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The Netherlands: From Diversity Celebration to a Colorblind Approach

Peter A. J. Stevens, Maurice Crul, Marieke W. Slootman, Noel Clycq, and Christiane Timmerman

Introduction

This chapter builds on earlier reviews of race/ethnicity research in the Netherlands (Stevens et al. 2011, 2014), by including recent studies that have been published during the years 2010–2017. Whilst the original 1980–2008 review compared the research traditions in the Netherlands with those in England, the updated 2014 review and this current review only focus on the Dutch context.

The chapter is divided into four main parts. First, this chapter describes the main characteristics of the Dutch educational system and immigration

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history and the main developments in terms of social policy between 1980 and 2017. Secondly, the process of conducting this literature review is described, with particular focus on the employed search strategies and related criteria for inclusion. Thirdly, research conducted in the Netherlands on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality is analyzed in terms of the major focus, methods, findings, and debates characteristic of specific research traditions that developed between 1980 and 2017. Finally, the conclusion and discussion section summarizes and critically analyzes the main findings of this study.

Education, Migration and Social Policy Developments in the Netherlands

This section offers a brief overview of the main characteristics of the Dutch educational system, the multicultural nature of the Netherlands, and the key developments in terms of social policy between 1980 and 2017.

Educational System

In the Netherlands full-time education is compulsory from the age of five until the age of 16 (Driessen 2000b; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005; UNESCO 2006). Primary education is the same for all pupils and takes eight years. Dutch children enter secondary education at the age of 12. Depending on the advice[1] of the elementary school and the score of the Cito test,[2] pupils are assigned to either VMBO (pre-vocational or junior general secondary education), HAVO (senior general education) or VWO (pre-university education).

[1] At the end of primary education in the Netherlands, children are given advice regarding the educational programs or tracks they are allowed to follow in secondary education. This advice is administered by the head teacher of the child's primary school and based on their Cito (*Centraal Instituut voor Toetsontwikkeling*) test scores and an evaluation of their motivation, effort, and capacities by the pupil's teacher. On the basis of their school advice, children are oriented to either vocational or general education tracks leading to higher education within the Dutch school system. Research suggests that very few ethnic minority pupils criticize and successfully challenge their specific school-advice (Veenman 1996a).

[2] Cito is the National Institute for Educational Testing which develops and validates the official exam, known as the Cito test, in the (final) eighth year of primary school. The test uses multiple-choice questions to assess the ability of a child in the areas of language, calculation, mathematics, history, geography, biology, learning skills and world orientation. A certain score on the CITO test at the end of primary education corresponds with a specific advice for the program that the student should follow in secondary education (*schooladvies*). For instance, while a score of 501–520 corresponds with an advice to enroll in the vocational track, a score of 545–550 corresponds with an advice to enroll in a general education (higher status) track in secondary school (UNESCO 2006).

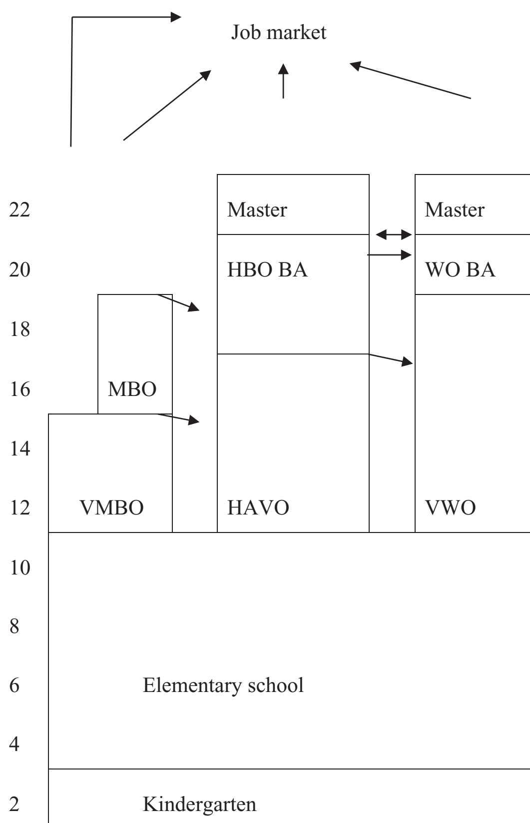

Fig. 19.1 The Dutch educational system

It is possible for pupils who have attained the VMBO diploma to attend two years of HAVO-level education and sit the HAVO exam, and for pupils with a HAVO diploma to attend two years of VWO-level education and then sit the VWO exam (see Fig. 19.1). However, in practice there is a divide between pre-vocational secondary education on the one hand and general secondary education on the other. In each of these tracks students are taught a core curriculum during the first three years, after which they prepare for their exam (which takes one year for VMBO, two years for HAVO and three years for VWO). Stratification occurs not only through enrollment in particular tracks but also through the difficulty level of the curriculum taught (Level 1–4). Each track and level has consequences for admission to vocational and higher education and the Dutch government considers obtaining a VWO, HAVO or MBO (at least Level 2) as the 'minimum level of education required to stand a serious chance of obtaining long-term, schooled employed in the Netherlands'

(UNESCO 2006).[3] Students who do not manage to obtain such a 'start-diploma' (*startkwalificatie*) are officially considered as 'early school leavers' (*vroegtijdige schoolverlaters*) (Driessen 2000b; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005; UNESCO 2006). The most recent and fundamental change in the Dutch educational system concerns the abolishment in 2015 of 'study loans' for students enrolling in HE. Previously, HE students in the Netherlands were given a 'state loan' to help them in financing their participation in HE; a loan which they did not have to pay back if they managed to obtain their HE degree within 10 years. In the current system, students will be required to pay back the entire loan (unless they come from certain low-income categories). Considering the recent nature of this legal change, it is difficult to assess the impact of this law on the development of race/ethnic (and social class) inequalities in education in the Netherlands.

In sum, the school system in the Netherlands is more stratified than for instance in the UK or Sweden and characterized by a more rigid curriculum and early selection system. Furthermore, the transition from primary to secondary education appears to be a defining moment in a young person's educational career. In addition, obtaining a VWO, HAVO or MBO (Level 2 or higher) diploma is considered a key benchmark of success in the Dutch educational system. However, in the light of the recent abolishment of financial support to students participating in HE, the Dutch educational system seems to develop more towards education systems that are more selective and directed by market principles of competition, like the UK and the USA.

Immigration to the Netherlands

Like many Western European countries the Netherlands became increasingly more multicultural after World War II. Particularly during the 1960s and 1970s the Netherlands attracted immigrants, mainly from Mediterranean countries like Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and Morocco, and (former) Dutch colonies, such as Surinam, the East Indies, the Moluccas and the Dutch Antilles. Most of these immigrants shared a lower educational background and immigrated mainly for economic and or (in particular East Indies and Moluccas immigrants) political motivations. Immigrants from the former Dutch colonies were usually more familiar with the Dutch system and language and as a group showed a greater variability in terms of social class. During the last three decades the Netherlands attracted refugees from Eastern

[3] All quotes from literature sources written in Dutch are translated in English. Readers who want to access the original quotes are encouraged to consult the cited references.

Table 19.1 Composition of population in the Netherlands in 2016 by country of origin

	Number of people (× 1000)	Proportion of the population (%)	Proportion 2nd generation (%)
Turks	397	2.3	52
Moroccans	386	2.3	56
Surinamese	349	2.1	49
Antilleans	151	0.9	45
Other non-Western background	813	4.8	35
Other Western background	1656	9.8	53
Native Dutch	13,227	77.9	n. a.

Source: CBS (2016)

Europe, Africa and the Middle East, in particular refugees from former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Somalia (Driessen 2000b; Guirodon et al. 2004; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005) and more recently (from 2014 onwards), from Syria, Iraq and Eritrea (CBS 2016). With the accession of Eastern European countries to the EU, The Netherlands started receiving immigrants from particularly Poland and Bulgaria from 1996 onwards. Recent statistics show that in 2016 the Netherlands counted over 2 million non-Western immigrants, of which the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean immigrants constitute the largest groups of non-Western immigrants (see: Table 19.1). Most research in the Netherlands focuses on the second and 'in-between' generation. In 2016 the second generation made up almost half of the total population of non-Western immigrants; a group that is relatively young (average age of 18 years old) (CBS 2016).

These migration processes impact on the social composition of schools, and statistics suggest that in 2007 15% of the students in primary and secondary school in the Netherlands are from a non-Western background (Gijsberts and Herweijer 2007). However, due to processes of school choice (which is free in the Netherlands), residential segregation, and 'white flight' (see section "School Choice") ethnic minorities[4] are not distributed equally between Dutch schools but are more likely to enroll in urban schools with a high percentage of ethnic-minority students; data from 2005/2006 show that almost 10% of all primary and secondary schools in the Netherlands are described as

[4] In the Netherlands 'ethnic minority' is used to refer to immigrant groups for whose presence the government feels a special responsibility (because of the colonial past or because they have been required by the Dutch authorities to work in the Netherlands) and who find themselves in a lower socio-economic position compared to Dutch majority population (Driessen 2000b; Eldering 1989; Gibson 1997; Guirodon et al. 2004). This illustrates the problematic notion of the concept 'ethnic minority' (Sealey and Carter 2001) and how its meaning and usage are locally constructed and reflect differences in national systems and the ideals embedded within them (Gibson 1997).

'black schools', or schools with 70% or more ethnic-minority students. This concentration is much more pronounced in the four largest cities of the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Haag, and Utrecht), in which almost half of the schools can be described as 'black schools' (Gijsberts and Herweijer 2007).

Social Policy Developments

In reviewing how policy on ethnic minorities developed in the Netherlands between 1970 and 2005, Rijkschroeff et al. (2005) identify two key goals: (1) realizing equal positions for ethnic minority and native Dutch students in education, and (2) emphasizing the value of cultural diversity and related collective identities. The authors conclude that over the last 30 years Dutch social policy has always emphasized the importance of educational equality. While socio-cultural goals were initially considered equally important, Dutch social policy reduced the importance of the socio-cultural goals over time and eventually considered such goals as problematic in realizing educational equality.

During the 1970s it was assumed that ethnic minorities (particularly those arriving from Mediterranean countries as 'guest workers') would return to their country of origins and policies focused on maintaining ethnic minorities' group identities (through mother tongue instruction or MTI) and realize a certain level of integration in Dutch society (through Dutch language instruction or DLI) (Driessen 2000b; Eldering 1989; OC&W 1974; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005).

From the 1980s onwards, when it became clear that ethnic minority groups would settle permanently in the Netherlands, social policy focused on reducing socio-economic inequalities. Schools with ethnic minority and working class children were given more resources and given the opportunity to organize DLI, intensify contacts between schools and families and organize MTI and intercultural teaching (IT) (OC&W 1981). Although all initiatives were perceived to have a positive impact on ethnic minorities' socio-economic position, MTI and IT were also organized to help develop a positive (ethnic) identity, reduce racism, and promote multiculturalism (Driessen 2000b; Eldering 1989). The importance attached to fighting ethnic discrimination and promoting multiculturalism is illustrated by the government's Minority Note (*Minderhedennota*) developed in 1983, which considered these two goals as equally important to improving minorities' social and economic situation. These (and future) policy developments in the Netherlands were inspired and often based on recommendations or criticism by sociologists

who were actively involved in drafting and evaluating policy measures related to ethnicity and education (Guirodon et al. 2004). This close relationship between social research and policy is characteristic of the Netherlands and will be further illustrated in reviewing research traditions.

However, while initially educational policies promoted the expression and maintenance of cultural diversity and related group identities as a valuable goal in itself and a means to realize socio-economic equality and social cohesion, from 1985 onwards social policy-makers started to reverse this relationship by arguing that socio-economic integration might help to realize socio-cultural integration and social cohesion (Rijkschroeff et al. 2005). The Educational Priority Policy (EPP) developed in 1985 (OC&W 1985) integrated earlier initiatives directed to working-class or ethnic minorities into a single framework and emphasized the importance of ethnic minority children's lower socio-economic background over their cultural differences in explaining their lower position in education (Driessen 2000b; Eldering 1989; Phalet 1998).

Over the next twenty years, Dutch social policy considered the promotion and celebration of cultural diversity and group identities increasingly more as having a negative impact on socio-economic integration and social cohesion and instead emphasized the importance of socio-cultural integration of ethnic minority groups in Dutch society (OC&W 1997; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005). For instance from the early 1990s onwards, the government considered MTI and IT increasingly more as a tool to facilitate Dutch language learning and learning of other subjects in school rather than a strategy to promote multiculturalism (Driessen 2000b) and ultimately decided to cease funding of MTI related initiatives from 2004 onwards (Bronnenman-Helmers and Turkenburg 2003).[5,6] Similarly, while the EPP in 1985 provided primary schools with additional teachers for each ethnic minority pupil (at a factor 1.9) and native working class pupil (at a factor 1.25), the allocation of additional teachers to

[5] The increased emphasis in Dutch social policy on the cultural integration of ethnic minorities is also illustrated by the implementation of the Citizenship Law (*Wet Inburgering*) which came into effect in 2006. According to this law, ethnic minorities in the Netherlands who do not have the Dutch nationality are obliged to follow and pass a citizenship course (*inburgeringsexamen*) within five years. Furthermore, ethnic minorities who want to immigrate to the Netherlands have to pass a test measuring their basic knowledge of the Dutch language and society prior to moving to the Netherlands. If successful, these immigrants are required to follow and pass the prescribed citizenship course in the Netherlands (Klaver and Ode 2007).

[6] In contrast to the previous two reviews, the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) now also includes the Dutch journal *Pedagogische Studiën*, which was therefore not systematically reviewed separately. The inclusion of additional Dutch language sources due to snowball sampling and the sampling of key Research Reports written in Dutch, results in an overall sample of literature that contains many Dutch language references. As a result, reviewing this particular sample of studies helps in making this body of research more accessible to a non-Dutch speaking audience.

primary schools based on their number of ethnic minority pupils disappeared in 2004 and from then onwards only depended on the level of parental education (Driessen 2012b).

The shift from multicultural policies to policies that emphasize cultural assimilation as a means to realize socio-economic equality between ethnic groups was motivated by the government through the outcome of evaluation reports, which suggested that policies like ICE MTI and IT were generally ineffective (Driessens 2012b). However, it should be noted that the implementation of these policies was generally left to the school, with little central control in terms of how this should be realized (e.g. by not providing particular curricula goals and targets to be achieved by schools). As a result, there was little consistency in how schools implemented these policies. Schools neglected the implementation of such policies or implemented them only in a basic, more superficial format. This trend towards increasing decentralization of policy implementation characterizes the Dutch educational system and can in part explain the overall ineffectiveness of central government plans to reduce inequalities (Driessen 2012b).

The continued underachievement of ethnic minorities in education, the increasing segregation of ethnic majority and majority groups in society (and in schools) and the polarization of inter-ethnic attitudes, stimulated the Dutch government in 2004 to promote citizenship education and social integration through the policy document 'Education, Integration an Citizenship'. The key goals of this policy document remain vague, but ultimately seem to aim at developing knowledge and skills with young people to help them understand about, learn from and appreciate (cultural, ethnic, religious) diversity in society and accept this as the norm. However, evaluations of the effectiveness if these policies suggest similar outcomes and underlying problems as with previous policies (related to the freedom of schools to implement these as they see fit: Driessen 2012b).

Five main conclusions can be drawn from reviewing how social policy in relationship to ethnic minorities and education developed in the Netherlands. First, there has been a consistent and strong emphasis on realizing socio-economic and particularly educational equality between different ethnic groups over time. Second, a compensatory 'capital' or 'resource' model is employed to explain educational inequalities and policies aim to develop various forms of (social, cultural, financial) capital or resources in those social groups (or schools with such groups) to increase their educational position. Third, while the Netherlands has a strong tradition of anti-discrimination and the promotion of cultural diversity and related group identities, such goals are considered subordinate to the goal of realizing socio-economic equality and

evaluated according to the perceived role they can play in realizing this. Fourth, the decentralization of policy implementation means that schools have considerable freedom to implement policies, which seems to increase the diversity of programs developed by schools and decrease the effectiveness of these programs. Finally, research and social policy on ethnicity and educational inequality are strongly related to each other in the Netherlands, with social policy-makers funding large research projects aimed at evaluating, monitoring and preparing policy initiatives and concerns and researchers in turn focusing on and influencing social policy initiatives and agendas through their research activities.

Methods

A particular protocol with specific selection criteria was used to draw up the sample on which this review is based. First, it was decided to include only literature that focuses on the Netherlands as a research context. Secondly, the literature review is restricted to contributions that employ a sociological approach in researching the relationship between educational inequality and race/ethnicity between 1980 and 2010. Thirdly, this review focuses on both primary and secondary education as considerable research has been carried out in the Netherlands on the transition from primary to secondary schooling. However, as a result studies that investigate other forms of education, such as family, higher, or adult education were not included. Finally, only peer-reviewed journal articles, (edited) books, and official reports were considered for analysis. While these four criteria of inclusion strongly guided the review process, sometimes studies were considered that did not fulfill at least one of these criteria, as they were perceived as good or important examples of a specific research tradition.

In order to update the previous review (for more information on employed methods for these reviews: see Stevens et al. 2011, 2014) with literature published between 2010 and 2017, we first searched for relevant references in the Social Science Citation Index, by using (combinations) of search terms like 'Netherlands', 'education', 'ethnicity', 'ethnic' in the field Descriptor. This resulted in 188 hits, which were further reduced to 66 by refining the search to include only references from the scientific disciplines of 'educational research', 'sociology', 'ethnic studies', 'social psychology' en 'demography'. These 66 references were categorized and analyzed and additional references were added to the sample through snowballing. Finally, key authors within this field were invited to send any relevant contributions they might have on our review topic for the period 2010–2017.

Ethnicity and Educational Inequality in the Netherlands

The following sections describe and critically analyze the different research traditions between 1980 and 2017 that focus on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality in the Netherlands. Six major research traditions are identified: those of (1) political arithmetic, (2) racism and ethnic discrimination, (3) school characteristics, (4) school choice, (5) family background and (6) an institutional approach.

Political Arithmetic Tradition

During the 1960s UK sociologists developed the political arithmetic (PA) tradition which set out from a positivistic epistemology and relies mainly on quantitative research strategies in analyzing the relationship between family background and educational success (Heath 2000; Stevens 2007b).

In the early 1990s, also the Dutch government started funding large-scale cohort studies in the Netherlands (such as the PRIMA, VOCL and COOL studies).[7] These datasets are used to inform and evaluate social policy initiatives by offering descriptive analyses of the 'integration' of ethnic minority citizens. They form important bases for the bi-annual integration-reports that are produced by the Netherlands' Institute for Social Research (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau) and Statistics Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek: Dagevos and Gijsberts 2007; Dagevos et al. 2003; Huijnk et al. 2014; Ooijevaar and Bloemendal 2016; Schnabel et al. 2005; Tesser and Iedema 2001; Tesser et al. 1998, 1999; Van der Vliet et al. 2012, 2014). These reports contain a wealth of statistical analyses, including the achievement and progress of ethnic-minority students in education over time, controlling for relevant background and school characteristics where possible (e.g. Ooijevaar and Bloemendal 2016; Huijnk and Andriessen 2016). The reports primarily focus on (first- and second-generation) citizens of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean

[7] PRIMA (*Cohortonderzoek Primair Onderwijs*) is a panel study set up since 1994 to biennially evaluate national educational priority policies for pupils from socially disadvantaged and/or ethnic minority families. Each wave involves about 57,000 primary school pupils selected from a sample of 600–650 schools (Gijsberts 2003; Guirodon et al. 2004). The VOCL (*Voortgezet Onderwijs Cohort Leerlingen*) is another panel study, set up in 1989 to follow students' progress through secondary education and involves around 20,000 students in each wave selected from a representative sample of secondary schools in the Netherlands (Guirodon et al. 2004; Herweijer 2003). These studies have been continued since 2007 under the name COOL[5–18] (*Cohort Onderzoek Onderwijs Loopbanen*) for pupils between 5 and 18 years old, which is extended with a cohort study for children aged 2 till 5, Pre-COOL (Roeleveld et al. 2011).

descent, as these are the largest groups with a non-Western background in the Netherlands.

The integration reports chart the achievements and progress of ethnic minority groups from kindergarten, over primary and secondary education to higher education and employment. They offer analyses on related topics in education such as Dutch language use and proficiency amongst ethnic minority families and the occurrence and importance of ethnic segregation in schools. In addition, using a broad range of population survey instruments, these reports explore issues beyond education such as: experiences with discrimination, attitudes of native Dutch citizens towards ethnic minorities, involvement of ethnic minorities in crime, development of social policy, ethnic minorities' housing and settlement patterns, and sociocultural characteristics, including social networks, norms, religiosity and identifications. In line with the PA tradition these reports are 'relatively modest in their theoretical ambition' (Heath 2000, p. 314) and prefer 'description to explanation, and hard evidence to theoretical speculation' (ibid., p. 314).

This section is based on the analyses of the most recent SCP/CBS reports that investigate the achievement and progress of ethnic-minority students in the Dutch educational system (Ooijevaar and Bloemendal 2016; Herweijer et al. 2016). Generally, these reports conclude that ethnic minority pupils of the four ethnic minority groups on average show lower levels of educational outcomes than ethnic Dutch students. They also conclude that the gap is slowly closing. We illustrate this with some examples from primary, secondary and tertiary education.

At the end of primary education, ethnic minority pupils lag behind their native Dutch peers (see also Driessen 2010; Driessen et al. 2012, 2015). These levels are reflected in the Cito test, which is administered at the end of primary schools and can be seen as an indicator of the kind of education students will follow in secondary schools (Table 19.2). The language tests are particularly difficult for pupils of Moroccan descent, and even more so for those of Turkish descent, who relatively often speak Turkish at home. However, as the table shows, the gaps have been closing over the years, and additional analyses show that the current achievement gap can partially be explained by parental education level. Nevertheless, for every parental education level, ethnic Dutch pupils perform better than ethnic minority pupils (Roeleveld et al. 2011). When other family background characteristics and school characteristics are taken into account, the current achievement gap can be completely explained. Besides the education level of the parents, these characteristics include Dutch language skills of the parents, employment of the parents, single/double parenthood, and the ethnic and class composition of the schools.

Table 19.2 Average total scores on the Cito test at the end of primary education according to ethnicity for cohorts 1994/5–2014/15

Cohort	Turkey	Morocco	Suriname	Antillean[a]	Dutch
1994/5	524.0	525.1	527.3		535.4
1996/7	525.3	526.3	528.2		535.1
1998/9	527.0	527.0	529.2	525.8	534.9
2000/1	527.5	527.4	529.9	525.1	535.2
2002/3	527.5	528.4	528.6	526.3	535.6
2004/5	527.0	527.9	528.4	525.8	534.6
2007/8	527.9	529.2	530.0	527.4	534.9
2010/11	529.4	530.3	531.0	529.9	535.9
2013/14	528.3	531.0	531.4	527.7	534.9

Source: ITS/Kohnstamm Instituut/NWO (Prima'94/'95-'04; COOL '07/'08-'13/'14), presented by SCP (Herweijer et al. 2016, p. 42)

[a]No scores for Antillean-Dutch children in 1994/95 and 1996/97, because of small numbers

Apart from household and school characteristics, also immigrant generation influences the primary school achievements. A comparison between generations, in which also a 'third generation' of ethnic minority pupils is included as a separate ethnic minority category, reveals that the existing gap in Cito test score becomes smaller for each subsequent generation (see also Driessen 2010; Driessen and Merry 2011; Kooiman et al. 2012). In general, the second generation has slightly better achievements than the first, and the third generation has the smallest arrear; although this effect differs per ethnic group.

At secondary school, the gap is closing at a much slower pace, particularly for pupils of Moroccan and Turkish descent. In 2015/2016, at the end of the third year in secondary education, almost 50% of the pupils of Dutch descent were enrolled in the higher educational tracks (HAVO/VWO), compared to roughly 30% of the Surinamese Dutch pupils and 25% of the Turkish, Moroccan and Antillean Dutch pupils. Only about 10% of the ethnic Dutch pupils attended the lowest secondary school levels (VMBO basis/praktijkonderwijs), against around 30% of the pupils of Antillean, Turkish and Moroccan descent. Ethnic minority pupils, in particular those of Turkish descent, also have lower chances of passing their final secondary school exams. Furthermore, pupils of the four ethnic minority groups are more likely than ethnic Dutch pupils to repeat their school year or drop out of education, although this gap is reducing as well. Like in primary education, the achievement gap in secondary education can be explained by the education level of the parents and their parents' Dutch language skills. Among ethnic minority pupils, just like among ethnic Dutch pupils, female pupils perform better than male pupils (see also Fleischmann et al. 2014). Nevertheless, this arrear

in educational achievement is not present among all non-Western ethnic minority groups. Pupils with Iranian and Chinese backgrounds for instance more often attend high education levels than ethnic Dutch pupils.

While these findings suggest that the four largest non-Western ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands experience considerable problems and challenges throughout primary and secondary education, the data show that once ethnic minorities manage to obtain a HAVO or VWO diploma they, particularly Moroccan and Turkish Dutch students, are more likely than students of Dutch descent to continue in higher education (HBO and WO). They are also more likely to 'stack' education levels and achieve educational mobility through alternative educational routes (Hartgers 2012).

The gaps in secondary school result in differences in participation in higher education; although these gaps seem to be decreasing too. In 2015/16, over half of the ethnic Dutch pupils went to higher education (HBO/WO), while the participation of Turkish and Moroccan Dutch in higher education increased from around 30% in 2003/2004 to around 40% in 2015/16 (Table 19.3). They relatively often choose to study Economics and Law, programs that educate for professions with high social and financial status. On average, ethnic-minority students are older when they graduate, partly because of taking less-straight educational trajectories, or 'long routes', and partly because it takes them longer to achieve their diplomas. Ethnic majority students are also less likely to drop out or having to retake academic years. Also here, the most important determinants for educational success seem to be the length of participation in the Dutch educational system (and related to this, whether they are first or second-generation immigrants), the socio-economic status of their parents, and the language spoken at home. In particular the latter characteristic is emphasized in explanations why Moroccan and especially Turkish students are least likely to enroll in higher education or obtain higher education qualifications (Crul and Wolff 2002; Driessen 2010;

Table 19.3 Average percentage of ethnic-minority students that enter higher education, for the cohorts 2003/04–2015/16

Cohorts Ethnic group	2003–2004	2011–2012	2013–2014	2014–2015	2015–2016
Turks	27	44	48	43	39
Moroccans	32	42	40	44	40
Surinamese	47	54	57	54	50
Antilleans	58	55	67	66	58
Other non-Western	51	63	62	57	52
Ethnic Dutch	52	58	63	61	56

Source: CBS Education Statistics (Ooijevaar and Bloemendal 2016, p. 51)

Driessen and Merry 2011; Gijsberts and Herweijer 2007; Hofman and Van Den Berg 2002; Wolff and Crul 2003).

These large-scale, quantitative studies in the Dutch PA tradition are important in that they offer highly accurate pictures of how ethnic minorities achieve and progress through education in the Netherlands over time. They suggest that differences in achievement can for a large part be explained by the ethnic minorities' social background and their (inadequate) knowledge of the Dutch language. However, these studies are limited in explaining the perceived patterns of achievement and progress in education. The extent to which particular processes and characteristics situated at the level of the school, family, peer-group, and neighborhood interact and influence educational experiences and outcomes of ethnic minority groups remains unclear because the basic unit of analysis remains 'the ethnic group'. There has been some reflection on the concepts and categories and labels used (Dagevos and Grundel 2013; De Koning 2012; RMO 2013), which has led the government to abandon the terms '*allochtoon*' and '*autochtoon*' in reference to ethnic Dutch and (certain) ethnic minority groups, but this did not affect the categories used for the analyses within the Dutch PA tradition.

Racism and Ethnic Discrimination Tradition

In the Netherlands research on 'racism' or 'discrimination' (which is the preferred term in the Netherlands) constitutes an important and well-developed area of research. Researchers working in this area usually make use of large datasets and quantitative analysis techniques to test particular hypotheses regarding the 'meritocratic' nature of schools (Luyten 2004; Luyten and Bosker 2004; Meijnen 2004; Driessen 2012a) and, to a lesser extent, teachers' expectations of different social groups and students' experiences of racism (Jungbluth 1993; Verkuyten et al. 1997; Weiner 2016). The following sections review the main findings and debates within this research tradition.

The Meritocratic Nature of the Dutch Educational System

A key concern in Dutch research on racism and ethnic discrimination is the question whether the educational system selects students on the basis of merit or achieved social statuses (often measured as their performance on standardized tests and/or their measured motivation and interest) or instead on ascribed social statuses such as ethnicity (and social class and gender). To

address this question researchers in the Netherlands focus their attention on key selection moments in young people's educational trajectories (*loopbaan-moment*), such as the school advice given to pupils at the end of primary education, their chance to drop out of secondary education or enrollment in high status tracks (Dekkers and Bosker 2004; Meijnen 2004). The following sections will focus mainly on those studies that focus on pupils' 'school advice' administered at the end of primary education, as this constitutes a crucial point of selection in the educational career of pupils and strongly influences their future educational opportunities and outcomes (Driessen and Bosker 2007; Luyten and Bosker 2004; Mulder et al. 2005; Roeleveld 2005). Furthermore, this is by far the most developed area of research on racism and discrimination in the Netherlands and also illustrates some key findings, characteristics, strengths, and weaknesses of this research tradition.

While research in the Netherlands during the 1970s and 1980s suggested that pupils' school advice at the end of primary education was mainly influenced by their test results, these studies also showed that at least 50% of the variability in school advice could not be accounted for by pupils' test results. This stimulated researchers to investigate whether pupils' gender and their social and ethnic background influences their school advice independent of their test results (Luyten and Bosker 2004). Subsequent research, some of which used data from the first PRIMA datasets, showed that ethnic minority pupils (particularly low-achieving pupils) experienced 'positive discrimination' as they were given a more favorable advice at the end of primary education compared to native Dutch pupils than what could be expected on the basis of their test results (Bosma and Cremers 1996; De Jong 1987; De Jong and Van Batenburg 1984; Driessen 1991; Dronkers et al. 1998; Jungbluth et al. 1990; Kerkhoff 1988; Koeslag and Dronkers 1994; Mulder 1993).

Some authors argued that the higher advice administered to ethnic-minority students can in part explain the lower educational outcomes and higher drop-out rate of these students in secondary education, as they are placed in educational programs or tracks above their measured ability (Tesser and Iedema 2001). However, other authors argue that for some students a higher advice can constitute an additional challenge and incentive to work hard and rise above their expected level of achievement (Hustinx 2002; Koeslag and Dronkers 1994). This illustrates the ambiguity and complexity surrounding the concept of 'discrimination', as a particular phenomenon can be interpreted as discriminating in both a positive and negative sense.

Some researchers argued that the higher school advice given to ethnic-minority students can be explained by teachers' positive discrimination of ethnic-minority students because of their lower socio-economic position

(De Jong 1987; Kerkhoff 1988) or because of teachers' fear of being accused of racism (Jungbluth 1985; Stevens 2008). Other researchers claim that ethnic-minority students are evaluated more favorably because they are often compared to peers in the same class who perform below the average (Brandsma and Doolaard 1999; Driessen 2002; Mulder 1993; Tesser and Mulder 1990) or because they benefit from attending schools in large cities where minority groups can exercise much more influence (De Boer et al. 2006; Dronkers et al. 1998).

However, research on more recent waves of the PRIMA datasets shows no evidence that ethnic-minority students are given a higher advice after controlling for children's test scores, their cognitive ability, and motivation (Driessen 2006; Luyten and Bosker 2004). Furthermore, there seems no evidence to support the view that children's classroom composition and urban context have an effect on their school advice, independent of children's test results (Driessen 2006). Finally, analyses suggest that the relationship between children's test results and their school advice in the Netherlands becomes stronger over time (Claassen and Mulder 2003; Mulder 1993): based on the PRIMA 1988/1999 wave Mulder (1993) finds that 70% of the variability in school advice is explained by children's test scores, which increases to 74% in the 1996/1997 wave (Dronkers et al. 1998) and to 79% in the 2000/2002 wave (Luyten and Bosker 2004).

However, two subsequent studies commissioned by Amsterdam's Department of Development in Society (Dienst Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling) found that certain categories of Turkish and Moroccan pupils were slightly more likely to receive a lower advice compared to their Dutch peers in Amsterdam (Babeliowsky and den Boer 2007; DMOGA 2007). Despite the main conclusion of these reports that there is no evidence for overall differences in school advice between ethnic minority and Dutch pupils and that certain categories of students with Surinamese and Moroccan background appear to receive on average a higher school advice than their Dutch peers with similar scores, the media focused primarily on the reported 'under-advising' of Turkish and Moroccan pupils. Following the media coverage of this report Dutch opposition parties requested the Dutch secretary of education to further investigate these findings and report back to the parliament.

The subsequent report commissioned by the government to study the alleged occurrence of 'under-advising' is based on an analysis of the most recent PRIMA wave (2004–2005) and includes more than 10,000 pupils and 500 primary schools (Driessen and Bosker 2007; Driessen et al. 2008). The results confirm the findings of recent studies: although the main ethnic minority groups receive on average lower levels of school advice than their Dutch

peers, these differences can be explained by the Cito test scores of individual students. The report also shows that while pupils in large cities receive on average lower levels of advice, these differences can in turn be explained by pupils' individual test scores. Summarizing their findings, the authors conclude that 'there is no evidence to support the claim that ethnic-minority students receive systematically and substantially lower advice [than their Dutch peers]' (Driessen and Bosker 2007, p. 11).

However, in a subsequent study, Stroucken et al. (2008) concluded that ethnic minority pupils of non-Western descent received lower school advice based on equal Cito test scores than pupils of Dutch descent. Finally the national inspection for education (2011) concluded that while advice for ethnic minority pupils were not systematically lower, high-performing children of Moroccan and Turkish descent received on average lower levels of advice. Another recent study by Van der Wouden (2011) based on CBS data, shows that when one looks at up-streaming and down-streaming in secondary school in Amsterdam there is much more up- and down-streaming among second-generation Turkish and Moroccan Dutch pupils than there is for pupils of native Dutch students. This again seems to suggest that teachers are less able to determine the capacities of pupils of Moroccan and Turkish descent at the end of primary school compared to pupils of Dutch descent.

An interesting new perspective to the processes of developing 'advice' and more in particular in communicating this advice to (minority) parents, is delivered by the ethnographic work of Elbers and De Haan (2014). They show, based upon the observation during teacher-parent conferences, how both parties discuss the issue of the 'right advice' for their pupils/children. It becomes clear that all involved apply their resources strategically to 'negotiate' the outcome they pursue in the institutional context of the school as a contested site marked by power differences. Native Dutch and higher educated minority parents seem better equipped to compromise on a given advice than lower educated minority parents. However, these differences are less attributed to cultural differences, but rather to the resources parents have at their disposal to communicate their goals and ideas for their children given the specific context of the school and the conferences where certain resources are more important than others. Sometimes differences and similarities between the parties are invoked strategically to strengthen one's position but mostly with the goal to come to an advice that is mutually agreed upon. Therefore, the authors stress that the creation of a relationship of mutual trust is fundamental in these conferences as the both parties more often than not have the same goals but their relationship might be 'tainted' by feelings of distrust or experiences of exclusion and stigmatization (Elbers and De Haan 2014).

Different explanations are formulated to explain why school administrators in the Netherlands seem to base their school advice increasingly more on pupils' test scores and less on ascribed statuses like ethnicity (Dagevos and Gijsberts 2007; Dagevos et al. 2003; Driessen 2006, 2012a; Tesser and Iedema 2001). Perhaps teachers have developed a more accurate view of ethnic minority pupils' skills and capacities over time and/or they consider more the suggested negative effects of 'over-advising'. In addition, as secondary schools are increasingly more evaluated in public they might encourage primary schools to be more selective in terms of allocating advice or streamline processes of selection across schools. Finally, as noted above, Dutch society and social policy has changed considerable over the last few years, particularly regarding the way in which multiculturalism is approached, which might reduce white, Dutch teachers' fear to discriminate ethnic minority pupils.

However, recent studies using the PRIMA/COOL datasets, including analysis of data collected in 2008 (Driessen 2011) and later in 2011 (Driessen 2012a), suggest the importance of social class over ethnicity in bringing about differential outcomes in school advice. More specifically, the analysis shows that pupils from lower SES backgrounds are on average slightly more under-advised while their high SES peers are slightly more over-advised, than what can be expected on their CITO test-scores. A recent study by the Inspectorate of Education that focuses on this relationship over time suggests that these SES differences in school advice increase over time (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2016).

The importance of 'measured ability' as a primary determinant of ethnic minority success in education is also stressed in a recent study conducted by Terwel and colleagues (Terwel et al. 2011). In this longitudinal 'embedded case study', five ethnic-minority students are followed from the ages of 10 to 21 by investigating both their performances on various standardized tests and their educational trajectories as their personal experiences of their educational careers and achievements. However, this study also suggests that students' intrinsic motivation to do well and the social and educational support they obtain from teachers and parents in responding to emerging and often unanticipated challenges and opportunities can compensate for lower scores on standardized tests. The great variability in these experienced opportunities and challenges and their seemingly unique embeddedness in personal biographies (e.g. the sudden availability of a place in a high-status track, illness, etc.) makes the authors conclude that more qualitative research is required to gain more insight in the complex processes underlying educational success.

In sum, the research findings suggest that Dutch schools became more meritocratic over time in that pupils' performances on tests and not their

ethnic background determine their educational trajectories. However, at the same time research suggests that some sub-categories of ethnic minority groups (like high and low-achieving students) experience either more or less favorable selection outcomes. The most recent studies in this field emphasize the importance of SES over ethnicity in influencing school advice: while higher SES groups obtain higher advice than what can be expected on the basis of their test scores, the opposite is true for pupils from lower SES background; a relationship that appears to become stronger over time.

Teacher Expectations

Some researchers in the racism and discrimination tradition focus their attention on teacher-expectancy effects or the 'pygmalion hypothesis' (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968) by investigating the relationship between social class, ethnicity, teacher expectations, and educational outcomes. One study found that part of the relationship between social class and achievement could be explained by differential teacher expectations and aspirations, which were in turn informed by social class and ability (Van der Hoeven-van Doorum et al. 1990). A study conducted several years later from a slightly larger sample of pupils included ethnic background to this model and although it confirmed the findings of the earlier study, ethnicity did not seem to be related to teacher expectations or aspirations (Jungbluth 1993). In a more recent study which relies in part on the PRIMA (2001) database Jungbluth (2003) finds that teachers not only have lower expectations (in terms of perceived cognitive skills) of students from lower socio-economic positions but they also lower their curriculum expectations accordingly, which in turn explains differences in educational achievement, independent of students' social background characteristics, measured ability, and the schools' social composition. While these findings suggest the importance of teachers' expectations of pupils in explaining differences in achievement between pupils of different socio-economic backgrounds 'there is no indication of an ethnic bias in addition to social background' (Jungbluth 2003, p. 129). While these studies are unique within the context of the Netherlands, they have been criticized on methodological grounds and could benefit from studies that use more sophisticated methods to investigate teacher expectancy effects (Terwel 2004).

More recently, researchers in the Netherlands have employed different techniques to investigate the importance of teachers' subtle, more hidden expectations and forms of interactions that discriminate ethnic-minority students in school. A first study measured the explicit (through traditional survey

instruments) and implicit ethnically prejudiced attitudes (through a self-reported Implicit Association Test) of 41 primary school teachers (van den Bergh et al. 2010) to investigate whether these different types of attitudes relate to the achievement scores of their ethnic minority pupils. The findings showed that while teachers' explicit attitudes did not correlate with students' achievement scores, the implicit measure of teacher prejudice explained differing varying ethnic achievement gaps across classrooms. A second study is also unique in the context of the Netherlands in that it uses ethnographic research methods to study the subtle, often unconscious ways through which Dutch primary school teachers disadvantage ethnic minority pupils in the classroom (Weiner 2016). More specifically, it shows how teachers discriminate against ethnic minority pupils by differentiating between ethnic minority and majority pupils in the way the teacher asks particular types of services to pupils, considers pupils' input in the lesson, silences the classroom, calls out and uses physical contact and gives praise and utters blame to pupils. Also, specific, lower expectations and notions of ability were conveyed in a subtle manner to ethnic-minority students:

> Mr Bakker most often directed disparaging comments at Surinamese, South American, and the white Dutch students. For example, when a Surinamese student got a question right, Mr Bakker said, 'very good, easy,' suggesting he should have the question right, that it was a simple question. On another occasion, Mr Bakker asked a Chilean student, who was rarely called on, a question. When the student answered correctly, Mr Bakker expressed surprise and said that it was a difficult question. (Weiner 2016, p. 7)

Such studies are important, as they focus on the taken for granted, and often unconscious ways through which ethnic-minority students are/feel treated differently in the classroom; subtle processes and experiences that are not always detected through standard survey instruments used in large-scale quantitative studies.

Experiences of Racism and Discrimination

Although there is very little research in the Netherlands that aims to chart ethnic minorities' experiences of discrimination in education, a recent, large-scale quantitative study shows that ethnic minority pupils' experiences of discrimination vary somewhat according to the ethnic/racial group to which they belong (Andriessen et al. 2014). For instance, while 1/3 Turkish Dutch pupils experienced discrimination in school at least once over the last

12 months, about 25% of the Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillian and other, non-Western minority pupils sampled report similar experiences. Usually these experiences of discrimination refer to less overt or physical forms of discrimination, such as feeling treated less fairly or in a less friendly way by their teachers, which further highlights the importance of research on more hidden, subtle or indirect forms of discrimination (see above). The same study investigates experiences of discrimination in society more general and shows that experiences of discrimination are common, with over 2/3 of Turkish and Moroccan respondents and 50%, Surinamese, Antillian and other, non-Western minority reporting at least one experience of discrimination over the last 12 months. The higher proportion of experiences of Turkish and Moroccan respondents can be explained by their categorization as Muslim and as belonging to a physically different (darker) group (Andriessen et al. 2014).

Furthermore, the social psychologist Verkuyten and his colleagues have conducted a series of integrated qualitative and quantitative research studies that cover populations between 90 to 800 10–12 year old pupils (Verkuyten and Thijs 2000), to investigate how Dutch native students perceive ethnic-minority students (Verkuyten 2001), how they and ethnic-minority students perceive discrimination (Verkuyten et al. 1997), and how school characteristics influence ethnic minority's experiences with racism (Verkuyten and Thijs 2000, 2002). The data suggest that incidents of bullying and insulting are reduced when teachers challenge such behavior. However, attention given to intercultural education increases the reported incidents of such behavior, which can either be explained by an increased level of awareness or because teachers tend to spend more time on intercultural education when there are higher levels of bullying and insulting.

Another, more recent study from Verkuyten and colleagues shows the presence of an 'integration paradox': higher educated immigrants in the Netherlands perceive more discrimination and less respect for minorities; perceptions which in turn relate to less positive evaluations of the native majority and the host society (de Vroome et al. 2014). These findings suggest that it is important to develop closer relationships and effective anti-discrimination initiatives to ensure cohesive ties between the dominant and majority populations.

In short, research in the Netherlands on racism and discrimination is particularly strong in that it offers a representative picture of how ethnic minorities are selected and evaluated by schools over time throughout primary and secondary education. Furthermore, by assessing the respective influence of 'ascribed' and 'achieved' statuses researchers manage to address key questions regarding the 'meritocratic nature' of the Dutch school system. The literature

discussed above also illustrates the close relationship between research and social policy in the Netherlands; as research findings influence policy debates which can in turn influence further research initiatives. However, while researchers often hypothesize why schools are either more or less meritocratic, educational institutions remain largely 'black boxes' and little is known in the Netherlands about the factors and processes that influence teachers in selecting, evaluating, and teaching students throughout their educational career (for an exception, see: van den Bergh et al. 2010; Weiner 2016), and how the institutional arrangements shape in−/equalities throughout educational trajectories. Furthermore, although recent research helps to develop a more representative picture of ethnic minorities' experiences with racism and discrimination in education and the wider society (Andriessen et al. 2014), little is known about how such experiences impact on their motivations, aspirations, expectations, and educational outcomes.

Ethnic School Composition

A developing body of literature in the Netherlands focuses on the importance of ethnic school composition on ethnic minority and majority pupils' educational and wider outcomes (Driessen 2002, 2007b). Related to this, some studies investigate the consequences of attending Islamic or faith schools for ethnic minority children. While some studies in this research tradition employ ethnographic (Teunissen 1990) or mixed-methods designs (Verkuyten and Thijs 2000), most studies are based on sophisticated statistical analyses of large, representative datasets (Ledoux et al. 2003). The following sections critically review the main findings of Dutch research in this area.

The findings of research in the Netherlands on the effects of ethnic concentration in schools are often conflicting. While research suggests that an increase in the proportion of ethnic minority pupils in schools positively affects pupils' well-being, as measured by their relationships with their social environment, their status in school, their motivation towards learning, and their ethnic identity (Everts 1989; Teunissen 1990; Verkuyten and Thijs 2000), a more recent study concludes that the ethnic composition of the pupil population has no effect on pupils' social-emotional functioning (Ledoux et al. 2003). On the other hand, ethnic minority concentration appears to lower educational outcomes. While some studies conducted in the 1980s concluded that such negative effects only affect ethnic minority pupils and only appear strong in schools with a concentration higher than 50% (Tesser and Mulder 1990), more recent research on larger datasets, employing more

sophisticated analysis techniques finds that all pupils obtain lower educational outcomes in such schools (Tesser and Iedema 2001; Tesser and Mulder 1990; Westerbeek 1999).

However, research also suggests that effects of ethnic minority concentration, even cumulative effects, are relatively small (Driessen 2007b)[8] and decrease when studies focus on younger cohorts and/or schools that have had the time to adapt to such a situation (Tesser and Iedema 2001; Westerbeek 1999). Furthermore, the strong variation in average achievement between schools with a high proportion of ethnic minority pupils suggests that school leadership and management styles can effectively improve educational outcomes in such schools. After conducting ethnographic research in 'white' and 'black' schools, Teunissen (1990) suggests that the following school characteristics are effective in managing 'black schools': powerful school leadership, emphasis on basic skills, evaluation of school progress, teacher expectations, and a peaceful, orderly school climate. Recent research shows that schools with a substantial proportion of disadvantaged pupils are better equipped to deal with the particular challenges imposed by such a context and take account of the diversity of pupils and their specific needs (Ledoux et al. 2003).

However, researchers do not only disagree on whether ethnic school composition has an effect on educational outcomes, they also disagree on the impact of particular characteristics of schools with a high proportion of ethnic minorities on educational outcomes for children attending such schools. For example, Hofman (1994) concludes that particular tools aimed at improving the achievement of minority subgroups seem to generate the highest increase in achievement. In contrast, a study conducted by Weide (1995) suggests that ethnic minorities benefit more from general education rather than from special activities implemented by schools to improve their achievement.

While most researchers seem to agree that the ethnic composition of a school has a relatively small effect on pupils' performances, studies also suggest that such effects may vary according to the kind of educational outcomes assessed. More specifically, the effect of schools' social composition appears higher on mathematics achievement than on achievement in languages (Hofman 1994). Furthermore, the cognitive functioning of pupils in particular seems to be affected negatively by being taught in classes with many disadvantaged, lower-achieving or non-Dutch-speaking pupils (Ledoux et al. 2003). Such effects are often explained by arguing that teachers and pupils in schools with a high proportion of ethnic minority pupils suffer from lower

[8] Between 5% and 15% of the differences in average mathematics or language scores between schools could be explained by this concentration effect (Tesser and Iedema 2001; Westerbeek 1999).

levels of available, valued educational resources, especially those related to the development of Dutch language skills (Crul 2000; Pels 1991; Verkuyten and Thijs 2000; Westerbeek 1999). A recent study (Karssen et al. 2011) confirms the above results but also included a new element in the discussion by focusing on citizenship attitudes. For this outcome they found positive results for both majority and minority students in mixed schools compared to pupils in more segregated 'white' or 'black' schools.

In sum, there is a developing body of research on the effects of ethnic school composition in the Netherlands. The findings of research in this area show that such effects are small and not conclusive and as a result do not offer support for particular school (de)segregation policies (Driessen 2007b). While qualitative and mixed-methods studies suggest that particular school policies and characteristics can help to improve minority (ethnic) students' educational achievement, and that mixed schools improve minority and majority students' citizenship attitudes, research in this area can further develop by assessing the strength and significance of these particular relationships and further exploring how the ethnic composition and ethnic differentiation of a school impacts on the pedagogy and curriculum, educational outcomes, and social cohesion in schools. The following section critically evaluates research on Islamic (faith) schools in the Netherlands, which is an area of research that is closely related to the study of ethnic school composition effects.

The Influence of School Denomination: Catholic, Protestant, Islamic, Hindu and Other Faith and/or Community-Based Schools

The Dutch constitution and school system allows for the establishment of state-funded Islamic schools, similar to the Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Hindu schools. One can argue that this is in line with the broader aims of formal education systems that are national systems aimed at the socialization and integration of youngsters into (national) citizens, in that sense similar to the civic integration programs for new comers. In general these socialization – and thus identity formation – processes in education systems are expected to be complementary to similar processes in the home environment. Yet, The Netherlands are now more diversified than ever due to continuing migration flows, but since long diversity in school denomination is already a key feature of the Dutch institutional context. This denominational schools were established to 'cater' for the specific needs of the religious and other communities in The Netherland. From that perspective, the more recent emergence of faith and/or community based schools can thus be viewed as a consequence of

minority communities perceiving and/or experiencing Dutch mainstream schools as less equipped or maybe even biased to take up this role of socializing youngsters to become the 'desired citizens' of the future. An important question to bear in mind is thus what the emergence of these schools tells us about mainstream schooling. Nevertheless, the main question that has been posed in recent years is if these 'faith' schools hamper integration and educational success, foster segregation and/or disrupt cohesion in society.

However, before discussing that issue, we first focus on research taking a look at the impact of school denomination in general on educational performance. This study is based upon recent quantitative data from the large-scale COOL5−18 in combination with an additional sample (Driessen et al. 2016). For the analysis a total of 386 primary schools with 27,457 pupils in grades 2, 5 and 8 of 143 Public, 101 Protestant, 125 Catholic and 17 Islamic schools were studied. New data was collected on educational performance on cognitive and non-cognitive measures, enabling the researchers to compare religious and non-religious schools (Driessen et al. 2016). The findings show that there is no clear effect of Protestant and Catholic schools outperforming non-religious schools. However, with respect to Islamic schools the study shows that these schools have the highest added value with respect to academic achievement compared to other schools. Moreover, with respect to non-cognitive outcomes the study also reveals that differences between denominations are not significant. Both findings show that the impact of school denomination is often something that is part of a general imagination, and also of parents' perceptions, however, it also shows that e.g. Islamic schools do not perform worse than other schools although this is often stated in political and public debates (Driessen et al. 2016).

Still, it is not surprise that in 'faith schools', and particularly Islamic schools, have turned into a highly controversial matter (Driessen and Merry 2006; Merry and Driessen 2005). Although it is commonly assumed that this form of 'ethno-religious segregation' has a negative effect on the integration of Islamic communities into mainstream Dutch society and, as a consequence on social cohesion in general (BVD 2002), few studies focus on Islamic schools and their curriculum.

Driessen (1997) and Driessen and Bezemer (1999a, b) used the PRIMA datasets to conduct unique research on the relationship between Islamic and non-Islamic schools and pupils' educational outcomes and behavior characteristics (including measures of pupils' well-being, attitudes towards school work, self-confidence, social behavior, and parental support). The authors compared these pupil outcomes in Islamic schools with pupils in schools with a similar socio-economic population and with those from a nationally

representative reference group of schools (or the 'average' primary school). The findings suggest that behavioral and attitudinal characteristic differences between both pupil populations are very small or non-existent (Driessen 1997; Driessen and Bezemer 1999b). Furthermore, pupils in Islamic schools do not perform worse in language and slightly better in arithmetic and Cito examinations compared to pupils in schools with a similar socio-economic disadvantage. However, at the same time the data show that pupils in Islamic schools obtain far lower test results compared to pupils in the 'average' Dutch primary school. As a result, pupils in Islamic schools do not manage to perform better than pupils in average Dutch schools, even though this is stipulated as one of the advantages of Islamic schools (Driessen 1997; Driessen and Bezemer 1999b). In a more recent study Driessen (2007a) replicates these findings using more recent waves of the PRIMA datasets (2002 and 2004).

The general suspicion in Dutch society that Islamic schools may have a negative influence on the integration of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants stimulated the Dutch government to fund an inspection report on 'Islamic Schools and Social Cohesion' (BVD 2002). The findings of this study are based on analyses of school reports, school plans, and other documents, interviews of school administrators, and observations in Islamic schools. This report concludes that nearly all Islamic schools have an open attitude towards Dutch society and play a positive role in the development of social cohesion (BVD 2002). This report elicited a lot of criticism to a level that the Dutch government ordered a new study on this topic: 'Islamic schools further investigated' (*Islamitische scholen nader onderzocht)* (Dijkstra and Janssens 2003), which also concluded that the educational approach in Islamic schools does not pose a threat for the social cohesion and the basic values of an open and democratic Dutch society.

Recent years have seen an increased pre-occupation in Western societies with the position and role of Islam and related to this the ability of European countries to integrate Muslim minorities. As a result, public debates and social policy in the Netherlands have raised concerns over the role of faith schools and particularly Islamic schools in developing social cohesion. Little research has been conducted in this area and as a result, the few studies that focus on the effects of Islamic schools in the Netherlands are highly innovative and should be a source of inspiration to educational sociologists in other European countries. The findings of Dutch research in this area suggest that such schools do not pose a threat to social cohesion in the Dutch society. However, while pupils enrolled in Islamic schools perform slightly higher on standardized tests than their peers in other, similarly disadvantaged schools,

such schools cannot compensate for the experienced disadvantage as pupils enrolled in Islamic schools perform considerably lower in standardized exams than their peers enrolled in an average Dutch primary school. Yet, as Merry and Driessen (2016) underline in a recent study which confirms most of the older findings: there are reasons to be cautiously optimistic about the performance of most Islamic schools. Two Islamic primary schools are considered to be among the very best in the country and there are some gains in educational performance in most Islamic schools (Merry and Driessen 2016). However, given the important financial support from the government the researchers argue more gains could be expected. Nevertheless, in general these schools perform well, students do not segregate from broader society and adhere to the same civic values as students in non-Islamic schools (Merry and Driessen 2016).

Scholars are now also increasingly focusing on other faith or community schools in order to broaden the insights on their performance, goals and outcomes for youngsters as well as society at large. Quite interesting in this respect are the Hindu faith school that primarily aim to attract Surinamese pupils, although all students are allowed to enroll (Merry and Driessen 2011). What is particularly interesting is that students of Surinamese background are often considered to be quite successful in mainstream schools in The Netherlands so the creation of a 'separate' school system might feel unexpected. As in all schools irrespective of their denomination, parents generally do want their children to perform well and become successful according to the standards of broader (Dutch) society into which their children participate. As Merry and Driessen (2011) argue, questions can arise, especially in Hindu schools, if these schools can achieve this and if the importance of 'faith education' does not take the overhand. Similar to other schools – also Dutch mainstream schools as discussed in the section on racism and discrimination – Hindu (and Islamic) schools need to vigilant against ethnocentrism and the construction of 'one-dimensional' identities, and prepare youngsters to be able to interact, communicate and cooperate with co-citizens in broader society (Merry and Driessen 2012). Therefore, like all schools, they are subject to regular inspections by the Dutch Ministry of Education. However, what these studies make clear is that the study of Hindu schools is still quite new and few data are available. Therefore, both studies mainly focused on administrative data, policy documents of Hindu schools and on a limited amount of in-depth interviews with a few key policy makers in this domain (Merry and Driessen 2011). More data collection and analysis can bring about new insights on these issues and the emergence of such schools as an alternative route for students in The Netherlands.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that various ethnic and/or religious communities in The Netherlands (but similar processes can be observed in Belgium, The UK or Canada) have an urge to establish a 'separate' school system to enable children from their communities to become successful. Not only minorities that are strongly problematized in mainstream society and education (such as Muslim minorities) but also relatively successful 'model minorities' (such as Hindu minorities). This shows that education needs to be studied from a much broader perspective taking into account deep-rooted mechanisms with respect to identity formation and that the notion of success needs to be studied with a much more fine-grained theoretical and methodological framework and cannot only be measured by one's grades.

The 'Civic' Role of the School

While most studies focus on the cognitive outcomes of the educational process, in recent years the attention also shifted towards a focus on the 'civic' outcomes of this process. As discussed in the paragraph on school denominations, and in particular with respect to the case of Islamic schools, there is a general tendency to view these schools as a segregating strategy of a religious community already under societal scrutiny. Even though all studies show that these schools do not undermine societal cohesion, the recent discussions on radicalized youth have triggered new debates on the role of schools therein. Two interesting studies can shed more light on these issues: Ledoux et al. (2011) focus more specifically on the pupil level, while Leeman and Wardekker (2013) broaden the debate and include the teacher as pivotal in these school and class interactions.

Ledoux et al. (2011) have studied the civic competences of youth across The Netherlands taking into account among other variables gender, track, grades and origin. Again, their study is based on the COOL 5–18 survey studying around 16.000 youngsters from around 630 primary as well as secondary schools. Civic competences were studied in four domains: knowledge, skills, attitude and reflection. The data shows that gender in general has a major impact in the sense that girls score better or higher on the civic competences scales, in particular on the scale focusing on conflict management and more 'altruistic' viewpoints (Ledoux et al. 2011). Rather unexpectedly older students did not score significantly higher on the various civic competences scales, a finding the researchers attributed mainly to the turbulent period of adolescence (Ledoux et al. 2011). With respect to ethnic origin, minority students positively outscored majority students on skills, attitude and reflection.

The researchers argue this might be related to their specific situations where they have to be able to manage interacting with a diversity of others. Indeed, in general, ethnic majority students often have much less contact with 'ethnic others' than ethnic minority students. However, Ledoux et al. (2011) also argue this difference might be attributed to the possibility of minority students being less self-critical or more optimistic about themselves which could influence the findings on the specific items.

Complementary to the student-focused study of Ledoux et al. (2011) there are other scholars that aim to embed these issues into a broader framework. Leeman and Wardekker (2013) show that schools and classrooms – as all other sites in society – are contested spaces with varying power relations influencing everyday practices and discourses. Thus, when studying the role of teachers in, e.g. reducing or tackling radicalization among youth, teachers need to question themselves as they often have quite a different socio-economic, ethnic and cultural background than their students (see also Hornstra et al. 2015). Radicalization, polarization and stigmatization cannot be discussed in classroom settings as features possessed by students but rather as processes emerging in interaction with others, involving teachers as part of the 'solution' but of the 'problem' as well (Leeman and Wardekker 2013). This however also implies that civic competences such as studied by Ledoux et al. (2011) need to be investigated at the teacher level too – and by extension school staff (and why not parents, and other key figures as well). One cannot simply assume all teachers are well-equipped and educated to be able to discuss such sensitive issues with their students.

School Choice

Directly related to research on the importance of ethnic school composition and Islamic schools on educational and wider outcomes are studies that focus on the causes of school's ethnic composition. In the Netherlands, free parental school choice and the right to organize education to one's own beliefs and religious convictions are granted in the Dutch Constitution since 1917. In recent decades these rights have been linked to processes of socio-economic and ethnic segregation in the educational system, especially in primary education (Jungbluth 2005a, b; Karsten 1994). Social policy makers consider this as a concern, as ethnic segregation in education is particularly high in the Netherlands. Analysis of the COOL-datasets shows that while the average ethnic minority pupil in Dutch primary school has around 70% peers from ethnic minority groups, the average native Dutch pupil has around 12% peers from ethnic minority groups (Agirdag 2016).

Researchers explain the appearance of ethnic segregation between schools mainly by pointing to free parental school choice and the establishment of faith (Islamic and Hindu) schools, in particular for secondary education (Denessen et al. 2005; Gramberg 1998; Karsten 1994; Karsten et al. 2006; Smit et al. 2005). However, research in the Netherlands also suggests the importance of residential segregation in explaining ethnic segregation, particularly for primary schools (Gramberg 1998).

Karsten et al. (2003) studied the relation between school choice and ethnic segregation using data from 52 primary elementary schools (see also Karsten et al. 2002a, b) and interviews with parents and head teachers. The findings of this study suggest that residential segregation and the location of the school are the most important factors for the explanation of school segregation in primary education. Furthermore, the interviews with the school principals showed the ethnic composition of a school was also influenced by school-specific factors like: (i) the marketing of certain school profiles, (ii) the development and practicing of different kinds of gate-keeping methods, and (iii) the encouragement of school competition with as a possible consequence 'white' and 'non-white' flight (similar results were found in: Karsten 1994). Finally, research suggests that middle class Dutch parents are much more likely to choose schools who apply 'alternative' forms of teaching, such as Montessori, Dalton and Jenaplan schools; schools that often ask a slightly higher financial contribution from parents. These schools are far less popular with ethnic minority groups, who prefer schools that offer a more traditional curriculum and pedagogy. As a result, these schools are often 'white' and middle-class, even if they are located in highly urbanized and culturally diverse neighborhoods (Karsten 2012).

The relationship between school choice and ethnic school composition is reciprocal in that the ethnic composition of the school is not only influenced by school choice processes but can also influence the process of school choice (Denessen et al. 2005). However, Dutch research suggests that the impact of the ethnic composition of the school population on parental school choice processes remains small, is not conclusive and complex, in particular because different social and ethnic groups have different motivations in choosing particular schools (Karsten et al. 2003). Although parents mainly choose a school in the local area (see also Smit et al. 2005), Dutch and higher educated parents are more likely to opt for an alternative school. Furthermore, while Dutch parents prefer a school with a pupil composition that 'matches' their family background, immigrant parents find the degree of differentiation and academic reputation of the school as more important (Karsten et al. 2003). A more recent study (Coenders et al. 2004), which uses data from a random

sample of Dutch adults ($n = 1008$) finds that Dutch parents are more resistant to schools with a higher percentage of immigrant students, in particular when such immigrants are defined as 'non-assimilated'. Furthermore, while Dutch respondents with a lower SES are on average more resistant to ethnic diversity in schools compared to Dutch respondents with a higher SES background, the latter group appeared more resistant to schools with a very high percentage of ethnic minorities. According to the authors these findings indicate that higher SES groups' resistance to multicultural schools is context dependent, and increases when they perceive such multiculturalism as a threat to the educational opportunities of their own children (Coenders et al. 2004).

A subsequent study uses data from second grade (six-year-olds) pupils in 700 primary schools through a written questionnaire for pupils' parents and their school administrators (based on the PRIMA 1988–1999 database) to investigate the importance of group-specific reasons for school choice (Denessen et al. 2005). The analyses reveal that religious groups predominantly choose a school with the same religious affiliation as their family, and ethnic minority groups prefer schools who are considerate of their religious background. In contradiction with the research findings of the studies cited above, this study did not find any differences in school choice between parents from different social classes (Denessen et al. 2005).

A more recent policy study in Amsterdam (Adviesraad Diversiteit en Integratie 2010) illustrates how 'white flight', which is possible because of 'free choice' actually limits the notion of 'free choice' for parents. The study finds that in many neighborhoods in Amsterdam different choices made by majority and minority parents leads to the development of separate 'white' and 'black' schools. When asked, both majority and minority parents preferred mixed schools. However, because of the 'free school choice' these schools were absent in their neighborhood with the result that parents actually had less rather than more choice.

In sum, as schools in the Netherlands become increasingly more segregated, researchers do not only focus on the consequences but also on the causes of ethnic segregation. A developing body of quantitative research in the Netherlands suggests that various factors like parental school choice, residential segregation, socio-economic background, school practices and ethnic composition play a role in explaining ethnic segregation in Dutch schools. However, the general, complex and sometimes contradicting findings that emerge from the sophisticated statistical analyses of large-scale databases suggests the usefulness of further in-depth case-study research in the Netherlands that explores the motivations and underlying structures that underpin the process of school choice.

Family Background Tradition

Research in the Netherlands on family background characteristics and race/ethnic inequalities in education developed over time: while researchers first investigated the relative importance of social class and ethnicity in explaining educational underachievement, more recent research focuses on particular forms of (cultural and social) capital in explaining differences in achievement between ethnic groups. The following sections further explore this particularly rich body of research.

Social Class or Ethnic Status?

In line with social policy developments in the late 1980s and early 1990s (see section "Education, Migration and Social Policy Developments in the Netherlands") educational researchers in the Netherlands focused on the importance of social class in explaining the relationship between ethnicity and educational inequality. Some researchers held on to an 'immigration perspective', which considers ethnic or national descent as a decisive factor in explaining the educational position of immigrant pupils (Wolbers and Driessen 1996). By moving to another country, immigrants have to bridge essential cultural differences in terms of mores, values, written and unwritten rules, language, and the social structure of society. On the other hand, the 'deprivation perspective' explains the underachievement of immigrant pupils by their social class background, which is supposed to reflect some crucial social, pedagogical, and material conditions, which in turn inform the educational position of the child (Wolbers and Driessen 1996).

In this 'culture versus class debate' (Phalet 1998, p. 101) the majority of studies employ quantitative research designs and tend to emphasize the role of social class over ethnic descent in explaining the underachievement of specific immigrant groups (Cuyvers et al. 1993; Dronkers and Kerkhoff 1990; Kerkhoff 1988; Van't Hof and Dronkers 1993; Van Langen and Jungbluth 1990), especially for second-generation immigrants (Van Ours and Veenman 2001; Veenman 1996b). In a more comprehensive review covering 75 different, usually large-scale, quantitative studies Driessen (1995) finds that 68% put more emphasis on social milieu and only a minority of studies (24%) concludes that ethnic background is more important or that there is no difference between the two variables in explaining underachievement (8%). In a subsequent study, Driessen and Dekkers (1997) analyze the relationship between students' social background characteristics and educational achievement using data from the

VOCL cohorts. The analyses show that test results are largely determined by social class, with gender and ethnic status having a very limited impact. However, a recent large-scale quantitative cohort study (Tolsma et al. 2007a, b) suggests that ethnic minorities are more likely to enroll in lower-status tracks and less likely to enroll in university education compared to native Dutch students, a difference that persists after controlling for parental SES. Hence, the authors conclude that ethnic differences in educational attainment cannot be reduced to ethnic minorities' disadvantaged socio-economic background.

In a more recent study on parents' school involvement Fleischmann and de Haas (2016) try to disentangle several social class and migration related factors contributing to educational inequality between ethnic groups. Using nationally representative survey data from the Netherlands of parents of primary school-aged children of Dutch, Turkish, and Moroccan origin they found, on the basis of descriptive analyses, lower levels of parental involvement across several domains among ethnic minority compared to Dutch majority parents. Moreover, mothers are significantly more involved than fathers. The authors succeeded in explaining substantial portions of the variance in parental involvement and in fully explaining ethnic discrepancies by parents' levels of education and language proficiency. However, the gender gap in parental involvement remains unexplained.

These quantitative studies have been criticized on the basis of the statistical techniques employed in data analysis, the underlying assumptions that guide the process of constructing specific statistical models, and the ambiguous and superficial nature of the proposed causal relationships. First, although most of these quantitative studies employ multiple regression, the usefulness of such a technique can be questioned because of the strong correlation or overlap between social class and ethnicity (Driessen 1995; Latuheru and Hessels 1996; Ledoux 1996). Even after employing a model-comparison procedure, which is robust to the problem of multicollinearity, Latuheru and Hessels (1994) conclude that 'due to the fact that ethnic and social-economic descent are mutually contaminating, it cannot be determined whether pupils' ethnic descent contributes to an explanation of the differences in school records' (Latuheru and Hessels 1994, p. 227). Secondly, the discussion between 'class and ethnicity' creates an artificial distinction between these variables and obscures their strong and complex inter-relations. As a result, ethnic and social class categories are perceived as separate, static, and homogeneous groups, instead of describing them as more heterogeneous, changing and interacting groups (Ledoux 1996; Pels and Veenman 1996; Phalet 1998). For example, in a qualitative study on a pedagogical method for Dutch language

acquisition aimed at migrant mothers without formal education experience, to enhance their social integration, makes it clear that social class and migrant background are difficult to distinguish (Nieuwboer and van't Rood 2016). Finally, the relationship between crude characteristics such as social class or ethnicity and educational outcomes merely begs the question how such relationships can be explained, which requires further investigation focusing on specific processes that link such crude social characteristics to specific forms of educational inequality (Driessen 1995; Ledoux 1996; Pels and Veenman 1996; Teunissen and Matthijssen 1996). While some studies try to explain the effect of ethnicity on educational outcomes by incorporating variables such as 'ethnical configuration of the family', 'time of residence in the Netherlands' and 'language spoken at home' (Kerkhoff 1988; Wolbers and Driessen 1996), such statistical models cannot penetrate the complexity of how ethnic background relates to various forms of educational inequality (Teunissen and Matthijssen 1996).

Cultural and Social Capital

Some researchers conducted small-scale ethnographic or qualitative studies to explore the complex relationship between social class, ethnicity, and educational achievement. Although most of these studies, like their quantitative counterparts, focus their attention mainly on family background characteristics of the child, they tend to criticize the view that the effect of ethnicity can be reduced to social class differences. These studies explore how various forms of social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1992 [1979], 1999 [1983]; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) that are valued in or available to specific ethnic communities inform the educational outcomes of ethnic minority pupils.

Pels (1991) conducted ethnographic research on mothers and teachers of Dutch and Moroccan children and concluded that Moroccan families have different 'educational styles' (*opvoedingsstijlen*) than Dutch families and schools. Moroccan families emphasize obedience and discipline and children are not supposed to ask questions or develop own initiative. In contrast, Dutch parents and primary schools stimulate individuality, independence, and children's ability to explore. Similarly, while Moroccan families tend to develop a specific cognitive style in which learning by heart or memorizing is emphasized, Dutch parents and schools seem to develop a cognitive style that emphasizes the importance of critical questioning and understanding. Therefore, it appears that the cultural capital valued by native Dutch families is closer to field-specific expectations of Dutch primary education than the

capital valued in Moroccan families (Pels 1991). Similarly, Kromhout and Vedder (1996) conducted research with African Caribbean children in elementary schools and concluded that certain forms of behavior which are labeled as aggressive by Dutch children are labeled as socially competent by African Caribbean boys in the Netherlands.

Lindo (1995, 1996) conducted qualitative interviews of Iberian (Spanish and Portuguese) and Turkish adolescents and their parents. Although these two groups are similar in terms of their economic motivations for migration, timing of migration and initial job opportunities and experiences of discrimination, Iberian immigrants tend to obtain higher educational qualifications than their Turkish peers. Lindo explains such differences by pointing to the specific structural conditions under which these immigrant groups left their country of origin and related developments of region-specific networks in the country of destination and attitudes towards integration in the host society. Iberian immigration should be perceived as a more individual enterprise, in which expectations about economic returns are confined to a small group of relatives. In contrast, Turkish immigration often involves high economic investment and expectations of the whole household in both the country of origin and country of destination. Because of the stronger social capital between Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands and their extended families in Turkey, the latter exercise more social control and often function as a barrier against cultural integration and structural mobility. This is reinforced by the development of strong region-specific networks in the country of origin through chain migration (Lindo 1995, 1996). A more recent qualitative study explores narratives of Moroccan parents on the educational situation of their children in Belgium or the Netherlands and concludes that minority parents can also develop an oppositional culture in response to perceived injustice in the Netherlands towards ethnic minorities (Hermans 2004). Important in this respect is a new analysis of albeit quite older quantitative data (four national surveys between 1994 and 2001) collected in 340 schools among 11,215 pupils, of which 5792 from Dutch origin, 983 from Caribbean origin, 668 from Turkish origin and 729 from Moroccan origin children (van Tubergen and van Gaans 2016). The findings show that there is no significant difference between ethnic minority and ethnic majority children with respect to the construction of an oppositional identity towards education. However, it is found that in ethnic minority concentrated schools, ethnic minority children tend to skip classes more, although this does not necessarily imply an oppositional identity. Thus, whereas 'ethnicity' does not seem to be a factor, gender, age and track do seem to have some impact. Boys, students in the

higher grades and in the vocational educational tracks can support an oppositional culture more than other students (van Tubergen and van Gaans 2016).

However, while Lindo (1995, 1996) points to specific forms of social capital that appear to constrain social mobility of Turkish immigrant youth, Crul (1996, 1999, 2000) identifies various forms of social capital that can foster social mobility amongst Moroccan and Turkish youth. Crul relied mainly on interview data from Moroccan and Turkish youth and found that while support from parents did not appear to have a strong influence on educational outcomes, support from family members, peers, or teachers seemed to yield higher outcomes, as the latter are more aware of the specific demands and nature of the Dutch educational system. While parents can offer support through guidance and stimulation, family members, peers, and teachers can often offer additional forms of support such as advice and practical help. High-achieving pupils also appeared to be raised in a field (either family or school) where Dutch constituted the dominant language of communication, which in turn increases access to social and cultural capital considered valuable in the field of education (Crul 1996, 1999, 2000), which in turn relates to the socio-economic position of the parents (Van der Veen 2003). In a more recent study, Prevoo et al. (2014) on predicting ethnic minority children's vocabulary in a sample of 111 six-year-old children of first- and second-generation Turkish immigrant parents in the Netherlands, the authors found that SES was related to maternal language use and to host language reading input. But, that reading input mediated the relation between SES and host language vocabulary and between maternal language use and host language vocabulary. The authors concluded by pointing out that one should be aware that children from low-SES families receive less host language reading input.

Similarly, other ethnographic or qualitative studies conducted in the Netherlands conclude that although Turkish and Moroccan parents find education important, such attitudes are often not realized because of their limited ability to provide support and because of the maintenance of an oppositional culture that inhibits cultural and structural integration in Dutch society, which is in turn explained by their lack of knowledge of the Dutch language and education system (Klatter-Falmer 1996; Ledoux 1996; Veenman 1996a). At the same time, the availability of specific forms of social capital that offer access to various forms of support in the process of learning is often mentioned by immigrant pupils enrolled in higher education as an important reason for their success in education (Dagevos and Veenman 1992; Van Veen 2001). In another qualitative study on the social integration of second generation Turks within the Dutch higher education setting Pásztor (2014) demonstrated the importance of the role of friends and peers in terms of 'fitting in'

to a higher education setting. She found that social integration is usually achieved through joining existing networks of ethnic minority students, creating new networks, or simply, keeping 'old' high school friends throughout university. However, in some cases students are willing to change their course, institution or type of study in order to improve their experience.

From 1995 onwards, and in line with the approach employed by some qualitative or ethnographic studies, quantitative researchers in the Netherlands started to investigate the relationship between social class and/or ethnic differences in educational achievement and differential access to or activation of various forms of 'social' and 'cultural' capital (De Graaf et al. 2000; Driessen 2000a; Driessen and Smit 2007; Driessen et al. 2005; Kalmijn and Kraaykamp 1996; Kraaykamp 2000; Van Veen et al. 1998). This line of research seems to be inspired by Coleman's legacy on social capital (Coleman 1966, 1987, 1999 [1988]), and an increasing interest in US educational research on Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction and concept of cultural capital (DiMaggio 1979, 1982, Lamont and Lareau 1988; Lareau 1999 [1987]). In addition, some recent studies (Van der Veen and Meijnen 2000; Van der Veen and Meijnen 2001) emphasize the importance of ethnic minority students' orientation to Dutch society (which can be defined as a form of 'identity' capital, see Cote 1996) as a source of educational success.

In general, these studies do not lend strong support for the usefulness of Coleman's or Bourdieu's conceptualization of social or cultural capital. For example, while participation in 'high brow' culture (e.g. museum attendance) does not relate to higher educational outcomes, access to specific forms of cultural capital (such as 'parental reading behavior') that are considered crucial for achievement in a Dutch educational system relate positively with students educational outcomes (De Graaf and De Graaf 2002; De Graaf et al. 2000; Kraaykamp 2000; Van Veen et al. 1998). In a more recent study Driessen and Merry (2011) investigated whether there is a relationship between the degree of integration of the immigrant parents and the generation of their children on the one hand and the level of language and numeracy achievement of the children on the other. Using the 2008 data collection of the Dutch COOL5–18 cohort study from more than 9000 immigrant and 16,000 indigenous children and their parents, they found that as immigrant parents are better integrated and their children are of later generations, the language and numeracy skills of the children improve, though there remain large differences in achievement between different ethnic groups. Furthermore, access to and the impact of various forms of cultural capital seems to vary according to the ethnic background of pupils (Driessen 2000a; Verhoeven 2006). In relationship to social capital, a recent quantitative study (Wissink

et al. 2006) finds that negative relationships between parents and adolescents associate positively with developmental outcomes in all ethnic groups. However, the relationship between parenting behavior and delinquent behavior differs according to ethnicity, as restrictive control related to a higher level of delinquent behavior only for Turkish and Moroccan immigrants.

Research on the importance of family background characteristics is by far the most developed research tradition in the Netherlands that focuses on the relationship between race/ethnic inequalities in education. While initially research focused on the question whether social class or ethnicity is the most important factor in explaining underachievement, more recent qualitative and quantitative studies investigate the importance of particular forms of social and cultural capital in explaining the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality. More recent studies demonstrate that alleged cultural differences could also be framed as consequences of different experiences of the institutional (i.e. the educational) context by parents with and without a migrant background. Elbers and de Haan (2014) found in their study on parent–teacher conferences in Dutch culturally diverse schools that conflicts unveiled differences in educational ideas and in views about the responsibilities of the school and the parents. However, they propose that teacher and parent conflicts cannot be explained solely by referring to pre-given cultural positions and practices, but that the conferences create a specific institutional context in which participants strategically shape their contributions, in some conferences to avoid conflict, in others to emphasize differences.

An Institutional Approach

A relatively new tradition of research in the Netherlands looks at the importance of the institutional structure of the educational system in explaining differences in educational outcomes between different groups (Andersen and Van de Werfhorst 2010; Crul and Vermeulen 2003; Crul and Schneider 2010; Crul et al. 2012; Dronkers et al. 2011; Werfhorst and Mijs 2007, 2010; van de Werfhorst 2015). Aspects of the institutional structure include: the starting age at which children enter the educational system, the tracking age (the age at which pupils choose a specific educational track), the method of selection, the differentiation of the school system, and the permeability of the school system (whether or not it is easy to stream up or down from a vocational to an academic track or the other way round).

Crul (2000) was the first to systematically study, based on SPVA surveys and in-depth interviews, the importance of institutional arrangements in school for children of immigrants in the Netherlands. Since then, a number of studies based on international comparisons have enhanced our knowledge about the institutional characteristics that magnify or level social inequalities, impacting the opportunities of children of immigrants in the Netherlands. An example is the European comparative study 'The Integration of the European Second Generation' (TIES) (Crul et al. 2012), which investigated the school and labor-market careers of second-generation youth in eight European countries.[9] Also other international datasets are used for comparative analyses, such as PISA, TIMSS and PIRLS (see for example Van de Werfhorst and Mijs 2010). The literature of the Netherlands brings to attention several specific characteristics of the Dutch educational arrangement that impact the educational achievements of children of immigrants in crucial ways (Crul 2017).

The first characteristic is the starting age at school. The TIES study shows that, compared to other countries – such as France or Sweden – second-generation youth in the Netherlands enter formal education relatively late, at age four (Crul et al. 2008, 2009). In France, almost all pupils attend pre-school before the age of four, which enables the second generation to learn French as a second language in an educational environment from an early age. The acknowledgement of this relatively late starting age and the importance of early education has led to the launch of policies for pre-school arrangements that offer extra educational programs for children from age two of specific target groups, such as children with lower educated parents, with an immigrant background or a non-Dutch mother-tongue (Driessen 2012a; Jepma et al. 2007; Onderwijsraad 2014; Van Tuijl en Siebes 2006; Veen et al. 2000, 2012). The effectiveness is subject of debate, with some arguing that effects are marginal or absent (Bruggers et al. 2014; Driessen 2016; Fukkink et al. 2017) while other studies show effects (Crul et al. 2008; Van Tuijl and Siebes 2006; Leseman and Veen 2016) and some only show effects for lower SES groups (van Druten-Frietman, et al. 2014). Others even show, based upon an experimental research design, that specific instruction on reading can

[9] The main objective of TIES is to create the first systematic and rigorous European dataset on the economic, social and occupational integration and integration in terms of identity of second-generation immigrants in 15 cities from eight European countries: Paris and Strasburg (France), Berlin and Frankfurt (Germany), Madrid and Barcelona (Spain), Vienna and Linz (Austria), Amsterdam and Rotterdam (the Netherlands), Brussels and Antwerp (Belgium), Zurich and Basel (Switzerland), and Stockholm (Sweden). At the heart of the study is a survey involving more than 10,000 respondents (age 18–35) in the participating countries, focusing on Turkish, Moroccan and Eastern European immigrants; and native citizens as a control group. The findings of this study are only recently being released and discussed (see http://www.tiesproject.eu/).

dramatically improve reading skills of pupils in grade 1 (Houtveen and van de Grift 2012).

Another very important aspect that influences the educational trajectories of ethnic minority children is the tracking age at school. Early tracking enhances the allocation of graduated students in the labor market, but it also increases the inequality of opportunity (Bol and Van de Werfhorst 2013; van de Werfhorst 2015). The selection age in the Netherlands is relatively early, at age 12, which in combination with the late starting age, results in a relatively large group of ethnic-minority students going into the lowest educational tracks in comparison to other countries (Crul et al. 2008, 2009). As many ethnic minority pupils need time to close a language gap, for them this selection comes too early to be sufficiently indicative of their educational capabilities (Crul 2000). Against this background, it is unfortunate that many of the broad 'intermediate classes' (in which educational tracks are kept combined during the first two years in secondary school) are being abandoned (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2016). These intermediary classes have allowed many children with immigrant backgrounds to move into a higher track than the originally advised level (Crul et al. 2012).

The method of selection does not appear to be entirely meritocratic either and seems to work against students with disadvantaged backgrounds. Not only do children from lower SES background appear to receive lower secondary school advice than what should be expected based on their test result scores at the end of primary education (see studies described above), they are also disadvantaged because of the complexity of the Dutch education system (Werfhorst and Mijs 2007). Nowhere in Europe the number of school tracks is as high as in the Netherlands (Crul et al. 2009), which requires a considerable amount of knowledge of the school system. Heus and Dronkers (2010) found that in more differentiated school systems (like the Netherlands) children of immigrants have lower test scores. Yet, Bol et al. show that having central examinations, such as the Dutch Cito-test, weakens the effect of parental socioeconomic status on the educational achievement (2014).

The Dutch school system however offers somewhat of a repair to the early selection. Again taking the European comparative perspective, the Netherlands is the country with the highest level of permeability between school tracks (Crul et al. 2008, 2009). Many second-generation youth profit from this possibility. Because of the high ambitions in the family, they are keen to get into higher education, even if it takes three more years (Crul 2000). However, in recent years, the long route has become under pressure (Herweijer and Turkenburg 2016). 'Stacking' educational levels has become more expensive due to increasing limitations in the student loans (ibid.), which is likely to effect the educational mobility of second-generation youth.

While the researchers in the political arithmetic approach and the family background approach mostly take the school system as a given, in the institutional approach the school system itself is studied as the explanatory factor, rather than the characteristics of pupils and their parents. Or put differently: this approach shows that at different points in the school career, the educational system makes different demands on family or individual resources of students (Crul and Schneider 2010). In primary school, support with Dutch as a second language is important, while in secondary school support with homework and knowledge of the schools system is vital. Further on in the school career, individual ambitions and drive are important when opting for the long route. Dronkers et al. (2011) conclude that that educational systems are not uniformly 'good' or 'bad', but they have different consequences for different groups: while some groups are better off in some systems, other groups are better off in other systems.

Conclusion and Discussion

Educational research on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality in the Netherlands developed into a major area of research from the 1980s onwards. Educational sociologists working in this area are ultimately concerned with explaining differences in educational achievement between racial/ethnic groups. In so doing, researchers focus their attention mainly on the largest, most 'underachieving' racial/ethnic minority groups such as students from Turkish, Moroccan, and Surinamese backgrounds.

The most dominant research tradition in the Netherlands has focused its attention primarily on family background characteristics. However, more recently researchers working in the 'institutional approach' highlight the importance of characteristics of educational systems from a nationally comparative research approach in explaining the educational trajectories of ethnic-minority students in different school and national contexts. While the latter 'blame' teachers, school processes and/or educational policies as the main cause of educational underachievement of racial/ethnic minority pupils, the former merely describe differences in educational outcomes or progress and/or explain such differences primarily by referring to a lack of availability or activation of valuable resources amongst ethnic minority families.

In terms of epistemology, Dutch educational researchers rely more heavily on positivism and prefer large-scale, quantitative research strategies. Three major developments can help to explain these apparent differences. First, it appears that the influence of the new sociology of education, and related influence of social constructivism, phenomenology and micro-sociological

classroom research has been less influential in the Netherlands. Or, as Wesselingh (1996) puts it in evaluating the origins and development of the Dutch sociology of education:

> The strong bond with the educational reform movements of the 1970s also became looser. […]. The research tradition stemming from [Basil Bernstein and Raymond Williams], namely the sociology of the curriculum, and the research within the school classrooms has virtually come to a standstill and thus fostered the disappearance of (micro-)sociology from the area. (Wesselingh 1996, p. 222)

As a result, Dutch sociology of education is characterized by a small group of specialists, whose major strength lies in 'the solid empirical basis and use of advanced research techniques and analysis in their work', but for whom 'theory and reflection are not [their] strongest qualities' (Wesselingh 1996, p. 213).

A second major influence which is particular to the Netherlands concerns the lack of interest by Dutch social policy-makers in the particular needs and interests of racial/ethnic minority groups. In Dutch social policy, the problematic social position of ethnic minority children is often reduced to their lower social class position (Driessen 2000b; Phalet 1998; Rijkschroeff et al. 2005). As a result, Dutch educational research did not receive a strong incentive from social policy-makers to investigate experiences of racism or racial discrimination in schools, and in the absence of a strong, critical research tradition that focuses on micro-educational processes in schools, the 'class versus ethnicity' debate remained firmly lodged into a macro-sociological, family-school perspective.

Also characteristic of research on race/ethnicity and educational inequality in the Netherlands is the close relationship between social policy-makers and the research community, with the latter often actively involved in the process of developing (or advising on) social policy and testing 'success' of policy measures through government-funded research. Furthermore, most research in the Netherlands in this area is based on analyses of large-scale quantitative datasets which are funded (albeit indirectly) by the Dutch government to assist the process of policy development and evaluation. While the close and dependent relationship of Dutch educational researchers with their government does not necessarily undermine 'good research practice', it poses questions about the extent to which such a relationship has influenced the research practice in terms of employed research questions, methods, and findings. From the above, several lessons can be drawn to improve research on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality in the Netherlands.

First, research in the Netherlands on ethnic/racial inequalities in education could develop a deeper understanding of how educational systems influence race/ethnic inequalities by conducting more in-depth case-studies or ethnographic research on the nature of specific school and classroom processes. Such efforts could help to open 'the black box' of the Dutch educational system and develop a more critical approach to specific selection processes adopted in schools, and related to this, the nature of the curriculum taught, interactions between staff and students, and processes of tracking or streaming. The more recently developed 'institutional approach' tradition seems to work towards this and particularly their international comparative approach makes findings in this area of research relevant not just for the Netherlands but for a broad range of educational and national contexts.

Secondly, while some qualitative, ethnographic work has been conducted in the Netherlands on processes and characteristics of (ethnic minority) families and educational outcomes, such research still appears to be underdeveloped and less likely to find its way into academic peer-reviewed journals compared to more positivistic, quantitative studies. Further in-depth, qualitative or ethnographic case-study research in this area can function as a continuous source of inspiration for the methodologically very strong, but theoretically exhausted quantitative family-school tradition in the Netherlands.

Thirdly, research in the Netherlands on (Islamic) and other faith schools is unique and important in a European context which is increasingly more preoccupied with the integration of Muslim minorities in 'Western' societies. The few qualitative and mixed-methods studies carried out by SESI researchers in the Netherlands suggest that future quantitative work in this area can benefit from the rich findings of small-scale qualitative studies in developing a better understanding of the complex processes, opportunities and challenges in schools with different ethnic compositions.

More generally, research on racial/ethnic inequalities in education in the Netherlands can benefit from a stronger integration and mutual recognition of qualitative and quantitative research. Such efforts are likely to be a source of inspiration to both qualitative and quantitative researchers in developing research questions and measurement instruments and help the development of knowledge in this area.

While researchers in the Netherlands focus their attention primarily on 'underachieving' ethnic or racial minority groups, their findings do not allow policy-makers and practitioners straightforward answers as to if and how achievement gaps should or could be narrowed. First, the findings suggest that the variability in achievement and more general notions such as 'inequality' and 'discrimination' can be defined and measured in different

ways, leading to different interpretations of the data and conclusions. Second, research suggests that inequality is a complex and changing phenomenon. As a result research aimed at understanding inequality and policy aimed at reducing inequality is likely to be more successful if it considers the importance of the various embedded context in which inequalities develop, including school, family, peer-group, neighborhood, and regional, national, and international processes and characteristics.

Finally, following Feinstein and colleagues' 'ecological approach' (Feinstein et al. 2004) and McLaughlin and Talbert's 'embedded context approach' (McLaughlin and Talbert 2001) future research on race and ethnic inequalities in education could benefit from considering a broad range of inter-related educational and wider outcomes, related to students' identities and well-being and by exploring how such outcomes interact and develop within the various (family, peer group, educational, economic, national, and international political) contexts in which they are embedded. This approach has its origins in developmental psychology (Bronfenbrenner 1979) and classifies environmental context measures according to the level at which they are situated, including 'proximal' face-to-face interactions (e.g. teacher–student relationships), characteristics of institutions (school and family characteristics), and more distal factors (e.g. neighborhood characteristics, rural versus urban areas, educational policy, (inter-)national political processes). Such research would offer a more comprehensive approach to the study of racial/ethnic inequalities in education and illustrate the usefulness of both quantitative and qualitative research in studying the complex, uneven, and context-dependent nature of integration processes in society.

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