teachers by threatening to uncover the internal segregations which hold together such socially mixed schools⁷.

In France, although the broader social mix of larger schools may remind students of their rank in the system, within their classroom they still confront a narrow social mix of students and norms of misunderstanding and avoiding schoolwork which closely mirror those found in Australian classrooms.

It is worth dwelling a little longer on the phenomena of segregation, which have proven to be such powerful tools in the management of inequality. In France, separate structures for vocational education have been integrated

⁷ This example comes from a school closer to the city than those in the sample, where gentrification is changing the social and ethnic composition of the area. Schools in such areas have most to gain from strategies of internal segregation, and enrolment figures confirm the increased attractiveness of such schools.

into a unified system and expanded to include ever longer periods of training and an ever greater number of working-class youth. Despite these provisions, 'new' students have entered traditional academic structures, disrupting the consensus over norms and values. The incorporation within the system of socially disadvantaged groups has allowed the system to stake its credentials as a meritocracy, but comes at the price of internal segregation and relegation.

Australia, by contrast, has expanded the social breadth of its student population by virtue of the development of new curriculum areas and weaker academic thresholds for inclusion in a comprehensive system. The meritocratic credentials of the system are strengthened by the inclusion of all students in a common structure, but the social cost is paid through maintenance of a core of socially inaccessible academic subjects and the operation of cut-throat competition between unequally positioned schools and sectors.

Though their force is no less, these segregations and relegations are less visible to students in the senior years in Australia than in France. Students' true position may only be revealed to them at the end of their schooling, when final examination scores become known.

The process of mystification through which students come to either recognise and accept their lot, or on the other hand mis-recognise their lot, has important implications for the pedagogical dynamics of schooling. In France, where disenchantment is greatest, there are signs of institutional crisis. However more developed vocational structures also provide a safety valve with the promise to guide students swiftly to the workforce. In Australia, the tenuous connection of students to the curriculum is maintained by insulating them from the traditional academic core of the system. This has the double effect of sheltering the system, and its traditional users, from the need to become more inclusive and sustaining belief in the system even amongst those most alienated from its rewards.

Two strategies for integration at the margins

We have seen that the phenomena of exclusion are managed by distinctive social mechanisms in the two national systems examined here, and these are associated with particular forms of what I call marginal integration. The structures of integration evident in the Australian context share some of the attributes of the relations of 'mechanical solidarity' (Durkheim, 1984), while those in France might be likened to the relations characterised by Durkheim as 'organic solidarity'. In Australia, the structures which seek to foster solidarity with the purposes of schooling are based on resemblances, seemingly equal possibilities and an ostensibly 'flat' curriculum. The comprehensive secondary school is a local structure, formally similar to all other such structures in other locations. In France, by contrast marginal integration is based on a segmented and hierarchical curriculum which ranks and divides individuals into specialised student identities. The specialised *lycée* is not so firmly anchored in the local space, but is instead anchored to a clientele defined by occupational prospects and academic ability.

The construction of educational pathways reverses some of the attributes of mechanical and organic solidarity, particularly with regards to individualisation. In Australia, with its flat curriculum structure, pathways are a matter for individuals to develop autonomously. They are flexible, in theory, and based on decisions which are internalised through 'choice' of subjects based on taste and aptitude. The locus of power in determining pathways is more externalised in the French setting. Options are laid out through curriculum streams, and their availability is closely related to past performance. Students who are successful enough to have genuine choices in stream selection, seek to remain in the highest ranking section of the system they can for as long as possible – a strategy of survival. Personal investment in France often takes the form of contingency plans or adaptation to imposed pathways.

In pedagogy too, French schools emphasise the external and visible aspects of performance. Students are often ranked according to their grades and the ritual of performance or recitation in front of the class is a regular pedagogical strategy. In the Australian settings, by contrast individual flexible

approaches which place the focus on the processes of learning rather than on performance in examinations smooth marginal integration.

Conclusion

How then can we characterise the means by which educational systems bring students, often unwittingly, into situations of scholastic difficulty and failure? In Australia, a gradual lowering of expectations and deflating of dreams, which is not yet complete, is observable, while in France, lowering of expectations and adjustment of dreams is more precocious and brutal. In other words, exclusion is brought about through a 'soft landing' in Australia and through a 'hard landing' in France. Beyond the psychological impact of these different mechanisms, the two landings are likely to have different effects on students' subsequent engagement with education and training. The soft landing in Australia persuades many students to deflect their dreams of university into other forms of training at the end of their secondary schooling. Many thus retain some contact with formal training even after they have received their examination results. In France, the hard landing provokes disaffection with the academic world, but allows students to form alternative projects and may eventually force the system to reform in order to avoid crisis. For some of these students, work-place training may provide the opportunity for a future engagement with education, but the doors of formal education appear to be more firmly closed.

The ideology of meritocracy is operationalised differently in France and Australia, but is central to understanding the management of educational inequalities which define so strongly the relationship of Turkish-background students to the two education systems. What one teacher described as the 'necessary illusion' of academic integration maintains its grip on Turkish-background students in both France and Australia.

In Australia, the internalisation of meritocratic ideals results, *at Year 11 level*, in the retention of hope in the hearts of a good number of students soon destined to become the victims of the unmeritocratic operation of schooling. In France, students at this level have already internalised an interpretation of themselves and their capacities which will allow them to willingly accept their

lot. Students in Australia must also pass through this stage of internalisation, but its deferral allows schools to avoid some of the conflict and alienation which accompanies the senior years in France. Indeed the French model tends more towards a feeling of injustice. This provides a political dimension to a resentment which otherwise is most commonly inwardly turned and does not, therefore, result in a questioning of the legitimacy of the system.

As Teese has observed, failure cannot be eliminated from a comprehensive system, merely exported. The bastions of academic success depend on the efforts of those who toil for lesser rewards. Meritocracy depends on the compliance of the 'losers' in this relationship, and their misrecognition of their place as merited. Meritocratic and liberal ideologies replace strategic and interested choices with free and disinterested choices. School and home environments where collective and individual strategies are exercised through the pooling of resources do not depend on the abstract claims of the system, even as the legitimacy of their dominance depends upon a generalised acceptance of those claims.

Chapter 15.

Conclusion

At the outset of this study I set out to answer three questions directed ultimately at shedding some light on the processes producing and managing educational inequalities.

The first question relates to how Turkish-background students perceive and manage the demands of school. The perceptions of Turkish-background students in different settings vary so radically that it has been impossible to identify a uniform 'Turkish' trend in students' conscious appreciations. Nevertheless, in understanding ethnicity as a situated social construction, it is possible to identify distinctively Turkish perceptions to a greater extent within the framing of each situation. In Australia, 'dreams' of brilliant tertiary studies and an idealised image of the self as student are allowed by the *combination* of Turkish community norms, strategies and practices on the one hand, and on the other of a particular institutional arrangement. In France, similar dispositions combine with different institutional arrangements and constraints to produce disillusionment and alienation to a far greater extent and at an earlier point in students' academic careers. For other 'ethnic-minority' students who share the same schools, constraints and similar social norms as the Turkish community, many similarities in perceptions may be observed. The most visibly stable aspect of Turkish perceptions across contexts, although this is far from unique to this group, lies in the greater investment of girls in schoolwork, their greater faith in (or reliance upon) meritocratic promises, and their lower levels of conflict with teachers.

The second part of the opening question investigated by this thesis addresses not conscious appreciations, but how schoolwork is managed. In the chapters on the management of schoolwork, student efforts at writing and their struggles with mathematics showed that even as perceptions vary, the difficulties students face are remarkably similar. They pertain to the largely unconscious efforts required for students to adopt the scholarly persona and style demanded for academic labour. Students must be able to bridge a cultural distance in order to recognise the distinctive demands of academic

tasks and respond to them on their own terms. This distance pertains to the concept of *habitus*, which I drew upon in the opening chapters of the thesis. In addition to cultural distance from academic demands, this thesis has been able to identify differences in the understandings of ability and potential which might be characterised as constituting different angles or directions of approach in attempts to bridge this cultural distance.

The second question asked by this study is whether it is possible to speak of distinctively 'Turkish' strategies of educational investment. Some strategies, such as mutual support through kinship and community networks, are in evidence. Yet their effectiveness is hampered by a lack of firm knowledge of the hidden workings of the system. A more effective, albeit brutal, strategy which reveals the perversity of the terms on which the system operates is the massive collective investment of time and resources devoted to forcing a selected group of students through narrow 'gaps' in the curriculum at Özel College in Australia. Another kind of 'Turkish' strategy which is also most prevalent in Australia is the adherence to a voluntarist philosophy of study. According to this philosophy, effort and resilience are sufficient to support 'dreams'. This philosophy is converted with greater difficulty into an effective work ethic and academic results.

Many strategies of educational investment are shared by Turkish and non-Turkish-background students alike; and these are guided by the inability of most to fully engage with the curriculum on its own terms. This leads to strategies of avoidance and investment in the social dimensions of school life, particularly a peer sociability which for boys is frequently in conflict with school norms. Schools and teachers in turn adopt strategies for managing students and retaining them within the system which also involve emphasising the social over the academic.

To the final question of whether the different terrains represented by France and Australia lead to different adaptive strategies, a two-fold answer must be given. Firstly, it is clear that students' strategies for protecting self-esteem and developing social identities at school are adapted to the very contrasting terrains presented by French and Australian schools. Each system proffers a distinctive form of marginal integration, which guides the strategies which students are able to deploy. Nevertheless, the answer to the

previous two questions have indicated that faced with a curriculum that they are poorly equipped to manage, students in France and Australia struggle in similar ways and seek to navigate a path through or around schoolwork in similar ways.

What broader conclusions may be drawn from these findings? As Lorcerie notes, the autonomous operations of schooling have the power to redirect, redefine, intensify or reduce the place of ethnicity in social status and relations (Lorcerie, 2003: 165). The findings of this study demonstrate that while the 'all else being equal' approach has heuristic value, schooling and students cannot be considered only as the sum of dismembered individual attributes. If we are to address the problems confronting failing students, we must first recognise who they are, and in what circumstances they find themselves.

Ethnicity plays a role in the development of distinctive outlooks at school as a function of students' location in social structures and the management of ethnicity in social relations. These relations are framed by the organisation and management of schooling. The variations found within each national context show that context alone cannot account for the production of distinctive relationships to schooling, and that institutional arrangements and positioning inside an institutional hierarchy are important factors. The findings suggest that the 'openness' of a system to parental mobilisation, and the distance or proximity (affective, pedagogical and cultural) established between schools and students also plays a role in the subjective experience of the production of educational inequalities.

Educational inequalities are 'solidified' or 'objectified' at various points along students' educational pathways – in examination results, passage into relegation curriculum strands, and level of attainment. However educational inequalities are also the product of ongoing processes constructing human and institutional relations. This study suggests that the form and visibility of the objectified markers of educational success and failure results in differing subjective processes of anticipation and reaction.

The wounds of relegation are administered in different ways and with different timing in France and Australia. With loose structures and relatively

informal processes, in Australia students are free to choose their own poison, and so have only themselves to blame when its (delayed) effects are felt. In France, students must follow the prescription administered by the system and have ample time to agonise over their prognosis. In both instances, these wounds result from poor learning and an inability to manage the cultural and cognitive demands of a curriculum which has proved to be most effective in maintaining the advantage of the traditional users of education in locations where resources have been most concentrated over time.

Limitations of the study

It is important to note that assessment provided by students of their schooling in this study is not a final one because it presents only one point in an unfinished school career. The study has been undertaken largely in the absence of data on individual performances and outcomes for the students participating in the study subsequent to the investigation. The analyses presented here therefore pertain to the particularities of school experience in the post-compulsory years, a period leading up to the awarding of diplomas and transition to work or further training.

Further limitations in the data require caution in their interpretation and make generalisation problematic.

The first limitation, to generalisability, derives in part from the study design. Sites were purposefully sampled in order to include Turkish-background students in contexts of social disadvantage and ethnic diversity, and were not therefore randomly selected from a wider population of candidate sites. They were also limited to sites prepared to participate in the research, which eliminated a number of schools in each setting.

The second limitation derives from practical difficulties encountered in undertaking the study within the constraints of a doctoral program and from the paucity of accessible data on the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods and schools. Collection of data was hampered by difficulties in identifying and accessing appropriate sites in two different education systems, in two different countries. As a consequence, the number of Turkish-background students in the French sample is small ($n=35$), and even smaller in analyses which break students up by stream or school. Little confidence therefore can be

expressed in quantitative analyses based on this small group. Nevertheless, a high participation rate (80-90%) at each of the schools means that quantitative analyses which have limited inferential value still have descriptive value.

Beyond the influence of practical contingencies, data collection was also reliant on teachers and principals as 'gatekeepers' to interview subjects. The selection of both teachers and students for interview, although based on criteria I supplied, was nevertheless out of my control and potentially open to influence. While it is possible that some bias was introduced through this gate-keeping, often the selection of interview subjects was undertaken in my presence, with explanation of how the choice matched my criteria for selection. Choice was further motivated in many instances by the availability of students and teachers, and was hence more opportunistic than calculated.

In addition to these limitations, cross-national comparison carries with it the danger of multiplying unconsidered variables. This study does not presume that only the factors taken into account here matter, only that they appear to play an important role. Cross-national comparison has allowed for some clarification to be provided to the articulation of at least some of the causal mechanisms producing educational inequality and their relative effects on student experience, which is itself an important outcome of education.

The study has had primarily limited its focus to one ethnic minority group, and further research is needed into the experiences of other groups which are similarly positioned. The place of ethnicity can also be further clarified by contrasting the role it plays in the lives of minority students who are not in disadvantaged educational settings.

The focus of teachers interviewed for the study on purported linguistic deficits points to a desperate need for more research and greater training of teachers on questions of language. Future research must seek to clarify the place of language and speech in relation to the linguistic and cognitive demands of schooling. Work in this direction was begun by Bernstein, but

many connections, particularly to literacy, remain unclear¹, leaving room for the proliferation of folk theories amongst school actors.

Implications

Educational inequalities and ethnic tensions alike arise from the sensitivity of our educational systems to the unequal distribution of social power. This sensitivity comes in the form of academic hierarchies and openness to self-interested individual and collective influence over these hierarchies. Education cannot act as a vehicle for self-actualisation and self-determination while its actors are compelled to act within such a logic. This is true not only of the dominated by of those who must constantly maintain and reinforce their domination of the field.

This study firstly calls attention to inequalities in educational provision, which require a massive reallocation of resources to improve the quality of learning of students in disadvantaged areas from the outset of their schooling. The difficulties confronted by the students in this study arise in large part from their inability to manage academic demands combined with the economic necessity of their ongoing presence within academic structures.

Specifically targeted support needs to be provided to migrant families who do not have the linguistic, instructional or institutional knowledge needed to effectively support their children. Schools need to be more attentive to the distinctive needs and understandings of families which are reliant on signals from the system which are often misread or are too subtle to recognise. This is critical from the moment of students' first encounter with pre-school, but is also vital as the endpoints of education loom.

Further, curriculum reform is needed from several angles. Firstly, schools must equip students to recognise and engage critically with political discourses which marginalise groups on the grounds of religion or ethnicity. This is an essential form of literacy, and is needed to address problems which schools currently treat with silence in order to avoid exacerbating. Reform to both curriculum and pedagogy is also required in order to improve the quality of learning of all students. Student writing samples show that schools are

¹ See Knapp (2006) for a recent summary of the literature in Germany, where most interest has been generated in this question.

failing in the most elementary tasks they are called on to perform. Schools must provide, in an explicit way, adequate support for students to engage in acts of cultural production which follow codes and principles currently hidden from many. The problem identified by Bourdieu of schools asking for what they do not provide is highlighted by the present study. Beyond the substance of the work that migrant and working-class students provide in the classroom, the style and form of their presentation appears to instantly disqualify their ability in the eyes of teachers. As Labov has noted (1972), some of what passes for complexity of thought in schools can be characterised by the superficial features of a verbose middle-class style.

Certainly, the curriculum favours the cultural practices of particular social groups, and Teese's (2003) proposal to evaluate the curriculum by its performance, rather than just evaluating students is an important step. However the curriculum is likely to be resistant to attempts to neutralise this advantage as powerful groups are best placed to swiftly adapt their strategies to maintain their dominant position. Even if a more socially neutral curriculum were to be achieved, it must be recognised that, by the senior years, school is foremost a site of competition not for enlightenment, but for commodities in the form of credentials.

In this regard, Dubet and Duru-Bellat have observed that if the unequal social basis of educational inequalities were eliminated, the role of school as a more meritocratic agency of social selection would remain problematic. This selective function is, in itself, wounding and cruel to the students who must necessarily be judged lacking in talent and capacity in order for others to be distinguished (Dubet & Duru-Bellat, 2004). Dubet and Duru-Bellat suggest that policies of redistribution and positive discrimination, as well as changes to curriculum and teaching, are practically insufficient to make school 'fair' in the face of social inequalities. Instead, what is needed is a redefinition of the purposes of school to emphasise a common curriculum accessible all students at the expense of school's selective functions. Thus, school must be loosened from the task of producing differently credentialed individuals for different economic positions in the world of work. Once school is not merely a means to a final economic destiny, then its instrumentalisation, and manipulation at the hands of the most powerful, loses interest, and its

destruction of the dignity of the 'vanquished' can cease. The problems which plague both French and Australian education systems find their origin not in the timing and structures of academic selection which appear to so strongly distinguish them, but in the function of schooling as an agent of social selection. If social status and wellbeing were not so tightly linked to academic credentials, and if differentials in status between occupations were greatly reduced, then a viable solution would become attainable.

Even within their current framing, schools can nonetheless make progress through a better appreciation amongst students and teachers of the political nature of mobilisations of ethnicity, and a greater recognition of the importance of ethnicity to identity and sense of self. Put bluntly, prejudice can be fruitfully tackled by schools with greater vigour. However, as agents of state power, schools must necessarily be objects of resentment by students once they recognise that the operation of schooling and other agencies guaranteeing the social order is far from just. Efforts at reform in school must also face the reality that schools are not divorced from the global and local conflicts which permeate society, nor can they compensate for them. Their sources, like students' disenchantment with school, lie in social inequalities which are not produced solely, or even predominantly, by schools.

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Appendix 1.

Glossary of abbreviations and specialist terms

<i>Bac ES</i>	Baccalauréat, série Sciences Economiques et Sociales. The stream in the Bac général focused on economics and social sciences.
<i>Bac général</i>	Baccalauréat général. The academic section of the school leaving certificate.
<i>Bac L</i>	Baccalauréat, série Littéraire. A stream in the Bac général focused on literary studies.
<i>Bac pro</i>	Baccalauréat professionnel. A vocational school leaving certificate offered by Lycées professionnels. Requires 2 years of study after the BEP.
<i>Bac S</i>	Baccalauréat, série Sciences (traditionally the most prestigious academic stream).
<i>Bac technologique</i>	Baccalauréat technologique. The section of the school leaving certificate which combines generalist subjects with specialised technical training.
<i>BEP</i>	Brevet d'Etudes Professionnelles. Two year practical qualification completed at a Lycée professionnel, potentially leading to completion of a Bac Pro. It is divided into 'tertiaire' (services) and 'industriel' (industrial) sections.
<i>BTS</i>	Brevet de Technicien Supérieur. Two year tertiary qualification equivalent to a TAFE diploma.
<i>CAP</i>	Certificat d'Aptitudes Professionnelles. A two year practical course completed at a Lycée professionnel and leading directly to the labour market.
<i>Coefficient</i>	The weight each subject contributes to the final examination score for the Bac. Also refers to the total figure from which students results for the Bac are calculated (mathematics is worth a coefficient of 7 out of a total coefficient of 38 in Bac S, for example).
<i>Collège</i>	Junior secondary school (ages 11-15).
<i>CPE</i>	Conseiller Principal d'Education. Person responsible for co-ordinating student welfare and discipline in French secondary schools.

<i>ENTER</i>	Equivalent National Tertiary Entrance Rank. A score given to students based on their VCE results, the highest being 99.95.
<i>Lycée général et technologique</i>	Senior secondary school catering to students organized into separate academic and technological sections of the Bac.
<i>LP</i>	Lycée (d'Enseignement) Professionnel: Senior vocational school.
<i>Professeur Principal</i>	Homeroom/tutorial teacher.
<i>Section</i>	Division referring in this study to the 'type' of diploma being prepared: Bac général, Bac technologique, BEP industriel, BEP tertiaire.
<i>Stream/série</i>	Refers to divisions within each section of a diploma. Each stream has somewhat specialised curriculum.
<i>STI</i>	Sciences Technologiques Industrielles. The 'industrial' stream of the bac technologique.
<i>STT</i>	Sciences Technologiques Tertiaires. The 'service sector' stream of the bac technologique.
<i>TAFE</i>	Technical and Further Education college. A vocational tertiary institution offering qualifications parallel to and higher than the VCE.
<i>Tertiaire</i>	A BEP section leading to employment in the service sector (receptionist, book-keeper, secretary).
<i>VCAL</i>	Victorian Certificate of Applied Learning. A vocational school leaving certificate.
<i>VCE</i>	Victorian Certificate of Education. Common leaving certificate in Victorian Secondary schools, equivalent to Baccalauréat level.
<i>VCE coordinator</i>	Teacher responsible for managing administration of the VCE and management of VCE students.
<i>VET</i>	Vocational Education and Training.
<i>ZEP</i>	Zone d'Education Prioritaire. Administratively defined 'Education Priority Area'.

Appendix 2. Additional tables and figures

Chapter 6:

Table A6.1 Future plans by parents' socio-economic status

	unemployed/pensioner %	blue collar/unskilled %	lower middle class and higher %	Total %
University	60.1	58.5	74.7	62.4
TAFE/VET	18.2	27.8	15.8	22.2
Apprenticeship/Traineeship	.7	3.3	2.1	2.2
Work full-time	21.0	10.4	7.4	13.1
n	143	212	95	450

Pearson Chi-Square = 21.731, $p < .01$. 3 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.11.

Chapter 8:

Table A8.1 Responses to the proposition 'in Australia, everyone is respected regardless of race or religion'

	dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
strongly disagree	21.1	12.8	21.9	14.0	17.3
disagree	38.6	31.8	29.7	31.4	33.9
agree	33.3	40.5	35.9	43.0	37.7
strongly agree	7.0	14.9	12.5	11.6	11.1
n	171	148	64	86	469

Chi-Square=12.72, $p = .176$.

Table A8.2 Responses to the proposition 'in my school other students respect you'

	dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
strongly disagree	3.6	2.7	5.0	1.2	3.0
disagree	15.4	9.5	10.0	18.8	13.4
agree	66.9	59.5	58.3	60.0	62.1
strongly agree	14.2	28.4	26.7	20.0	21.4
n	169	148	60	85	462

Chi-Square=15.8, $p < .1$, 3 cells (18.8%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.82.

Table A8.3 Responses to the proposition 'in my school being different can be a problem'

	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other backgrounds %	Total %
strongly disagree	10.1	16.3	7.8	12.8	12.2
disagree	27.8	34.0	35.9	48.8	34.8
agree	47.3	34.0	40.6	33.7	39.7
strongly agree	14.8	15.6	15.6	4.7	13.3
n	169	147	64	86	466

Chi-Square=21.5, $p < .05$.

Table A8.4 Agreement with the proposition 'in my school students are sometimes picked on because of the way they look'

	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
strongly disagree	1.2	11.0	7.7	4.6	5.8
disagree	9.9	32.2	26.2	25.3	22.0
agree	57.9	36.3	38.5	57.5	48.4
strongly agree	31.0	20.5	27.7	12.6	23.9
n	171	146	65	87	469

Chi-Square=52.6, $p < .001$, 1 cell (6.3%) has an expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.74.

Table A8.5 Agreement with the proposition 'in my school if boys don't behave in a certain way, they will be picked on'

	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
strongly disagree	9.4	14.4	4.8	5.7	9.7
disagree	35.3	26.7	28.6	31.0	30.9
agree	35.3	26.7	28.6	31.0	30.9
strongly agree	11.8	10.3	20.6	5.7	11.4
n	170	146	63	87	466

Chi-Square=18.074, $DF=9$, $p < .05$. No cells have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.08.

Table A8.6 Agreement with the proposition 'in my school girls need to be careful about how they act, otherwise they will not be respected'

	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
strongly disagree	5.9	6.2	3.1	3.4	5.1
disagree	19.4	21.2	18.8	26.4	21.2
agree	54.7	50.0	48.4	55.2	52.5
strongly agree	20.0	22.6	29.7	14.9	21.2
n	170	146	64	87	467

Chi-Square=7.718, $DF=9$, $p > .1$. 2 cells (12.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.29.

Table A8.7 Agreement with the proposition ‘in my school for a girl to be liked, she has to giggle a lot and flirt with boys’

	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
strongly disagree	12.4	21.9	10.9	12.9	15.3
disagree	51.8	39.0	32.8	52.9	45.4
agree	25.9	22.6	32.8	24.7	25.6
strongly agree	10.0	16.4	23.4	9.4	13.8
n	170	146	64	85	465

Chi-Square=22.256, DF=9, p<.01. No cells have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.81.

Table A8.8 Agreement with the proposition ‘in my school to be liked, boys need to swear a lot and show off’

	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
strongly disagree	20.0	35.4	23.8	27.6	26.7
disagree	54.7	36.1	41.3	51.7	46.6
agree	17.1	18.8	17.5	13.8	17.0
strongly agree	8.2	9.7	17.5	6.9	9.7
n	170	144	63	87	464

Chi-Square=19.635, DF=9, p<.05. No cells have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.11.

Chapter 13

Table A13.1 responses to the proposition ‘in my school other students respect you’

	dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	other backgrounds %	Total %
strongly disagree	3.1		2.4	4.5	3.0
disagree	12.2	17.1	11.0	12.1	12.4
agree	65.4	54.3	43.9	62.1	60.0
strongly agree	19.3	28.6	42.7	21.2	24.7
n	254	35	82	66	437

Chi-Square=21.7, p<.05, 4 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.04.

Table A13.2 responses to the proposition ‘in my school being different can be a problem’

	Dominant language %	Turkish %	Arabic/Berber %	Other backgrounds %	Total %
strongly disagree	13.4	17.1	19.8	23.5	16.5
Disagree	25.3	28.6	29.6	22.1	25.9
Agree	34.8	37.1	22.2	29.4	31.8
strongly agree	26.5	17.1	28.4	25.0	25.9
N	253	35	81	68	437

Chi-Square=9.7, $p > .1$

Table A13.3 Agreement with the proposition 'in my school students are sometimes picked on because of the way they look'

	dominant language	Turkish	Arabic/Berber	other backgrounds	Total
strongly disagree					
disagree	6.2	2.9	11.3	7.5	7.1
agree	34.2	38.2	26.3	28.4	32.2
strongly agree	40.5	29.4	38.8	28.4	37.4
n	253	35	81	68	437

Chi-Square=14.7, $p < .1$, 2 cells (12.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.41.

Appendix 3. **Research instruments**

Focus group questions:

1. Describe what you do after school on a typical day when you have homework:
2. What happens when you have trouble with a homework task?students in the
3. Survey responses often indicate students feel positive about school, tell me about the positive features.
4. Are there things which are disruptive to a positive school environment, either in class or the schoolyard?
5. Are these things a big concern or a minor concern?
6. What kinds of issues do you think students at this school find particularly challenging? [eg homework, social behaviour]
7. Can most students cope with these challenges?
8. What kind of student would you say copes best? (describe their characteristics)
9. Who is least able to cope? – (describe their characteristics)
10. In the survey, students feel they have a good relationship with teachers, but are there some students who feel that teachers don't accept them?
11. If so, why
12. Is there an issue between some students in the way students talk, behave, or dress?
13. There has been a lot of debate about immigration and migrants lately, do you think this has had affected how students feel about themselves and what happens in school? Can you give some examples?
14. One of the big positives students see in school is friendship. Do most students at this school get along well with each other, or are there some tensions. Think about how well students at this school get along with each other.
15. What reasons are there for students not getting along?
16. Where do you see yourself in five years time?
17. What do you see as the biggest potential obstacles to your goals?

School questions:

- describe the VET component of VCE/VCAL offered at this school
- is specialist maths offered?
- Do students complete any year 11 subjects in y10?
- Retention

Teacher questions:

- Students consider friendship at school to be very important, do students at this school generally get along well, or are there some tensions?
- What kind of tensions, causes? (group, individual?)
- Many students see themselves as active learners who are coping well with schoolwork, have they got it right ? What information do students use to make this self-evaluation ?
- Many students reported that they have high ambitions and expect good results, how accurate do you think this perspective is?
- Which students struggle with schoolwork?
- What kinds of issues to students at this school find particularly difficult to cope with? [the pace at which topics are covered, the difficulty of the topics, students' language/literacy skills, time spent on classroom management and other issues]
- Who is best able to cope with the academic and social challenges school presents? – (describe their characteristics)
- Who finds it most difficult to cope? – (describe their characteristics)
- Are there particular challenges for a teacher here and particular satisfactions in good teaching?
- How do you see the future for students going through this school?
- Are there any special measures in place to address the specific needs of the students at this school?

careers

- What advice do students receive in relation to selecting subjects for VCE
- Do students views about their futures change from year 11 to the end of year 12?
- Do students have unrealistic ambitions?

Focus group questions french

1. Que faites-vous une fois que les cours sont terminées pour la journée lorsque vous avez des devoirs ?
2. Que se passe-t-il quand vous avez du mal avec une tâche (dans les devoirs)?
3. Pour vous quels sont les aspects positifs de l'école ?
4. Qu'est-ce qui peut gâcher une bonne ambiance scolaire, soit en classe ou dans la cour ?
5. S'agit-il de grands soucis ou des soucis mineurs ?
6. Quels éléments de la vie au lycée les élèves de cet établissement trouvent-ils particulièrement difficile ? (le travail donné, le comportement de certains camarades...)
7. Est-ce que la plus part des élèves s'en sortent de ces difficultés ?
8. Quel genre d'élève s'en sort le mieux ? (décrivez l'élève type)
9. Quel genre d'élève éprouve le plus de difficultés ? (décrivez l'élève type)
10. Pour beaucoup d'élèves leur rapport avec le professeur est très important, mais y a-t-il des élèves qui ont le sentiment de ne pas être acceptés par les profs ? (comportement, façon de s'habiller ou de parler...)
11. Si c'est le cas, pourquoi ?
12. Est-ce que vous gérez votre travail en fonction des coefficients de chaque matière, si vous les connaissez ?
13. Il y a pas mal de débat dans les médias actuellement concernant l'immigration et les différences culturelles. Pensez-vous qu'il y ait un impacte sur les images que les élèves se font d'eux-mêmes et des autres, et sur les comportements ?
14. Beaucoup de lycéens estiment que l'amitié fait partie des aspects positifs de l'école. Est-ce que les élèves dans cet établissement s'entendent bien en général, ou y a-t-il des tensions ?
15. Quelles sont les raisons pour les conflits éventuelles ente élèves ?
16. Où voyez-vous dans cinq ans ?
17. Quels sont les obstacles les plus importants devant vous ?

Questions pour les professeurs

1. beaucoup d'élèves estiment que les liens amicales sont très importants au lycée, est-ce que les élèves ici s'entendent plutôt bien, ou y a-t-il quelques tensions
2. Quelles genres de tensions (individus, groupes, filles-garçons...)
3. Les élèves sont également nombreux à estimer s'investir beaucoup dans leur travail et bien s'en sortir – quelles sont vos impressions ? Comment les élèves peuvent-ils évaluer leurs progrès ?
4. Beaucoup d'élèves ont des projets particuliers et espèrent de bons résultats – ont-ils en général une idée réaliste de leurs projets et de comment les réaliser?
5. Est-ce que les perspectives des élèves concernant leur projet change au cours de leur scolarité au lycée ?
6. Quel est le profil des élèves en difficulté ? Pouvez-vous décrire l'élève type ou les élèves en difficulté ?
7. Quelles difficultés les élèves éprouvent-ils dans cet établissement ? (à l'égard du volume du travail, temps trop court consacré à chaque élément du programme, expression écrite, concentration, comportement...)
8. Qui s'en sort le mieux face à ces difficultés ?
9. Qui a le plus de mal à s'en sortir ?
10. Y a-t-il des dispositifs en place pour répondre aux difficultés des élèves ?
11. Y a-t-il des défis particuliers pour un enseignant dans cet établissement, et au même temps des satisfactions particulières ?
12. Comment voyez-vous l'avenir des élèves qui passent par cet établissement ?

Orientation

Quels conseils sont donnés aux élèves au moment de l'orientation ?

Les projets des élèves sont-ils réalistes ?

Est-ce que les perspectives des élèves concernant leur projet change au cours de leur scolarité au lycée ?



THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Survey of the educational experiences of senior students

This questionnaire gives you a chance to have your say on what you think of school and to tell us about yourself. The information you provide will help to make education more relevant to the lives of students and to improve educational opportunities. This questionnaire is confidential and will only be used for the purposes of research.

-
1. Date of birth ___/___/___
2. Postcode of home address _____
3. Are you Male Female?
4. What language is most often spoken at home? _____
5. If another language or other languages are also regularly spoken at home, list them here (in order of most often spoken) _____
6. In which country were you born? _____
7. Where were your parents born?
Father/guardian _____ (If born overseas): arrived in Australia ___ years ago
Mother/guardian _____ (If born overseas): arrived in Australia ___ years ago
8. Are you Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander? Yes No
9. Why are you currently attending this school? Tick one or more boxes to show your reasons.
 Good reputation Family members or friends attend(ed)
 Problems at my previous school Asked to leave previous school
 Convenient location Other (please specify) _____
10. Have you ever changed secondary schools? Yes No
11. If you have ever attended school outside of Australia, please specify (If no, go straight to 12):
In which country? _____
For how long? _____ years _____ months
12. How well are you coping with your studies in English and Maths?
- | | very well | well | not too well | poorly |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| In English I am coping | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| In Mathematics I am coping | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- (if you are not studying maths, how well did you cope in the last year that you did?)
13. How difficult do you usually find each of the following types of exam question?
- | | easy | not too difficult | difficult | extremely difficult |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Multiple choice | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Short answer | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Long answer (e.g. essays) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

14. Are you studying VCE VCAL?

15. What subjects are you taking this year?

Circle the numbers to show which units you are taking this year for each of your subjects. Eg. (1)2 3 4 English.

UNITS	UNITS	UNITS
1 2 3 4 Accounting	1 2 3 4 Environmental Science	<u>1</u> 2 3 4 MATHEMATICS
1 2 3 4 Agriculture & Horticulture	1 2 3 4 Food and Technology	1 2 __ Foundation Mathematics
1 2 3 4 Art	1 2 3 4 Geography	__ 3 4 Further Mathematics
1 2 3 4 Biology	1 2 3 4 Graphic Communication	1 2 __ General Mathematics
1 2 3 4 Business Management	1 2 3 4 Health and Human Development	1 2 3 4 Mathematical Methods
1 2 3 4 Chemistry	HISTORY	1 2 3 4 Media
1 2 3 4 Classical Societies & Cultures	1 2 __ Any Year 11 History	1 2 3 4 Music Performance (group or solo)
1 2 3 4 Contemporary Australian Society	__ 3 4 Any Year 12 History	1 2 3 4 Music Styles
1 2 3 4 Dance	1 2 3 4 Hospitality	1 2 3 4 Outdoor and Environmental Studies
1 2 3 4 Design and Technology	1 2 3 4 Industry and Enterprise	1 2 3 4 Physical Education
1 2 3 4 Drama	1 2 3 4 Information Processing and Management	1 2 3 4 Physics
1 2 3 4 Economics	1 2 3 4 Information Systems	1 2 3 4 Political Studies
1 2 3 4 Environmental Science	1 2 3 4 International Studies	1 2 3 4 Psychology
ENGLISH	1 2 3 4 Legal Studies	1 2 3 4 Religion and Society
1 2 3 4 English	LOTE	1 2 3 4 Studio Arts
1 2 3 4 English Language	(which language(s)?)	1 2 3 4 Systems and Technology
1 2 3 4 ESL	1 2 3 4 _____	1 2 3 4 Texts and Traditions
1 2 __ Foundation English	1 2 3 4 _____	1 2 3 4 Theatre Studies
1 2 3 4 Literature		1 2 3 4 Visual Communication

16. Do you plan to study specialist mathematics next year? Yes No

17. If you are doing any VET modules this year, list them here:

18. Here are some statements about classroom tasks, for each one tick the boxes that best describe you.

	All the time	often	sometimes	rarely or not at all
I ask the teacher for help when I have trouble understanding something	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel comfortable arguing my point of view to the class	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I find doing research for a project outside of class easy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I run out of time in exams	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I find reading a novel easy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have trouble following when the teacher explains work on the board	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel confident in giving oral presentations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19. Working in small groups I feel most comfortable working with:

Boys Girls Both/Don't care

20. In English you are asked to read and analyse a text. How do you find the following tasks?

	Easy	not too difficult	difficult	extremely difficult
Picking out the main arguments	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Describing how the author builds arguments	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Presenting your own views on a topic in an essay	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. How would you describe your choice of subjects?

Read through the choices, then tick ONE box only.

I chose:

- the subjects that will give me the best chance of getting a job as soon as I leave school
- the subjects that will maximise my chances of getting into the course I want, regardless of their interest
- the subjects that will maximise my chances of getting into the course I want, even though I often struggle with them
- subjects that are the most academically challenging and interesting
- Whichever subjects I found interesting
- I didn't have much choice in my subjects

22. A good classroom is one where:

	strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
There is lots of discussion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is lots of feedback on where you are going	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your own ideas are considered	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You get to work with other students	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Schoolwork is made relevant to your life	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
You feel you are really learning something useful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The teacher really cares that you learn well	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. Circle how many good subjects you are doing (based on the things you consider important from the last question) For example, if you are doing three good subjects, circle 3

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

24. What kind of results do you expect to obtain in your studies this year?

I expect to obtain:

- Very good results
- Good results
- A pass
- Poor results
- Very poor results

25. In the schoolyard I mix with people who mostly:

	yes	no
Share common interests with me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Share my cultural background (e.g. ethnicity)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are the same gender as me (i.e. boy or girl)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are family friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

26. The good school should:

	strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
Help you achieve good academic results	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inform you about careers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prepare you for further study beyond school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Give you job skills for when you leave school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Give you confidence in your own abilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teach you to respect and care for others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Help you form good friendships	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. My school actually does:

	strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
Help you achieve good academic results	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inform you about careers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prepare you for further study beyond school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Give you job skills for when you leave school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Give you confidence in your own abilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teach you to respect and care for others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Help you form good friendships	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28. Who usually helps you with school? For each question, tick the boxes to show who helps you.

Who usually helps you with:	Mother/guardian	Father/guardian	brother(s)	sister(s)	relatives/friends
Planning your VCE and career?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Encouragement?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Making sure you're organised and have time to study?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Understanding homework?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Checking homework?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Keeping a close eye on how well you are going in each subject?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Providing you with the equipment and materials you need to study?	<input type="checkbox"/>				

29. What kinds of things do you read outside of school-work? (E.g. magazines, e-mails, instruction manuals)

I often read: _____
 I sometimes read: _____

30. What are your plans beyond school? Pick ONE option only.

When I leave school I plan to:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Go to TAFE | <input type="checkbox"/> Work full-time, part time training |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Go to a university | <input type="checkbox"/> Do a traineeship |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Go to a private training college | <input type="checkbox"/> Do an apprenticeship |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Enter the defence services or police | <input type="checkbox"/> Repeat the current year of school |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Work full-time, no further training | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify _____) | |

31. Are you currently in paid employment?

Mark ONE box only

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Not in paid employment | <input type="checkbox"/> Working over 10 but less than 20 hours per week |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Working for less than five hours per week | <input type="checkbox"/> 20 hours per week or more |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Working between 5 and 10 hours per week | |

32. Are you receiving Youth Allowance/Abstudy? Yes No

33. How do you and others see your work future? Tick one or two jobs that you would like to work in (maximum TWO). Then tick the job(s) your parents hope you will work in. Finally, do the same for the job(s) your teachers expect you to work in. In each column tick ONE or TWO boxes only.

	I would like to be	my parents hope I will be	my teachers probably expect me to be
A tradesperson	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A health professional	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A teacher/scientist	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
An engineer/architect	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A lawyer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A doctor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In sales or retail	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A business owner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A business manager	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A labourer (including factory work)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A technician	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In clerical/administrative work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Whatever makes me happy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

34. How many people do you know with the type of job you are interested in?

nobody one or two, but not well one or two well quite a few

35. How far did your mother (guardian) go with her studies?

None Completed secondary school Technical/business training (non-university)
 Primary school only Apprenticeship Don't know
 Some secondary education University

36. How far did your father (guardian) go with his studies?

None Completed secondary school Technical/business training (non-university)
 Primary school only Apprenticeship Don't know
 Some secondary education University

37. What is your father's (guardian's) current work status?

Salary/wage earner Pensioner (disability, aged) Home duties
 Self employed/own business Voluntary unpaid work Seasonal work
 Unemployed Retired

38. If your father (guardian) is in paid employment, what is their occupation?

39. What is your mother's (guardian's) current work status?

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Salary/wage earner | <input type="checkbox"/> Pensioner (disability, aged) | <input type="checkbox"/> Home duties |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Self employed/own business | <input type="checkbox"/> Voluntary unpaid work | <input type="checkbox"/> Seasonal work |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed | <input type="checkbox"/> Retired | |

40. If your mother (guardian) is in paid employment, what is their occupation?

41. Do you have:

- | | yes | no | How many? |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| Younger brothers or sisters? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Older brothers or sisters? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Brothers or sisters who attend, or have been to University | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |

42. If you speak a language other than English, how often do you use it (if no, go to 43.):

- | | all the time | often | sometimes | rarely or never |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| For general conversation with your parents? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| To discuss and get help with school work? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With your relatives and family friends? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With your school friends and classmates? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With your brothers and sisters? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With teachers? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| For reading and writing outside of school subjects? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

43. In my school:

- | | strongly agree | agree | Disagree | strongly disagree |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Being different can be a problem | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| High achievers are well regarded by other students | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Boys have more say in the classroom | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Everyone gets a fair go | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| You are expected to work hard | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Teachers treat boys and girls differently | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Students want to do well in their studies | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Teachers and students respect each other | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Discipline is fair and consistent | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other students respect you | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I have lots of friends | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

44. How did you find mathematics this year (or in the last year you did maths)?

- | | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| I was confident in my work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I helped other students with maths problems | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I did not understand the purpose of much of the work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I found the problems both interesting and challenging | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I was able to get help with maths at home | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

45. How much do you agree or disagree with each of these statements?

	strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
I feel safe at school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Extra effort with school work is worth it	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
At this school there is constant pressure to succeed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't see much use in my school work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The most important reason to do well is to make my parents happy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I take pride in my work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teachers understand the things that are important to me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel at home at school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand how the VCE works	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My parents understand how the VCE works	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get on well with my parents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

46. Have you ever repeated a year at school? No Yes, one year More than one year

47. How much do you agree or disagree with each of these statements?

	strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
In Australia, everyone is respected, regardless of ethnicity or religion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Men have more freedom and opportunities than women	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some students do badly because they are just basically no good at certain subjects	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My parents keep in touch with the school and participate in school events	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I found it difficult to adjust to the changes from Year 10 to VCE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

48. Are you someone who:

	yes	no
Watches more than three hours of TV a day?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Has a computer at home?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spends a lot of time playing computer games?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lives in a home where books are read and discussed?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Would like to be working instead of going to school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Receives help in school subjects from a tutor?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Likes to discuss ideas, and social and political issues?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Studies together with other students?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Only reads to get information?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

49. Which of the following best describes you? Read through the options, then tick **ONE only.**

I keep up to date with all homework and regularly revise or do extra study	<input type="checkbox"/>
I keep up to date with set homework tasks	<input type="checkbox"/>
I usually attempt homework but often don't finish the tasks	<input type="checkbox"/>
I often don't attempt or complete homework tasks	<input type="checkbox"/>

50. In this school:

	strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
Students are sometimes picked on because of the way they look	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For a girl to be liked, she has to giggle a lot and flirt with boys	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If boys don't behave in a certain way, they will be picked on	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Girls need to be careful about how they act, otherwise they will not be respected	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To be liked, boys need to swear a lot and show off	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

51. At home I help out with:

	all the time	often	Sometimes	rarely or not at all
Financial matters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cleaning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cooking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Babysitting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Brother(s)/sister(s) homework	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Translating and interpreting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify) _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

52. Outside of the regular school timetable, which of the following activities do you participate in?

Tick the boxes to show which activities you participate in, and who runs each one.

<i>I participate in:</i>	<i>run by:</i>	school	local council	religious group	Ethnic group	Other Organisation (specify – e.g. club)
Sport		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Music, art, dance or theatre classes		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Debating		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Camps or excursions		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Peer support groups		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Socials/dances etc		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Other _____		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
None of the above		<input type="checkbox"/>				

If you were asked in a radio interview to describe your idea of a successful life, what would you say?

UNIVERSITE DE BOURGOGNE/THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE
Enquête sur l'expérience scolaire des lycéens

Cette recherche s'inscrit dans le cadre d'une collaboration internationale avec l'université de Melbourne, Australie, en vue de comparaisons entre lycéens de même niveau. Le questionnaire vous donne la possibilité de vous exprimer sur l'école et sur votre vécu quotidien. Ces questions nous permettront de voir globalement la place que tient l'école dans votre vie. Vos réponses sont confidentielles et serviront uniquement à la recherche.

1. Date de naissance ___/___/___

2. Vous êtes de sexe masculin féminin

3. Vous êtes dans cet établissement parce que: *Cochez les cases qui vous correspondent.*

- C'était la seule possibilité Autre (précisez) _____
- Vous l'avez choisi en raison de _____

4. vous êtes externe demi pensionnaire interne

5. Avez-vous effectué une partie de votre scolarité à l'étranger ? Si oui, précisez :

Dans quel pays ? _____

Pendant _____ ans _____ mois

6. Comment vous débrouillez-vous en français et en mathématiques?

	Très bien	Bien	Pas très bien	Pas bien du tout
En français je me débrouille	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En mathématiques je me débrouille	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Vous préparez un (précisez la spécialité)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> BEP/CAP _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> Bac L _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bac S _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> Bac Technologique _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bac ES _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> Autre (veuillez préciser) _____ |

8. LV1 _____ LV2 _____ LV3 _____ Langue ancienne _____

9. Voici quelques propositions concernant le travail en cours, pour chaque proposition cochez la case qui vous correspond le mieux.

	Toujours	Souvent	Parfois	Rarement ou pas du tout
Je demande l'aide du professeur lorsque j'ai du mal à suivre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je me sens à l'aise pour présenter mon opinion devant la classe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je fais facilement la recherche qu'on me demande en dehors du temps de classe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je manque de temps aux contrôles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
J'ai confiance en moi pour les présentations à l'oral	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
J'ai du mal à suivre lorsque le professeur fait une explication au tableau	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je trouve la lecture des romans facile	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. Travaillez-vous en petit groupe en classe ? Oui Non **Si oui, sentez-vous plus à l'aise travaillant avec:**
 des garçons des filles les deux/pas d'importance la composition de la classe ne permet pas de choix

11. En français, comment estimez-vous les tâches suivantes?

	Facile	Pas trop difficile	Difficile	Très difficile
Dégager des éléments d'un texte	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Expliquer les éléments d'un texte dans un commentaire rédigé	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Présenter votre propre point de vue sur un sujet dans une dissertation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. Sur quels critères votre orientation actuelle s'est-elle faite?

Lisez les choix et cochez UNE seule case.

J'ai choisi l'orientation :

Qui me donnera les meilleures chances de trouver un emploi directement après le lycée

Qui me permettra de faire plus tard les études que je souhaite

Qui est à la fois la plus ambitieuse sur le plan intellectuel et pour laquelle j'éprouve le plus d'intérêt

Qui correspond le plus à mes centres d'intérêt

Je n'ai pas eu de choix

Autre (précisez) _____

13. Pour qu'un cours se passe bien il faut que:

	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
Il y ait beaucoup d'échanges entre élèves et avec le professeur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
L'on sache clairement où le professeur veut en venir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vos propres idées soient prises en compte	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vous ayez la possibilité de travailler entre élèves	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Le programme soit mis en rapport avec votre quotidien	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vous ayez l'impression de vraiment apprendre quelque chose d'utile	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Le professeur s'intéresse vraiment à vos progrès	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. Sur ces critères, dans combien de vos matières diriez-vous que les cours se passent bien ?

Par ex. si c'est le cas pour trois des matières, cochez 3

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 sur un total de ___ matières

15. A quels résultats vous attendez-vous cette année ?

Je m'attends à :

de très bons résultats

de bons résultats

des résultats moyens

des résultats très moyens

de mauvais résultats

16. Pendant les récréations je reste plutôt avec des camarades qui :

	Oui	Non
Partagent avec moi des intérêts communs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Partagent avec moi une origine culturelle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sont du même sexe que moi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Que j'ai rencontrés dans le cadre de la famille ou des activités familiales	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Un bon établissement devrait :

	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
Vous aider à obtenir de bons résultats	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vous informer sur le monde du travail	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vous préparer pour les études supérieures	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vous préparer à travailler dès la fin du lycée	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Développer votre confiance dans vos propres capacités	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vous enseigner le respect et la considération des autres	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vous aider à nouer de bonnes amitiés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18. Mon établissement :

	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
Aide à obtenir de bons résultats	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Informe sur le monde du travail	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prépare pour le supérieur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prépare à travailler dès la fin du lycée	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Développe la confiance dans ses propres capacités	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enseigne le respect et la considération des autres	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aide à former de bonnes amitiés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19. Qui vous aide d'habitude dans votre scolarité? Pour chaque question, cochez les cases correspondantes aux personnes qui vous aident.

	Mère/tutrice	Père/tuteur	Frère(s)	Soeur(s)	Famille/amis
A comprendre vos devoirs?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
A vérifier vos réponses?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Pour vous fournir le matériel qu'il vous faut pour étudier ?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Dans l'élaboration de votre parcours scolaire et projet professionnel ?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Pour vous encourager?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Pour suivre de près vos progrès dans chaque matière ?	<input type="checkbox"/>				
A vérifier que vous êtes organisé et que vous avez suffisamment de temps pour étudier ?	<input type="checkbox"/>				

20. Que lisez-vous en dehors du travail scolaire? (pour ex. magazines, e-mails, manuels d'instructions, romans)

Je lis souvent : _____

Je lis parfois: _____

21. Qu'envisagez-vous après le diplôme que vous préparez? Cochez UNE seule case.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Travailler à temps plein, sans formation ultérieure | <input type="checkbox"/> Une formation en alternance ou apprentissage |
| <input type="checkbox"/> De redoubler en cas d'échec | <input type="checkbox"/> Université |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bac professionnel | <input type="checkbox"/> Classes préparatoires |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Une formation professionnelle (BTS, IUT...) | <input type="checkbox"/> Autre (précisez) _____) |

22. Avez-vous actuellement un emploi rémunéré ?

Cochez UNE seule case

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pas d'emploi rémunéré | <input type="checkbox"/> Je travaille plus de 10 heures et moins de 20 heures par semaine |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Je travaille moins de 5 heures par semaine | <input type="checkbox"/> Je travaille 20 heures ou plus par semaine |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Je travaille entre 5 et 10 heures par semaine | |

23. Bénéficiez-vous d'une bourse d'études ? oui non

24. Avez-vous actuellement une idée de votre future profession ?

	Première idée	Deuxième idée (éventuelle)	N'importe laquelle qui me rendra heureux	Pas d'idée
J'aimerais être	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mes parents espèrent que je serai	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mes professeurs s'attendent à ce que je devienne	_____	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. Combien de personnes côtoyez-vous qui exercent la profession qui vous intéresse ?

Je côtoie :

- aucune une ou deux, de temps en temps une ou deux assez souvent pas mal de gens

26. Quel est le niveau d'étude le plus élevé atteint par votre mère (tutrice) ?

- | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> aucun | <input type="checkbox"/> Bac | <input type="checkbox"/> ne sait pas |
| <input type="checkbox"/> école primaire | <input type="checkbox"/> apprentissage/BEP/CAP | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> collège/début lycée | <input type="checkbox"/> diplôme supérieur | |

27. Quel est le niveau d'étude le plus élevé atteint par votre père (tuteur) ?

- | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> aucun | <input type="checkbox"/> Bac | <input type="checkbox"/> ne sait pas |
| <input type="checkbox"/> école primaire | <input type="checkbox"/> apprentissage/BEP/CAP | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> collège/début lycée | <input type="checkbox"/> diplôme supérieur | |

28. Quelle est la situation professionnelle de votre père (tuteur)?

(par ex. en emploi, retraité, au chômage, travail saisonnier) _____

Quelle est sa profession ? _____

29. Quelle est la situation professionnelle de votre mère (tutrice)? _____

Quelle est sa profession ? _____

30. Combien de frères et sœurs avez-vous ?

Nombre de frères et sœurs plus âgés que vous : _____

Nombre de frères et sœurs moins âgés que vous : _____

Nombre de frères et sœurs qui sont ou sont allés dans le supérieur : _____

31. La langue la plus utilisée chez vous _____

32. Autre langues utilisées régulièrement chez vous _____

33. Votre pays de naissance _____

34. pays de naissance de vos parents

Père/tuteur _____ (si à l'étranger): arrivé en France il y a environ ____ ans

Mère/tutrice _____ (si à l'étranger): arrivé en France il y a environ ____ ans

35. Si vous parlez une autre langue en plus du français, dans quelle mesure vous vous en servez ? (si non, passez à la question 36.):

	toujours	souvent	parfois	Rarement ou jamais
Pour parler avec vos parents?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pour discuter des devoirs et vous faire aider ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Avec la famille et les amis de la famille?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Avec vos amis de lycée et vos camarades?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Avec vos frères et soeurs?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Avec des professeurs?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pour lire et écrire en dehors des cours?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

36. Dans mon lycée:

	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
J'ai beaucoup d'amis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Les meilleurs élèves sont bien estimés par les autres	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Les garçons sont privilégiés par rapport aux filles pour la prise de parole en classe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tout le monde est traité de manière équitable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
On s'attend à ce que vous travailliez beaucoup	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Les professeurs se conduisent différemment envers les garçons et les filles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Les élèves veulent bien réussir leurs études	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Professeurs et élèves se respectent mutuellement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
La discipline est juste et cohérente	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Les autres élèves vous respectent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Être différent des autres peut poser problème	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

37. Comment avez-vous trouvé les mathématiques cette année ?

	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
J'ai confiance dans mon travail	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
J'aide les autres élèves avec les questions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je ne comprends pas la finalité d'une bonne partie du travail	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je trouve les questions à la fois intéressantes et stimulantes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
J'ai de l'aide à la maison en cas de besoin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

38. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous d'accord ou pas pour chacune des propositions suivantes ?

	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
Je me sens en sécurité au lycée	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ça vaut la peine de s'investir au-delà du nécessaire	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dans cet établissement il y a une pression constante pour réussir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je ne vois pas beaucoup d'intérêt dans le travail scolaire	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
La raison la plus importante pour réussir est de rendre heureux mes parents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je suis fier de mon travail scolaire	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Les professeurs comprennent les choses qui sont importantes pour moi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je me sens comme chez moi au lycée	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je comprends le fonctionnement du système scolaire	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mes parents comprennent le fonctionnement du système scolaire	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je m'entends bien avec mes parents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. Avez-vous déjà redoublé? Non Oui, un an Oui, plusieurs années

40. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous d'accord ou pas pour chacune des propositions suivantes ?

	Tout à fait d'accord	D'accord	Pas d'accord	Pas du tout d'accord
En France, on respecte tout le monde, peu importe la religion ou la culture d'origine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Les hommes ont plus de liberté et d'opportunités que les femmes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Certains élèves ne réussissent pas parce qu'ils ne sont pas doués pour certaines matières	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mes parents restent en contact avec l'établissement et participent aux événements qu'il organise	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Je trouve difficile de s'adapter au lycée quand on arrive du collège	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

41. Etes-vous quelqu'un qui :

	oui	non
Regarde la télévision plus de trois heures par jour ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A un ordinateur à la maison ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Passe beaucoup de temps à jouer sur l'ordinateur ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A une famille où on lit et discute des livres?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Préférerait avoir un emploi plutôt que d'aller à l'école ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Reçoit de l'aide par des cours particuliers ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aime discuter des questions sociales ou politiques ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Travaille avec d'autres élèves en dehors des cours?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ne lit que pour se renseigner?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

42. Laquelle des propositions suivantes vous correspond le mieux? Lisez les réponses puis cochez UNE seule.

- Je fais tous les devoirs à temps et je révise ou fais du travail supplémentaire de façon régulière
- Je fais les devoirs à temps
- D'habitude j'essaie de faire les devoirs, mais souvent je ne les termine pas
- Souvent je n'essaie même pas et ne termine pas les devoirs

43. Dans cet établissement :

- | | Tout à fait d'accord | D'accord | Pas d'accord | Pas du tout d'accord |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| On s'en prend à certains élèves parfois à cause de leur apparence | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Pour être populaire, une fille doit se conformer aux stéréotypes de la femme dans des médias | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Un garçon doit se conformer à un certain comportement donné, sinon il sera mal vu. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Si une fille ne fait pas attention à son comportement elle ne sera pas respectée. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Si un garçon ne fait pas attention à son comportement il ne sera pas respecté. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

44. à la maison j'aide pour:

- | | Toujours | Souvent | Parfois | Rarement ou pas du tout |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Le ménage | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| La cuisine | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| La garde des enfants | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Les devoirs des frère(s) / sœur(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Les démarches administratives et les comptes | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Autre (précisez) _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

45. En dehors de l'emploi du temps scolaire, à quelles activités participez-vous?

Cochez les cases pour montrer les activités et les organismes qui les animent.

- | Je participe: | Animé par: | L'établissement | La commune | Assoc. religieuse | Assoc. culturelle | Autre assoc. (pour ex. club) |
|--|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Au sport | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Au cours de musique, d'art, de danse ou de théâtre | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Aux visites ou excursions | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Activités proposées par la vie scolaire | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| soirées/bals etc | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Autre _____ | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Aucune de ces activités | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | |

Si on vous demandait lors d'une interview à la radio de décrire ce qu'est pour vous une vie réussie, que diriez vous ?
