

Ethnic Prejudice Among Flemish Pupils: Does the School Context Matter?



Roselien Vervaet

Because we are all human beings,
with a common origin,
but each with our own characteristics.

*Ethnic Prejudice Among Flemish Pupils:
Does the School Context Matter?*

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*Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences
of Ghent University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor in Sociology*

Academic year 2017-2018



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Dankwoord

Soms lijken woorden overbodig om te zeggen wat je voelt.

Soms zeggen woorden gewoon dingen die je niet bedoelt.

*Toch ga ik proberen met enkele woorden te omschrijven
wat voor een enorme steun en hulp ik kreeg van een hele hoop mensen,
zeg maar schatten.*

In de eerste plaats wil ik de **jury** bedanken. Bedankt om mijn hele doctoraat door te nemen, kritisch te zijn, mij te laten nadenken en tegelijk uit te dagen als socioloog. Bedankt om hier aanwezig te zijn vandaag en deel uit te maken van een wel erg belangrijk moment in mijn leven.

Laten we dan even terug gaan naar mijn studententijd aan de Universiteit Gent, waar ik na twee jaar **Wendelien** leerde kennen. Zij werd zowat mijn beste maatje in de les, samen met Jeroen, maar ook steeds meer buiten de lesuren. Leuke feestjes, lunches, en vooral veel grappige, soms redelijk gênante momentjes samen! Momentjes waar we nu nog vaak om lachen. Het was ook Wendelien die me tipte over een openstaande vacature voor een doctoraat rond vooroordelen in het secundair onderwijs. Niet veel later zat ik in Mieke haar bureau op sollicitatiegesprek, samen met Fanny en Peter. Daar begon mijn loopbaan aan de unief, waar ik Wendelien dus nog steeds enorm dankbaar voor ben!

Ik kende ook **Fanny**, aangezien ze ook een medestudente van me was en we hadden zowel van Mieke als Peter les gekregen. Fanny werd mijn meter en begeleidde me door

de vragenlijsten, dataverzameling en voor alles wat ik maar wou weten, kon ik steeds bij haar terecht, waarvoor dank!

Naast een fantastische meter, had ik dan ook het geluk om twee promotoren als Peter en Mieke te hebben.

Peter, jij liet me echt mijn eigen weg gaan. Je steunde me in mijn werk, maar ook in mijn thuissituatie. Je oprechte blijdschap toen ik vertelde dat ik zwanger was, trouwde, een huis kocht, een ander huis kocht... was enorm belangrijk voor mij en zorgde ervoor dat ik altijd mezelf kon zijn. Je was een promotor die me erg vaak positief bekrachtigde en na een gesprek met jou kreeg ik steeds weer een enorme boost om door te gaan!

Mieke, het is ongelooflijk hoe jij er altijd voor ons was, met de nadruk op ons, aangezien je dit niet alleen voor mij deed. Je deur stond letterlijk altijd voor ons open en jouw persoonlijke, maar tegelijk efficiënte en professionele manier van werken kan alleen maar het goede voorbeeld zijn voor andere promotoren. Dat we beiden waterman zijn en dan nog eens op dezelfde dag verjaren, kon geen toeval zijn: een winning team, dat stond in de sterren geschreven.

Bedankt allebei, dankzij jullie fantastische begeleiding, feedback, steun en nog zoveel meer, sta ik hier vandaag!

Eerst kwam ik terecht in de Korte Meer 3. Daar had ik het geluk om een bureau te mogen delen met **Laura**. Vanaf dag één waren er de deugddoende gesprekjes over vanalles en nog wat. Ongelooflijk hoe het meteen klikte.

Tijdens de lunch waren er collega's als **Rachel, Susan, Sarah, Lies, Dimitri, Josephine, Stijn...** die zorgden voor een deugddoende ontspanning, altijd plezant!

Chloë en **Els**, onze gezellige babbels tijdens een lekkere brunch met Wendelien waren altijd veel te kort, maar daarom net zo deugddoend. Samen doctorerende mama en even burens zijn met jou, Chloë, schepte ook een bijzondere band die ik met niemand anders had.

Dan verhuisde ik naar de Korte Meer 5. Laura en ik bleven samen, maar kregen er een fantastische bureaugenoot bij: **Sarah**! Ons “meisjesbureau” werd meteen gezellig ingericht en het was altijd leuk om daar binnen te komen en te werken. Hoe ontspanning en inspanning elkaar zo mooi konden aanvullen... Na veel problemen met zijn Visum, werd Patrick onze vierde man. Niet altijd makkelijk tussen drie dames waarschijnlijk, maar leuk dat je er was! Daarna werd onze bureau een tijdelijke oplossing voor **Barbara** en **Timo**, wat zorgde voor een gezonde en fijne afwisseling.

Dan kreeg ik de eer om meter te worden van eerst **Sherly**, daarna **Charlotte**. Charlotte, een enthousiaste, gedreven dame die ik met alle plezier hielp bij haar start aan de unief en soms hielp loslaten buiten de uren, al gebeurde dat veel te weinig. Ik wens je dan ook nog veel succes met je prachtig project, zowel persoonlijk als professioneel!

In de KM5 waren er de lunches met **Pieter en Nathan**, twee zalige kerels die elkaar vonden tussen alle vrouwelijke collega's, **Jannick**, wie ik steeds om wijze raad mocht vragen, **Rozemarijn, Katrijn, Veerle, Sam, Melissa, Karen, Emilien, Ama, Lore, Vera, Ad, Barbara, Pieter-Paul, Thomas, Sherly, Timo**. Allemaal bedankt voor de ontspannende en grappige momentjes tussen het harde werken door! Daarnaast waren er ook de congressen waar ik al de andere collega's ook altijd beter leerde kennen. Daarom ook aan alle andere collega's: bedankt!

Naast de directe collega's, zijn er ook **Marie-Frances, Carine, Deborah, Astrid** en **Virginie** die ik in de bloemetjes wil zetten. Van de administratieve zaken moest ik me nooit iets aantrekken, omdat jullie dit vele werk op jullie namen, waarvoor dank! De bezoeken aan de bib waren altijd een momentje van ontspanning voor me.

De scholen en leerlingen die ervoor zorgden dat ik een prachtige dataset had, zijn enorm belangrijk geweest voor mijn werk.

Er zijn ook enkele vrienden in het bijzonder die ervoor zorgden dat ik tijdens de weekends altijd afleiding en plezier had! **Wendelien**, nogmaals, **Maxime** en **Maarten** en meneertje **Rémi, Stéphanie** en **Leander, Sanne** en **Francis** en kleine **Yuna**, en heel **de bende van Assnee**, merci!

Bertje, bedankt voor het ontwerp van mijn cover. Dankzij jou kreeg dit wetenschappelijke werk een persoonlijke insteek, wat ik van meet af aan enorm belangrijk vond. Jouw vele geduld en creativiteit leverden dit prachtige resultaat op.

Peter zei af en toe tegen mij: "Je kan je werk maar goed doen als het thuis goed gaat". Dat besef ik vandaag pas echt goed denk ik en daarom wil ik nu nog enkele naasten van me bedanken.

Mijn **meter** en **peter**, ook jullie wil ik bedanken voor de oprechte interesse en op die manier mentale steun tijdens mijn doctoraat.

Dan zijn er mijn broers, zussen, schoonbroers, schoonzussen, neven en nichtjes. Het zijn er een hele hoop, maar **Maarten, Ellen, Annelies, Tom, Thomas, Louise, Mieke, Jonas, Elise, Lotte, Max** en mijn twee prachtige, stoere metekindjes **Milo** en **Wout**, bedankt voor de vele feestjes en gezellige momenten tijdens de weekends. Altijd leuk

om te zien hoe ons gezinnetje steeds meer naar elkaar toegroeit en maar blijft uitbreiden. Ik ben echt fier op elk van jullie!

Ook mijn schoonfamilie wil ik bedanken: **Mimi, Valentijn, Sander, Ioana, Simon, Layla** en hun twee kindjes, **Maurice** en **Emiel**. Jullie waren er altijd voor mij, zorgden voor vele gezellige BBQ's, etentjes in Boekhoute, het Molenhuis was met momenten mijn tweede thuis en bovendien zijn jullie fantastische nonkels, tantes en grootouders voor Helena'tje. Ik kon ons meisje steeds met een gerust hart bij jullie achterlaten.

Dan zijn er mijn ouders. **Papa**, jij was er om me kritisch te leren zijn, me met mijn beide voeten op de grond te houden als ik even het gevoel had een wereldverbeteraar te kunnen zijn, maar tegelijk was je fier op mij en steunde je me in mijn onderzoek. De etentjes voor de dansles en telefoontjes tussendoor deden me altijd deugd. Dankzij jou kon ik telkens thuis komen in een huis, dat met jouw vele hulp echt onze thuis geworden is. 'De wijze raad van Frank Vervaeke' heeft me al ver gebracht, dank je! Samen met **Sabine**, die naast goede babbels er telkens voor zorgde dat ik in goede, mentale én fysieke gezondheid bleef de voorbije jaren, Namaste!

Mama, jij was er altijd, echt op elk moment was jij er voor mij. Je was altijd oprecht geïnteresseerd in mijn werk en fier bij elke publicatie of presentatie die ik mocht geven. Ik heb daar zoveel aan gehad! Naast de steun was er de continue zorg voor mij als je dochter en Helena als kleindochter, daar zijn gewoon geen woorden voor!

Dan ben ik er bijna, maar de twee belangrijkste personen in mijn leven spaarde ik tot het einde.

Tijdens mijn doctoraat was er de mooiste zomer ooit, in 2016. In mei werd ons kleine wondertje geboren: **Helena** Van de Velde. De liefde dat die kleine meid in mij naar boven brengt, is onbeschrijflijk! Een zware dag op het werk was ik meteen vergeten als ik haar zag. De korte nachtjes van het eerste jaar werden snel vervangen door haar betoverende glimlach en liefdevolle knuffels, wat telkens een prachtige start en einde van mijn werkdag betekende. Door haar leerde ik alles relativeren en kon ik alles aan. Helena, jij bent en zal altijd mijn houvast blijven.

Maar Helena kwam er natuurlijk enkel door mijn liefde voor **Stijn**, die na tien jaar samen zijn in juni 2016 officieel mijn man werd. Een man die alles voor Helena en mij zou doen, die ervoor zorgde dat ik mijn job kon combineren met mama zijn, die luisterde wanneer ik het even lastig had, die interesse toonde voor waar ik mee bezig was, die veel dingen liet voor ons, die er altijd voor mij was en nog steeds is. Ik ben je dankbaar en ik ben zo fier op jou. Jou gelukkig zien als mijn man, Helena's papa en gedreven journalist is mijn grootste geluk. Je bent mijn liefje, mijn man, mijn alles, voor altijd!

*Soms lijken woorden overbodig, soms zeggen woorden gewoon niet wat je bedoelt,
maar nu schieten woorden me tekort, want het is onmogelijk om te beschrijven wat
jullie allemaal voor mij betekenen!*

1. Preface

This doctoral dissertation is the result of four years of research into the determinants of ethnic prejudice among Flemish students. After a brief introduction, the existing literature and theory on this theme, and the gaps in research on ethnic prejudice are discussed. Trying to fill these gaps, the central research questions of this dissertation are formulated, which will be addressed in the subsequent six chapters. These chapters include mostly accepted or published articles, each presented at international conferences (see below). After formulating the research questions, the data and methods used are detailed, concluding with a discussion of the main findings, including suggestions for further research and policy implications.

1. Vervaet, Roselien, Van Houtte, Mieke and Stevens, Peter A.J. (2017). Veilige Hechting met Ouders, Leerkrachten en School, Sociale Cohesie op School en Etnische Vooroordelen bij Vlaamse Jongeren. *Sociologos (Tijdschrift voor Sociologie)*, 38(1-2): 98–212.

Presented at Onderwijs Research Dagen. 28–30 June 2017, Antwerp.

Presented at Dag Van de Sociologie. 8 June 2017, Brussels.

2. Vervaet, Roselien, Van Houtte, Mieke and Stevens, Peter A.J. Multicultural School Leadership, Multicultural Teacher Culture and The Ethnic Prejudice of Flemish Pupils. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, status: submitted.

Presented at European Sociological Association (ESA). 29 August to 1 September 2017, Athens.

3. Vervaet, Roselien, Van Houtte, Mieke and Stevens, Peter A.J. (2018). The Ethnic Prejudice of Flemish Pupils: The Role of Pupils' and Teachers' Perceptions of Multicultural Teacher Culture. *Teacher College Records*, 120(5): 1–30.

Presented at European Sociological Association (ESA) midterm. 12–14 September 2016, Milan.

4. Vervaet, Roselien, D'hondt, Fanny, Van Houtte, Mieke and Stevens, Peter A.J. (2016). The ethnic prejudice of Flemish teachers: The Role of Ethnic School Composition and of Teachability. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 22(4): 552–562.

Presented at Dag Van de Sociologie. 26 May 2015, Amsterdam.

Presented at European Sociological Association (ESA). 25–28 August 2015, Prague.

5. Vervaet, Roselien, Van Houtte, Mieke and Stevens, Peter A.J. (2018). Multicultural Teaching in Flemish Secondary Schools: The Role of Track, Ethnic School Composition, and Teachers' Ethnic Prejudice. *Education and Urban Society*, 50(3): 274–299.

Presented at Nordic Educational Research Association (NERA). 9–11 March 2016, Helsinki.

6. Van Houtte, Mieke, Vervaet, Roselien, Mickelson, Roslyn and Stevens, Peter A.J. (2018). The Ethnic Prejudice of Flemish Pupils: The Roles of School Gender Composition and Laddish Culture. *Gender and Education*, DOI: 10.1080/09540253.2018.1440283.

Presented by M. Van Houtte at the 11th International Biennial Gender & Education Association Conference. 21–23 June 2017, London.

The above articles are all included in this dissertation. As well as these six articles, I am co-author of two other published articles:

7. Stevens, Peter, Charalambous, Panayiota, Mesaritou, Evgenia, Spyrou, Spyros, Van Praag, Lore, D'hondt, Fanny, Vervaet, Roselien, et al. (2016). Minority Students' Responses to Racism: The Case of Cyprus. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 64(1): 77–95.
8. Van der Bracht, Koen, Vervaet, Roselien, D'hondt, Fanny, Stevens, Peter and Van Houtte, Mieke (2017). School Context and Ethnic Minority Adolescent Religiosity: A Longitudinal Study. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 56(3): 658–666.

2. Introduction

As a result of labor migration, followed by migrant family reunification and chain migration processes, Flanders—the Dutch-speaking region of Belgium—just like the surrounding regions and countries, has developed into a multi-ethnic society (Sierens et al., 2006; Vanduynslager, Wets, Noppe, & Doyen, 2013). The increasing cultural diversity equally applies to the school context, resulting in notably ethnically diverse schools, particularly in urban areas (Brief et al., 2005; Desmedt & Nicaise, 2006). As a response to this growing ethnic diversity and the disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities, research focusing on ethnic prejudice is needed. Such research tends to focus on ethnic minority pupils and the undesirable consequences of prejudice with regard to their motivation, mental health, and self-esteem (e.g., Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), neglecting the determinants of ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority pupils. The few studies focusing on the variability of ethnic prejudice among majority pupils tend to restrict their attention to individual-level characteristics, such as age, gender, socioeconomic status (SES), and level of education (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). Moreover, ethnic prejudice is often studied by (social) psychologists, focusing on cognitive (intergroup) processes and personality types. Only a few studies focus on the influence of social context characteristics; and the influence of school factors and the importance of underlying mechanisms related to majority pupils' ethnic prejudice are often neglected. However, these types of variables are important, in that school staff or

policymakers have considerable control over the school's processes and can change them more readily than they can change pupils' characteristics (Marcoulides, Heck, & Papanastasiou, 2005). Moreover, teachers and schools play a substantial role in the socialization of children, since children and youngsters spend much of their time at school (Smelser & Halpern, 1978). Within the school context, pupils not only study, but also learn to function in our (multicultural) society, by acquiring competences to cope with the existing diversity and to develop a less prejudiced and more respectful attitude toward ethnic minorities (Luciak, 2006). The main objective of this study is to obtain an understanding of the school factors that affect majority pupils' ethnic prejudice. In doing so, this study leans on the tradition of school effects research, a line of investigation within School Effectiveness Research (SER) that examines the effects of different school characteristics on pupils' outcomes. In line with SER, the context-input-process-output (CIPO) model is used. Attention is paid to input features, such as the ethnic and gender composition of schools, and process characteristics, such as student and teacher cultures, and it is examined how these features are related to the output, in this case ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority pupils. Taking into consideration the lack of research into the importance of school features and processes for students' ethnic prejudice, the current dissertation aims for a large-scale, quantitative study, examining the determinants of Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice, with specific attention paid to the moderating and mediating processes within the school context.

3. Background

3.1. Ethnicity, ethnic minorities, and ethnic prejudice

The need for research into ethnic prejudice as a reaction to growing ethnic diversity is associated with a range of definitions of the concepts “ethnicity,” “ethnic minorities,” and “ethnic prejudice.” The meaning of the concept “ethnicity” is the subject of considerable debate in academic literature, and its interpretation has changed over time. Primordialists, for example Herder (1968), see ethnicity as something given, fixed, and permanent, since it is ascribed at birth. For Herder, the world is made up of groups of people, each distinguished by a unique culture, held together by communitarian solidarity and bound by a shared identity. However, this idea has been questioned and the constructivist view on ethnicity, rooted in Weber’s definition of ethnicity (1985), focuses more on the subjective part of ethnicity (Isajiw, 1993; Wimmer, 2013). Weber (1985, p. 237) describes ethnicity as a social construct or “a subjectively felt belonging to a group that is distinguished by a shared culture and common ancestry.” Ethnicity became no longer synonymous with objectively defined cultures, but instead referred to the subjective ways that actors established group boundaries, by pointing to specific markers that distinguished them from ethnic “others” (Wimmer, 2009). According to Wimmer (2013), ethnic majorities use markers of differentiation, such as race, language, culture, religion, or nationality—depending on the specific context and situation—to distinguish ethnic majorities and minorities.

The meaning of the term “race” pertains to superficial physical characteristics, and the term racism is based on a hierarchy of physical differences and denies all human beings the possibility of sharing the same humanity (Carignan, Sanders, & Pourdavood, 2005).

In line with social science organizations, including the American Sociological Association, the biological explanations of race are rejected in this dissertation. Research on DNA confirms the irrelevance of using the term race (Carignan, Sanders, & Pourdavood, 2005); national or cultural groups do not necessarily coincide with racial groups, and the cultural traits of such groups have no demonstrated genetic connection with racial traits (Unesco, 1950). Moreover, ethnicity theory states that race is a social category and is just one of several factors in determining ethnicity, since ethnicity refers to the shared language, history, homeland, religion, and traditions of a group. The subjective and multidimensional nature of ethnicity is recognized, but as is common practice—and in line with the official Flemish definition of non-native groups—ethnicity in this dissertation corresponds primarily with the country of birth of the respondents. Pupils are considered as “ethnic minorities” if their maternal grandmother, mother, or the pupils themselves had a birthplace other than Western European (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003).

Sociologist Louis Wirth (1945) defined a minority group as “a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment.” According to Wagley and Harris (1958), a minority group is distinguished by five characteristics: (1) unequal treatment and less power over their lives, (2) distinguishing physical or

cultural traits such as skin color or language, (3) involuntary membership of the group, (4) awareness of subordination, and (5) a high rate of ingroup marriage. Feagin (1984) formulated similar characteristics: (1) suffering discrimination and subordination, (2) physical and/or cultural traits that set them apart, (3) a shared sense of collective identity and common burdens, (4) socially shared rules about who belongs and who does not, determine minority status, and (5) a tendency to marry within the group. According to Ogbu and Simons (1998), who based their definition of minorities on power relations, a population is a minority if it occupies some form of subordinate power position in relation to another population within the same country or society. This subordinate position can be expressed by ethnic prejudices from the ethnic majorities toward minorities, the major focus of this dissertation.

Ethnic prejudice and ethnocentrism are often treated as similar concepts, because they both refer to certain ideas and attitudes regarding ethnic outgroups or non-natives (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). The term “ethnocentrism” was first used by the American sociologist Sumner (1906), who defined it as: “The view of things in which one’s own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled with reference to it. Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities and looks with contempt on outsiders.” According to Sumner (1906), ethnocentrism is a concept with a dual structure, referring to an exaggerated negative attitude to the outgroup, coupled with an overly positive attitude to the ingroup. In line with the dominant trend in research into attitudes to ethnic minorities, the term “ethnic prejudice” is used, referring only to a negative attitude to ethnic outgroups (De Witte,

1999; Quillian, 1995), because according to Allport (1954), no strong relationship has been observed between a positive attitude to the ingroup and a negative attitude to the outgroup. Allport (1954) makes a distinction between the cognitive— that is, a stereotype—and the affective component, called “antipathy,” of ethnic prejudice. To put it in Allport’s (1954) words: “A person’s prejudice is unlikely to be merely a specific attitude toward a specific group; it is more likely to be a reflection of his whole habit of thinking about the world” (p. 175). Prejudices may result in discrimination, the behavioral component of prejudice (Allport, 1954). If nobody does anything to combat antipathy, this automatically leads to prejudice. If no one takes a clear stand against prejudice, discrimination is the result (Reedijk, 2000).

Previous research confirms the harmful consequences of negative outgroup attitudes for ethnic minorities (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Because a positive attitude to the ingroup is not automatically related to a negative attitude to the outgroup (Allport, 1954), and the negative component of ethnocentrism is thought to be the most problematic component (Aboud, 1988; Billiet & De Witte, 1995; Elchardus & Siongers, 2009), “ethnic prejudice” in this dissertation refers only to a negative attitude to ethnic outgroups (De Witte, 1999; Quillian, 1995).

3.2. Consequences and determinants of ethnic prejudice

3.2.1. Consequences

Many studies show the negative consequences of ethnic prejudice for ethnic minorities (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). The experience of ethnic prejudice is related to worse health, more psychological distress (Karlson & Nazroo, 2002), depression, and lower psychological well-being among ethnic minorities (Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006). Several theories can explain why ethnic minorities who experience ethnic prejudice may report lower levels of well-being. First, according to the sociological study of stress, the experience of ethnic prejudice can be seen as a (chronic) stressor for ethnic minorities—an experiential circumstance that gives rise to stress—and may be related to reduced well-being (Pearlin, 1989). Second, when minorities are aware of negative stereotypes or prejudices about their social group, stereotype threat may occur. This can stimulate adolescents to embrace these attitudes as integral components of their ethnic identity, related to lower socio-emotional functioning (Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Within the school context, minority pupils are even more vulnerable to lower levels of well-being. Steptoe (1991) suggests that stressful experiences may decrease pupils' levels of achievement because they have to spend energy on managing their stress (Samdal, Wold, & Bronis, 1999), which may result in reduced well-being (Ayyash-Abdo & Sánchez-Ruiz, 2012). This theory can be applied to ethnic minorities, since belonging to an ethnic minority group may be a stressful experience

and therefore, ethnic minorities' level of achievement may suffer due to stress. This ethnicity-related stress can be the consequence of processes related to their minority position, such as their experience of discrimination, ethnic prejudice, or asymmetric acculturation within ethnic minority families (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2002; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). Moreover, according to the person environment fit theory (Van Petegem et al., 2006), an academic school environment is in conflict with the developmental needs of adolescents. Pupils need a safe and supportive school environment, but because ethnic minorities may experience more stress and ethnic prejudice, this is especially the case for them.

In view of the negative consequences of (experiencing) ethnic prejudice on various outcomes, it is important to conduct research into the nature and determinants of ethnic prejudice among ethnic majorities.

3.2.2. Determinants

3.2.2.1. Individual level

Ethnic prejudice is often seen as an individual trait and is mostly studied by psychologists, focusing on cognitive structures and personality types. According to cognitive theories, stereotypes are unavoidable because they help people to categorize and to make sense of a complex and diverse society. These theories see categorization and stereotyping as normal and functional cognitive processes, which unavoidably lead to prejudice (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007; Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996; Smith & Branscombe, 1988; Van Hiel, 2016). This is in line with the

Cognitive-Developmental Theory (Piaget & Weil, 1951), which assumes that children exaggerate differences between groups and lack the ability to view people (always) as individuals, resulting in prejudice (Levy, Rosenthal, & Herrera-Alcazar, 2010). The Evolutionary Theory also assumes that prejudice is nearly inevitable, because children's thinking is organized according to inherent theories about humans, and ethnicity and related ethnic categories are important features used by people to organize their view of (different groups of) humans (Levy, Rosenthal, & Herrera-Alcazar, 2010). Based on these theories, it can be expected that young children are more ethnically prejudiced. However, young people seem to be less ethnically prejudiced than older people (Cambré, De Witte, & Billiet, 2001; De Witte, 1999; Duriez & Hutsebaut, 2000; Stevens et al., 2014). Moreover, the idea that stereotyping is a normal and functional cognitive process that unavoidably leads to prejudice (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007; Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996; Smith & Branscombe, 1988; Van Hiel, 2016) is difficult to believe, because research shows that there are individual differences in ethnic prejudice. For example, girls appear to be less prejudiced than boys (Dejaeghere, Hooghe, & Claes, 2012; Elchardus & Siongers, 2003; Stevens et al., 2014), having a lower SES is associated with more ethnic prejudice (Cambré, De Witte, & Billiet, 2001; De Witte, 1999; Stevens et al., 2014), and a higher educational level seems to be related to less ethnic prejudice (Cambré, De Witte, & Billiet, 2001; Dejaeghere, Hooghe, & Claes, 2012; Duriez & Hutsebaut, 2000; Elchardus & Siongers, 2003; Zick, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008). In trying to explain these individual differences, personality theories link personality traits to prejudice. The most famous

personality theory is the Authoritarian Personality Theory (Adorno et al., 1950). According to this theory, an authoritarian personality is characterized by excessive conformity, submission to authority, and the tendency to think in rigid categories. Authoritarians view outgroups as threatening and inferior, resulting in ethnic prejudice (De Witte, 1999; Elchardus & Siongers, 2003; Fiske, 2000; Van Hiel, 2016). Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), that is, “the extent to which one desires that one's ingroup dominates and is superior to outgroups” (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), is another personality trait that may be related to ethnic prejudice. People high with SDO tend to hold negative attitudes toward a variety of groups that pursue social equality (Whitley Jr., 1999), such as ethnic minorities. When people score high on SDO and have an authoritarian personality, their outgroup attitudes are more negative than people scoring high on only one of these personality types (Meeus et al., 2009). These theories may partly explain why men are more ethnically prejudiced, since men seem to be more authoritarian (Fiske, 2000) and score higher on the social dominance orientation scale (Levy, Rosenthal, & Herrera-Alcazar, 2010). Education level also seems to be related to the above personality types: higher-educated people seem to be less authoritarian and less ethnically prejudiced (De Witte, 1999; Scheepers, Felling, & Peters, 1992).

3.2.2.2. Intergroup level

In addition to the cognitive process of categorization and the personality traits related to ethnic prejudice mostly studied by psychologists, social psychologists argue that

people not only classify others into social categories, but also use these categories to evaluate other people. This assumption forms the basis for many (social psychological) intergroup theories, focusing on psychological processes between groups. One of the most well-known of these is the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This states that it is important for people to feel good about the groups to which they belong, and a means to achieve this positive feeling is to believe that your own groups are better than others (Fiske, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Zick, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008), which may result in ethnic prejudice. However, it should be noted that as already stated, according to Allport (1954), a positive attitude to the ingroup is not automatically related to a negative attitude to the outgroup. The Self-Categorization Theory (Turner et al., 1994) builds further on the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social categorization of oneself and others into ingroup and outgroup members emphasizes the perceived similarity of the target to the relevant ingroup or outgroup. As a consequence, people are no longer seen as unique individuals, but instead as embodiments of the relevant group. On the one hand, this process of depersonalization produces positive ingroup attitudes. On the other hand, stereotyping, ethnocentrism and prejudices towards outgroups are developed (Turner et al., 1994). A final intergroup theory that needs to be mentioned regarding ethnic prejudice is the Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (Brewer, 1991). This theory asserts that individuals desire to attain an optimal balance of inclusion—that is, identifying with a particular group—and distinctiveness—that is, distinguishing that particular group from others—(Brewer, 1991). To fulfill these two contrasting needs, one group is perceived

as more positive and distinctive relative to other groups (Hornsey & Hogg, 1999; Leonardelli, Pickett, & Brewer, 2010), which may result in intergroup bias or ethnic prejudice.

3.2.2.3. Social interaction

The above (social) psychological theories only focus on individual-level or intergroup-level features. In addition to these, sociological theories explore some social interactional processes, such as threat, conflict, and contact between the ethnic majority and minority groups, as determinants of ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority groups. The Integrated Threat Theory formulates four types of threats: realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotypes, and intergroup anxiety; all leading to unfavorable attitudes from ethnic majorities toward ethnic minorities (Ward & Masgoret, 2006). Realistic threats refer to threats as a result of scarce resources, such as employment opportunities. Symbolic threats concern differences in norms, beliefs, and values, threatening the worldview of the majority group. Stereotypes serve as a basis for expectations about outgroups and often lead to ethnic prejudice (Ward & Masgoret, 2006). Moreover, research shows that perceptions of group threat, stemming from either actual or perceived competition for material or symbolic resources, are at least sufficient to produce ethnic prejudice (Blumer, 1958; Brief et al., 2005; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998). In line with this theory, the Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Campbell, 1965) suggests that competition for access to limited resources leads to conflict between groups, causing prejudice (Sherif et al., 1961;

Zarate, Garcia, Garza, & Hitlan, 2004). Another theory related to perceived threats is the Scapegoat Theory, referring to the tendency to abandon groups and blame them for one's own problems, often resulting in frustration and prejudice toward the blamed group (Rothbart & John, 1993). Lastly, the feeling of threat among people belonging to the majority group may result in a feeling of anomie, that is “the phenomena variously referred to as social dysfunction or disorganization, group alienation and demoralization” (Srole, 1956). This feeling may contribute to the rejection of minority groups (Elchardus & Siongers, 2003; Roberts & Rokeach, 1956; Scheepers, Felling, & Peters, 1992; Scheepers & Hagendoorn, 1991; Srole, 1956).

In contrast to the previously mentioned theories, which argue that intergroup contact might be related to conflict and feelings of threat, the presence of ethnic minorities may also be related to reduced ethnic prejudice among ethnic majorities. Zajonc's Mere Exposure Hypothesis (1968) suggests that repeated exposure to ethnic minorities results in familiarity and more positive attitudes toward ethnic minorities. The mere presence of outgroup members (Zebrowitz, White, & Wieneke, 2008), or simply a higher concentration of ethnic minorities (Kalin, 1996), seems to be associated with lower ethnic prejudice. However, Allport's Intergroup Contact Theory (1954) argues that just exposure is not enough, since more intergroup contact leads to reduced ethnic prejudice (Allport, 1954) only, (a) when different groups expect and perceive equal status in the situation, (b) if they pursue common goals, (c) if cooperation exists, and (d) if there is support from authoritative figures. Researchers have added

friendship as a fifth condition for optimal intergroup contact associated with reduced ethnic prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998).

3.2.2.4. Social context

Despite the many studies on the association between intergroup contact and ethnic prejudice, only a few examine the influence of characteristics of the environment on the degree of ethnic prejudice among ethnic majorities. As Reynolds and colleagues (2001) put it: “The character of the individual person is often used to explain prejudice independent of immediate social contextual factors.” However, it may be relevant to include the social context when examining ethnic prejudice (Bar-Tal, 1997). Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Systems Theory (1979) looks at a child’s development within the context of the system of relationships that form his or her environment, each having an effect on the child’s development. The interaction between factors in the child’s maturing biology, his or her immediate family and community environment, and the societal landscape fuels and steers his or her development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The few studies that take into account some context characteristics, focus mostly on the level of unemployment in a country or area, the community size, the degree of openness and tolerance in a society, secularization (Cambré, De Witte, & Billiet, 2001), and the ethnic composition of a community (Hooghe & De Vroome, 2015). A lower level of unemployment (Quillian, 1995; Zick, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008), larger areas (Fossett & Kiecolt, 1989), more tolerance and openness (Bar-Tal,

1997), and secularization (Cambré, De Witte, & Billiet, 2001) in a society may all be related to less ethnic prejudice.

The findings about the ethnic composition of a community are inconsistent. Some studies suggest a positive association between the number of ethnic minority members and ethnic prejudice (Zick, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008), whereas other research finds no relationship between the objective ethnic composition of a community and ethnic prejudice (Hooghe & De Vroome, 2015). However, respondents who perceive more minorities to be present in their communities are more hostile, even after controlling for reported contact with members of immigrant groups (Hooghe & De Vroome, 2015). Based on Zajonc's Mere Exposure Hypothesis (1968) and Allport's Intergroup Contact Theory (1954), ethnic composition may be related to less ethnic prejudice, as a higher proportion of ethnic minorities may be associated with reduced negative outgroup attitudes among ethnic majorities.

Because school is a structure with which children have direct contact (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the school context may influence pupils' attitude more than country or community features. Therefore, to gain more insight into the underlying processes related to majority pupils' ethnic prejudice, it may be relevant to examine contexts where ethnic prejudice occurs more closely, such as the school.

3.2.2.5. School context

To date, research has been notably scarce about the influence of the school context, or more specifically, features of schools, teachers, and the importance of underlying

processes in schools on ethnic prejudice. Nevertheless, there are two arguments as to why it is relevant to examine ethnic prejudice in the school context: (1) ethnic prejudice exists in schools, (2) the school might influence pupils' ethnic prejudice.

The first argument for why it is relevant to examine ethnic prejudice in the school context, is that there are many reasons to assume ethnic prejudice is present in schools. Ethnic prejudice may occur on different levels within the school context: (1) in the curriculum, (2) among teachers, (3) among peers, and (4) institutional. With regard to the curriculum, research suggests that in Western schoolbooks, the representation of ethnic minorities is often stereotyped and prejudiced, as they are often represented as inferior (Carignan, Sanders, & Pourdavood, 2005). Second, there is a range of research showing that teachers have less-positive expectations of ethnic minority pupils than of majority students (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Chang & Sue, 2003; Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007), and these lower expectations seem to be based on ethnicity (McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Rubie-Davies, Hattie, & Hamilton, 2006; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). This is a worrying finding, since research also shows that teachers' expectations of pupils' academic achievements can in turn affect the academic performance of students (Becker, 1952; Hemmereichs, Agirdag, & Kavadias, 2017; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968); that is, these expectations can become a self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1968). As a result, ethnic minorities' achievements are lower, partly because of teachers' lower expectations. Third, ethnic prejudice may also exist among peers (Hello, Scheepers, & Gijsberts, 2002). Given the various ways in which ethnic prejudice can manifest itself, it is seen

as an essential part of a more general form of prejudice also anchored in “institutional racism” (Gillborn, 2006). The Stephen Lawrence inquiry in the UK defined institutional racism as: “The collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their color, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behavior which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people” (Macpherson, 1999). The fact that ethnic diversity has been placed on the margins of educational policy, that the words racism and prejudice do not appear in educational policies, the existence of high-stakes tests, the practice of grouping (or in the context of Belgium: tracking) by ability in which pupils are separated into hierarchal teaching groups, and the tendency of placing minority pupils disproportionately in lowly-ranked groups, are all examples of practices that confirm the existence of deeply rooted institutionalization of ethnic prejudice within important social facilities, such as schools, despite their known detrimental effects on ethnic minorities (Gillborn, 2005).

The second argument for why it is relevant to examine ethnic prejudice in the school context, is that the school is an important agent of socialization and source of attachment, and that adolescents spend a considerable amount of their time in school (Nieto, 1994; Sellström & Bremberg, 2006). According to the reference group theory (Merton & Lazarsfeld, 1950), there are various actors within the school context, such as school leaders, teachers, and students, who can serve as a reference group for pupils and thus may influence their (prejudiced) attitudes (see section 2.4.3.1.). When a

society becomes more diverse, teachers and schools play an even greater role in the socialization of children (Giroux & Penna, 1979; Parsons, 1959; Smelser & Halpern, 1978), because the school is often the only place where ethnic majority pupils learn to deal with diversity and can develop respect for ethnic minorities (Luciak, 2006).

Because ethnic prejudice seems to be present within the school context, and school features and actors may be important regarding ethnic prejudice, the aim in this dissertation is to examine school effects related to majority pupils' ethnic prejudice. Accordingly, the CIPO model from School Effectiveness Research is applied, which examines pupils' outcomes taking into account contextual features, input variables, and underlying processes mediating or moderating the association between the input and output variables.

3.3. School Effectiveness Research

School Effectiveness Research (SER) has flourished since the 1980s, with the studies by Coleman and colleagues (1966) as the starting point. SER aims to challenge the conclusions of Coleman et al. (1966) and Jencks et al. (1972) that schools make no difference. As a response to these studies, SER seeks to investigate a wide range of factors such as teaching methods, the organization of schools, the curriculum, the role of leadership, and the effects of educational "learning environments"; factors within schools that might affect the learning outcomes of students (Reynolds et al., 2014; Sellström & Bremberg, 2006; Lipsitz & West, 2006).

Three major sub-disciplines of SER can be distinguished. First, School Effects Research, which tries to examine the effects of different school characteristics on pupils' outcomes (Robinson, 2007; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2010a). Second, Effective School Research, which attempts to examine the processes that lead to effective schooling, or to provide insight into the characteristics of schools that are associated with school effectiveness (Edmonds, 1979; Levine & Lezotte, 1990). This type of research suggests that effective schools share similar characteristics, such as strong leadership, high expectations of pupils, a safe and orderly climate, and good teacher-pupil communication (Lipsitz & West, 2006). The ultimate goal of effectiveness research is to find ways to improve education. Knowledge about effective schools is often regarded as a potential foundation for school improvement interventions and programs (Luyten, Visscher, & Witziers, 2005), the main focus of the third sub-discipline of SER: School Improvement Research (van Velzen, 1985).

Four stages of SER can be distinguished. (1) During the first stage, from the mid-1960s up to the early 1970s, SER studies focused on the input-output model, trying to examine the association between school resources, students' background characteristics, and students' achievement. The studies of Coleman and colleagues (1966) and Jencks and colleagues (1972) suggested that schools make no difference and that students' background characteristics, such as family socioeconomic status, are more strongly associated with achievement. These studies have been criticized because they do not pay attention to process variables, such as teacher characteristics, leadership, expectations, and atmosphere. (2) During the second stage, from the early

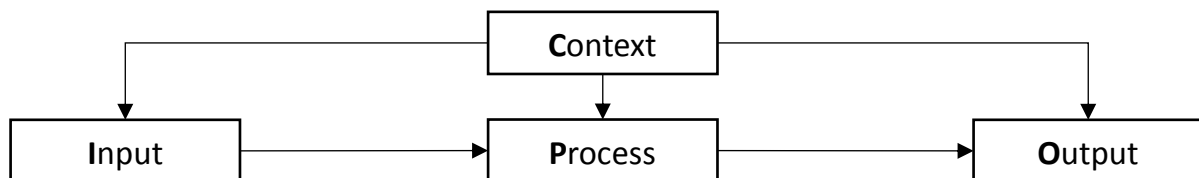
to the late 1970s, the above process variables became the main topics in SER studies. Moreover, studies focused not only on students' achievement, but began to include attitudinal and behavioral indicators as output. Methodological improvements were also realized; direct observations were used to measure teachers' behavior and attitudes, and social psychological scales were developed to measure school processes in a more valid and reliable way. (3) During this third stage, from the late 1970s through to the mid-1980s, researchers set out not just to describe, but also to create effective schools (van Velzen, 1985). Shared characteristics of effective schools, such as a safe and orderly school learning environment, strong instructional principal leadership, and high expectations of achievement by all students, were the starting point for the school improvement studies emerging during this period. An important shortcoming is that these studies ignored school context factors, such as socioeconomic school composition. (4) During the fourth phase, from the late 1980s to the present day, the first school composition studies emerged (Opdenakker & Damme, 2001; Palardy, 2008). Moreover, multilevel statistical models were developed and more attention was paid to teaching effectiveness. Most of the research on effective schools focuses on academic outcomes, mostly pupils' achievement (Anderman, 2002; Creemers, 2002; Luyten, Visscher, & Witziers, 2005). However, researchers increasingly started to examine the association between school characteristics and other outcomes, such as mental health (Anderman, 2002), smoking, drinking, illicit drug use (Sellström & Bremberg, 2006; Lipsitz & West, 2006), well-being (Sellström & Bremberg, 2006), achievement motivation (Reynolds et al., 2014), social cognitions and feelings (Sylva,

1994), and political orientations (Elchardus, Kavadias, & Siongers, 1998). Nevertheless, SER studies focusing on other non-academic outcomes, such as pupils' ethnic prejudice, remain scarce.

3.4. Context-Input-Process-Output model

In line with the SER tradition, the Context-Input-Process-Output (CIPO) model (Scheerens, 1990) (see Figure 1) is used to organize the literature and the overall conceptual model concerning pupils' ethnic prejudice (see Figure 2). According to this model, education can be seen as a production process, whereby input by means of a process results in output. Input, process, and output are all influenced by context.

Figure 1. The Context-Input-Process-Output (CIPO) model



3.4.1. Context

The context concerns environmental factors and developments—such as technological, demographic, and economic developments—and national policies (Scheerens, 1990). As mentioned above, a lower level of unemployment (Quillian, 1995; Zick, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008; Bar-Tal, 1997), larger areas (Fossett & Kiecolt, 1989), more tolerance

and openness (Bar-Tal, 1997), and secularization (Cambré, De Witte, & Billiet, 2001) in a society may all be related to less outgroup threat, ethnocentrism, or ethnic prejudice. Moreover, the power of certain political parties and all forms of (social) media may influence ethnocentrism and prejudice among ethnic majorities (Bar-Tal, 1997; Cambré, De Witte, & Billiet, 2001; Phalet, Baysu, & Van Acker, 2015). For example, ethnocentric attitudes are often shaped by negative mass media messages concerning minority groups, and commercial television stations may be related to a less civic-minded value pattern (Hooghe & De Vroome, 2015).

3.4.2. Input variables

In the traditional SER-models, input variables include the financial resources, the material infrastructure, the knowledge level of students, and teachers' qualifications, but also student and school characteristics (Scheerens, 1990).

One input variable common in the few school studies focusing on the determinants of ethnic prejudice is the ethnic composition of the school. However, contrasting findings exist with regard to the relationship between a school's ethnic school composition and the majority pupils' degree of ethnic prejudice. Ethnic school composition may be related to less ethnic prejudice, as a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils may be associated with reduced negative outgroup attitudes among ethnic majority pupils. This can be explained by Zajonc's Mere Exposure Hypothesis (1968) and Allport's Intergroup Contact Theory (1954). However, based on the Integrated Threat Theory (Blumer, 1958) and the Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Campbell, 1965), a higher

proportion of ethnic minorities in school could also be related to higher levels of ethnic prejudice among majority pupils (Stevens & Görgöz, 2010; Van Praag, Boone, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2015). Other studies have found no effect of a school's ethnic composition, suggesting the quality of intergroup contact may be more important than only the presence of ethnic minorities (Dejaeghere, Hooghe, & Claes, 2012). Furthermore, ethnic minorities and majorities will have a greater likelihood of interacting when the proportion of ethnic minorities increases (Blau, 1994). Therefore, the ethnic composition of the school will determine the opportunities to establish interethnic contact (Fritzsche, 2006; Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014) and interethnic friendships (Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014). Previous research often confirms the negative relationship between intergroup friendship and ethnic prejudice: pupils with non-native friends are likely to be less ethnically prejudiced (Pettigrew, 2008; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008; Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2012). The above theories can be applied to other levels within the school context, such as the ethnic composition of the classroom (Dejaeghere, Hooghe, & Claes, 2012; Stevens & Görgöz, 2010). Moreover, certain types of education may be related to different degrees of ethnic prejudice among majority pupils. Based on the Mere Exposure Hypothesis (Zajonc, 1968) and the Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport, 1954), pupils in vocational education may be less prejudiced, because of the overrepresentation of ethnic minorities in this type of education (Ainsworth & Roscigno, 2005; Boone & Van Houtte, 2013). Alternatively, based on the Integrated Threat Theory (Blumer, 1958) and the Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Campbell,

1965), pupils in vocational education may be more ethnically prejudiced because lower-educated people feel more threatened by ethnic minorities regarding scarce resources, such as jobs (Scheepers, Gijberts, & Coenders, 2002; Semyonov, Raijman, & Gorodzeisky, 2006).

A notable finding is that the majority of school-effects studies on ethnic prejudice only include ethnic school composition as an input variable. This seems logical, as ethnic prejudice may be more closely linked to the ethnic school composition than to other compositional features. In addition, there are contradictory but scientifically accepted theories that can substantiate this association, such as the Mere Exposure Hypothesis (Zajonc, 1968) and the Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) in contrast to the Integrated Threat Theory (Blumer, 1958) and the Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Campbell, 1965). However, other school composition features may also be related to ethnic prejudice, such as the gender composition of a school. Prior research on gender composition's impact on pupils has focused on its relationship to pupils' socio-emotional well-being, achievement attitudes and related behaviors, or to pupil misbehavior (Datnow & Hubbard 2002; Demanet et al., 2013; Van Houtte, 2004b; Younger & Warrington, 2006). However, a school's gender composition is also likely to contribute to pupils' ethnic prejudice, because females have been shown to be less likely to express ethnic prejudice than males (Dejaeghere, Hooghe, & Claes, 2012; Elchardus, & Siongers, 2003; Stevens et al., 2014). Harris (1995) proposes that the attitudes and behavior exhibited by the majority of the peer group spread to the rest of the group. Therefore, when the number of girls in school increases, they gain

ascendancy and it is plausible that their attitudes, such as ethnic prejudice, will become dominant at school and may influence those of boys as well (cf. Wilson, 1959 with respect to socioeconomic status).

3.4.3. Process variables

The above findings highlight the importance of including composition features as input variables when examining the determinants of ethnic prejudice among majority pupils. However, a shortcoming of many SER studies is the narrow focus on the direct association between school characteristics and pupils' outcomes, neglecting the role of underlying processes (Reynolds et al., 2014). In the traditional SER models, process variables include school climate, social and emotional support, leadership, and didactical and pedagogical approaches (Scheerens, 1990), which could all be related to majority pupils' ethnic prejudice.

3.4.3.1. School climate and ethnic prejudice

The processes that take place in a school are often grouped together under the term "school climate" or "school culture." The distinction between school climate and school culture was made clear by Van Houtte (2005). School climate is a concept developed in the 1970s and is still used in SER studies, referring to the social system and cultural dimensions of school processes. It is a multidimensional concept and Tagiuri (1968) distinguished four dimensions: (1) the ecology or the physical and material aspects of schools, (2) the milieu or the social aspects and characteristics of individuals and groups in school, (3) the social system or the relations between

individuals and groups in school, and (4) the culture of a school, or belief systems, values, meanings, and cognitive structures (Hoy, 1990; Van Houtte, 2005). Nevertheless, climate is often measured by focusing on only one dimension and by individual perceptions (Van Houtte, 2005). Because more conceptual clarity may advance SER, the more specific term “social system” or “social relations” is used when the relations in a school are measured, and “culture” when the culture in a school is measured (Van Houtte, 2005; Van Houtte & Van Maele, 2011), instead of the broad term climate.

The positive experience of the social relations in school appears to be important with regard to pupils’ educational achievement (Brookover et al., 1979; Rutter et al., 1979), but also with regard to non-educational outcomes, such as pro-social motivation, self-esteem, altruistic behavior, lower rates of drug use and aggression (Bradshaw et al., 2014; Cohen et al., 2009; Thapa et al., 2012), and reduced ethnic prejudice (Elchardus & Siongers, 2003). Moreover, positive interpersonal and caring relations between school leaders, pupils, and teachers in school foster greater connectedness and attachment to school (Cohen et al., 2009). Bowlby's Attachment Theory (1969) shows the importance of secure attachment with parents, teachers, and peers for children’s thinking, feeling, and acting (Barber & Olsen, 2004; Bowlby, 1969; Battistich et al., 1997). Securely attached children feel less threatened by immigrants, they focus less on differences between groups, they can deal better with stressful situations (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Mikulincer & Florian, 1998), and they may be less ethnically prejudiced (Dalal, 2006). In sum, the positive experience of social relations

in school, characterized by the feeling of secure attachment to school and teachers, may be related to lower levels of ethnic prejudice among majority pupils.

The term “school culture” was introduced much more recently and derives from organizational research (Van Houtte, 2005). According to Tagiuri’s subdivision (1968), school cultures can be seen as part of the school climate, and refer to shared assumptions, beliefs, and values in school (Van Houtte, 2005). The differentiation perspective (Meyerson & Martin, 1987) on school cultures states that different subcultures may coexist within one school. Different subcultures may arise, because different groups, such as principals, teachers, and pupils, may each develop their own culture, which can be opposing. To take into account these different cultures, the beliefs of each group need to be distinguished when aggregating. This makes it possible to distinguish between pupil culture and teacher culture (Van Houtte, 2005).

Pupil culture refers to the shared views of pupils. Pupils may share convictions about study involvement, learning motivation (Van Houtte, 2006), pupils’ popularity and being “cool” (Van Houtte, 2004c). Pupils might also share beliefs regarding other people—for instance those with a different ethnic background—which may be prejudiced (Hello, Scheepers, & Gijsberts, 2002), creating ethnically prejudiced pupil cultures. These pupil cultures may influence pupils’ ethnic prejudice through the process of socialization, as individuals acquire the values and norms of a group in order to be able to function in that group (Stockard & Mayberry, 1992). Pupils will take up these norms and values, when this group is a (normative) reference group; that is, a person, collectivity, or group that explicitly guides the individual by setting norms and

values. An individual attaches importance to being accepted by the members of the (normative) reference group (Kemper, 1968; Shibutani, 1955; Van Houtte, 2004b) and this group expects the actor to comply with its norms and values. A group is most likely to be used as a reference point when individuals belong to it, and when they see some similarity in status attributes between themselves and other members (Kemper, 1968; Shibutani, 1955). Therefore, in the first place, pupils may use other pupils as a normative reference group, which may influence their individual attitude (Van Houtte, 2004c).

As well as pupils, the school staff, including school principals and teachers, may also be a (normative) reference group for pupils, and thus influence their attitudes, because individuals do not need to be a member of the reference group to be influenced by it (Merton & Kitt, 1950).

3.4.3.2. School leaders

For individual pupils, school leaders may be a significant other, socializing them and thus influencing their (prejudiced) attitude. School leaders may be able to tackle ethnic prejudice in their schools (Ryan, 2003) and they have a professional responsibility to reduce biases and prejudices among ethnic majority students (Asfaw, 2008). In reaction to the increasing ethnic diversity in schools, school leaders are responsible for including multicultural issues in school (Billot, Goddard, & Cranston, 2007; Johnson, 2007; Nuri-Robins et al., 2007), for example in their school policy. In literature, three different policy approaches focused on coping with diversity can be distinguished:

(1) assimilation, (2) color-blindness, and (3) multiculturalism. The assimilation approach expects minorities to adapt to and adopt the dominant culture (Pulinx, Van Avermaet, & Agirdag, 2015). Color-blindness assumes that ethnic categories do not matter and should be dismantled and ignored. According to this approach, everyone should be treated as an individual (Fergus, 2017). The third approach, multiculturalism, suggests that group differences should not only be acknowledged and considered, but also celebrated (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). Despite the fact that multiculturalism can strengthen stereotypes and prejudices by focusing on differences between ethnicities or cultures, it can also be accompanied by a more positive attitude toward ethnic minorities (Berry & Kalin, 1995).

The view that school leaders, through their policies, have a direct effect on students' outcomes has largely been abandoned and replaced by a focus on the indirect relationships (Khalifa et al., 2016; Nettles & Herrington, 2007), since researchers have found that school leaders can influence students' outcomes through their impact on teachers' instruction (Khalifa et al., 2016; Leithwood & Riehl, 2005; Robinson et al., 2008). The views of school leaders can be translated into curriculum arrangements and classroom pedagogy (Little, Leung, & Van Avermaet, 2013). Moreover, teachers' classroom practices may be formed by school policies, formulated by school leaders.

3.4.3.3. School teachers

In addition to pupils and school leaders, teachers can also influence pupils' prejudiced attitude, since they might function as a reference group, socializing pupils by setting

norms and values. Because teachers in the same school develop shared work-related values and ideas about education and school (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Hargreaves, 1992), teacher cultures develop (Van Houtte, 2005). Many (preservice) teachers seem to be prejudiced (Picower, 2009; Rubie-Davies et al., 2006) and perceive minority students less positively than their native peers (Hemmerechts, Agirdag, & Kavadias, 2017; McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). These prejudiced values and norms among teachers can be transferred to their pupils, because teachers' beliefs and perceptions of minority students influence their pedagogical practices in the classroom (Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999).

Teachers in multicultural societies are increasingly expected to adapt their curriculum and pedagogical practices, for example by practicing more multicultural teaching. Multicultural teaching (MCT) is conceptualized in various ways in educational research literature (Banks, 1989, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Nieto, 1992). Although there is considerable discussion about what constitutes MCT, scholars generally agree that it involves a form of education in which the curriculum and pedagogy (should) include notions of social diversity and equality (Levinson, 2009). There is considerable evidence that multicultural education improves democratic attitudes among majority pupils (Banks, 2009), intergroup relations, and outgroup attitudes (Agirdag, Merry, Van Houtte, 2016; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Zirkel, 2008). First, multicultural teaching emphasizes the unacceptability of ethnic prejudice. Second, it may increase knowledge and understanding of cultural differences, resulting in less ethnic prejudice (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013).

Again, the direct association between MCT and pupils' ethnic prejudice may be questioned. Teachers' own assessments of their multicultural practices may differ from pupils' perceptions, but the latter may have a greater impact on pupils' ethnic attitudes (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). As a result, the effects of teachers' multicultural practices on pupils' ethnically prejudiced attitudes might be mediated by the perceptions of pupils regarding the extent of their teachers' multicultural practices (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013).

3.5. Research questions

In examining the role of schools and teachers, the aim is to discover how different input and process variables within the school context are related to majority pupils' ethnic prejudice. That is, not just to look at the direct input-output relationships, for example the association between ethnic school composition and ethnic prejudice, but to look at how school and teacher characteristics are related to majority pupils' degree of ethnic prejudice. In this way, it is possible to transcend the narrow focus of many SER studies on the direct association between school characteristics and pupils' outcomes, neglecting the role of underlying processes (Reynolds et al., 2014).

Briefly, the aim is to examine the relationship between (1) positive experiences of the social relations in school—characterized by secure attachment and social cohesion—and majority pupils' ethnic prejudice. Further, to take into account the role of school leaders and teachers in developing (less) prejudice amongst majority pupils by including (2) multicultural leadership and (3) multicultural teaching. Because many

(preservice) teachers seem to be prejudiced (Picower, 2009; Rubie-Davies et al., 2006) and their beliefs could influence their pedagogical practices (Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999; Stipek et al., 2001), (4) the determinants of teachers' ethnic prejudice are examined, and (5) how their prejudiced attitudes are related to their multicultural practices in the classroom. As a criticism of and at the same time contribution to existing studies on ethnic prejudice, the final aim is to show that less obvious school characteristics (6), such as gender composition and pupil cultures, are important social features to consider in understanding the development of ethnic prejudice in education.

Research question 1: Secure attachment and majority pupils' ethnic prejudice

The first important question posed in this dissertation is whether the social system in a school can play a role in developing ethnically prejudiced attitudes among majority pupils. Previous studies suggest that when pupils are given opportunities to actively participate in decision-making and life at school, they might report lower levels of ethnic prejudice (Elchardus & Siongers, 2003), and when pupils experience positive, interpersonal, and caring relations, they will feel more a connection and attachment to school (Cohen et al., 2009). Secure attachment (Bowlby, 1969) is associated with outcomes that can be related to lower ethnic prejudice, such as tolerance, social skills, and more positive intergroup interactions (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001; Shaver & Hazan, 1993). In addition to the individual feeling of attachment, social cohesion—that is, the shared sense of attachment to school among pupils within the same school (Demanet

& Van Houtte, 2012)—may also be related to the ethnic prejudices of pupils. When pupils experience the school as a place where they feel supported and respected (Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012; Libbey, 2004), they will show more empathy and respect toward other students (Battistich, Solomon, Watson, & Schaps, 1997). Therefore, the first chapter examines the association between secure attachment to school and teachers, social cohesion in school, and pupils' ethnic prejudice.

RQ 1: Are pupils' individual feelings of attachment to their teachers and school, and social cohesion in school, negatively related to pupils' degree of ethnic prejudice?

(CHAPTER 6.1)

Research question 2: Multicultural leadership and majority pupils' ethnic prejudice

School leaders are responsible for reducing ethnic prejudice among majority pupils (Billot, Goddard, & Cranston, 2007; Johnson, 2007; Nuri-Robins et al., 2007), for example by including multicultural issues in their school's policy. However, school leaders can also influence pupils' outcomes indirectly, through their impact on instructions given to teachers (Khalifa et al., 2016; Leithwood & Riehl, 2005; Robinson et al., 2008), such as teachers' practice of multicultural teaching. Multicultural teaching is included, because it is said to be related to improved democratic attitudes (Banks, 2009), intergroup relations, and outgroup attitudes (Agirdag, Merry, Van Houtte, 2016; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Zirkel, 2008). Therefore, in line with the discussion on the indirect or direct influence of school leaders on pupils' outcomes, the role of leadership

is examined, more specifically multicultural leadership, related both directly to majority pupils' degree of ethnic prejudice and indirectly through teachers' practices of multicultural teaching.

RQ 2: Is more multicultural leadership related to both less ethnic prejudice among majority pupils and a more multicultural teacher culture? Is the relationship between multicultural leadership and ethnic prejudice among majority pupils mediated by a multicultural teacher culture? (CHAPTER 6.2)

Research question 3: Multicultural teaching and majority pupils' ethnic prejudice

In addition to school leaders, teachers can influence majority pupils' ethnic prejudice, for example by practicing MCT. As mentioned above, MCT is associated with improved intergroup relations and outgroup attitudes (Agirdag, Merry, Van Houtte, 2016; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Zirkel, 2008). Because pupils in secondary schools are tutored by a variety of teachers during the school year, it makes sense to examine the impact of the wider teacher culture on pupils' outcomes (Van Houtte & Demanet, 2016). Therefore, the association between MCT culture in school and majority pupils' ethnic prejudice is examined. However, the assessments of teachers and the perceptions of pupils might both be important to take into account, because previous findings indicate that student and teacher perceptions are not interchangeable (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). The interest here is in the prejudiced attitudes of the majority students, so the focus is not only on teachers' own application of MCT, but also on pupils' perceptions

of MCT practiced by their teachers. Because the relationship between teachers' practices and majority pupils' attitudes can be expected to be mediated by the perceptions of pupils (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013), it is examined whether the association between MCT culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice is mediated by pupils' perceptions of the multicultural educational practices of teachers.

RQ 3: Is a more MCT culture related to less ethnic prejudice among majority pupils? Is the relationship between MCT culture and majority pupils' ethnic prejudice mediated by pupils' perceptions of MCT? (CHAPTER 6.3)

Research question 4: Teachers' ethnic prejudice

Many (preservice) teachers seem to be prejudiced (Picower, 2009; Rubie-Davies et al., 2006), and their prejudiced attitudes may influence pupils' attitudes, since teachers not only teach academic lessons, but also transmit their own values to their pupils (Giroux & Penna, 1979). Therefore, it seems relevant to examine the determinants of teachers' ethnic prejudice. Teachers in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils evaluate their pupils as being less teachable (Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2011). Moreover, teachers in these schools have lower expectations of ethnic minority pupils than of native students, and these lower expectations seem to be based on ethnicity (Hemmerechts, Agirdag, & Kavadias, 2017; McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Rubie-Davies, Hattie, & Hamilton, 2006; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Therefore, the main focus of the fourth chapter is on investigating the association between ethnic

composition in school and the ethnic prejudice of teachers, controlling for the individual characteristics of teachers and their perceptions of pupils' teachability.

RQ 4: Are teachers in schools with a greater proportion of ethnic minority pupils more prejudiced? Is this relationship mediated or moderated by teachers' perceptions of pupils' teachability? (CHAPTER 6.4)

Research question 5: Teachers' ethnic prejudice and MCT

The prejudiced attitude of teachers may not only be related to their perceptions and expectations of minority pupils. Their attitudes can also determine their behavior in class, since teachers' perceptions of minorities may influence their classroom instruction (Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999). Therefore, an important question is whether teachers' degree of ethnic prejudice is related to their practices in the classroom; more specifically, the extent of their multicultural teaching. Furthermore, as partly mentioned above, the ethnic school composition and the track in which teachers teach might both be associated with their degree of ethnic prejudice (De Witte, 1999; Elchardus, Kavadias, & Siongers, 1998). Therefore, the aim is to examine whether teachers' ethnic prejudice mediates the association between the ethnic school composition, the track in which teachers teach, and their amount of MCT.

RQ 5: Are teachers' prejudiced attitudes negatively related to their involvement with MCT? Does teachers' ethnic prejudice mediate the association between the ethnic school composition, the track in which teachers teach, and their involvement with MCT?
(CHAPTER 6.5)

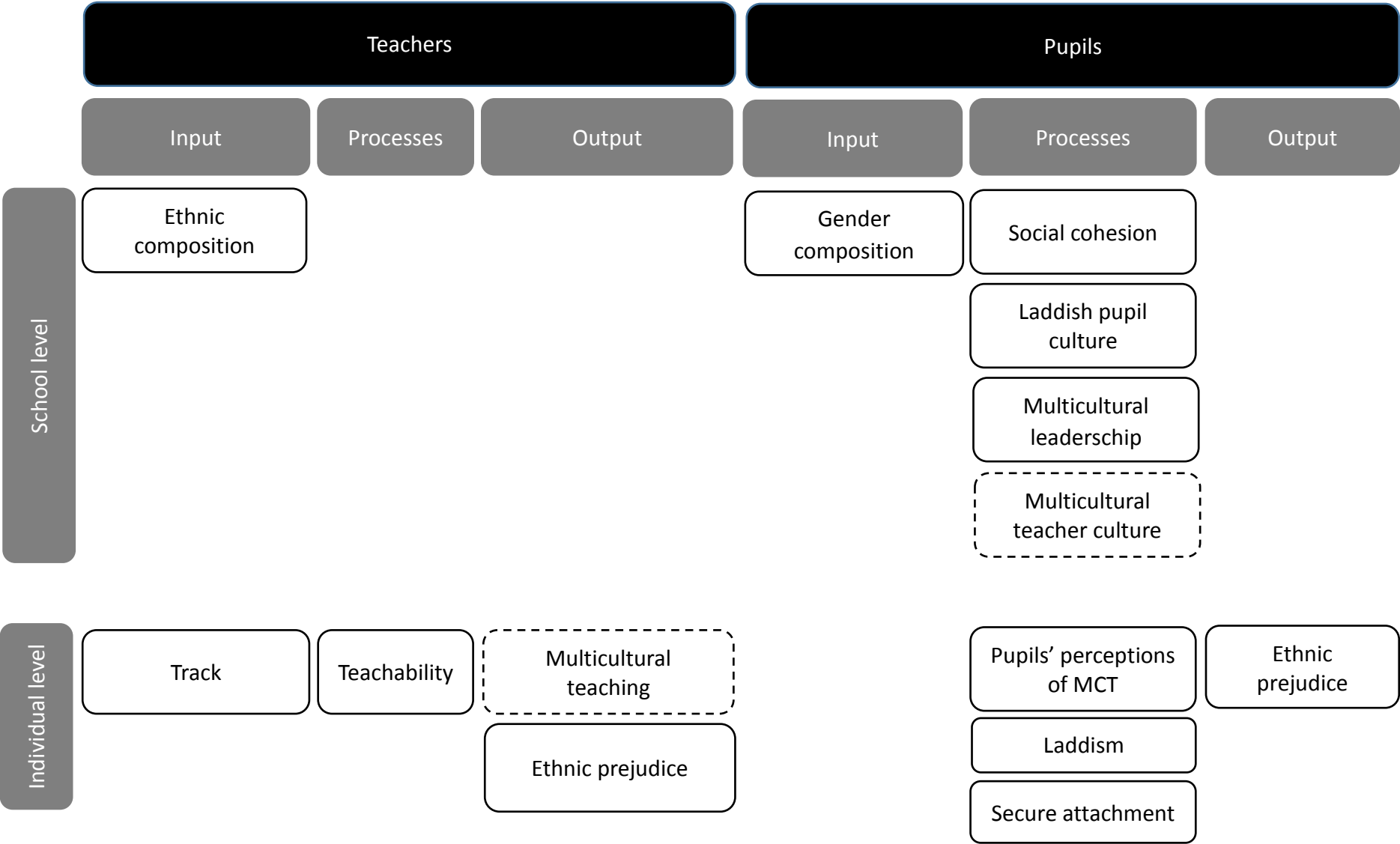
Research question 6: Gender composition and majority pupils' ethnic prejudice

Lastly, the focus is on the finding that the majority of studies on ethnic prejudice in school take into account relatively obvious school features, such as ethnic composition, neglecting other input variables, such as gender composition. However, it might be theoretically interesting—and for schools very relevant—to know whether pupils' ethnic prejudice is also related to less obvious school features. Moreover, in addition to school leadership and teacher culture, pupils' prejudiced attitudes may be influenced by certain pupil cultures. A school's gender composition can be expected to contribute to pupils' ethnic prejudice, because females have been shown to be less likely to express ethnic prejudice than males (Dejaeghere, Hooghe, & Claes, 2012; Elchardus & Siongers, 2003; Stevens et al., 2014). Moreover, the proportion of girls or boys in a school may be related to a specific pupil culture; that is, the shared views of pupils (Van Houtte, 2005; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2010b). Research suggests that in schools with a higher proportion of boys, the general culture might be more anti-academic or "laddish" (Jackson, 2006), and anti-school attitudes are related to racism or ethnic prejudice (Connolly, 1994; Goodey, 1997; Tillner, 2000; Willis, 1977). In sum, in the last

empirical study, the association between the gender composition of school and pupils' ethnic prejudice is examined, taking into account the role of "laddism."

RQ 6: How are gender composition, laddism, and a laddish pupil culture related to pupils' ethnic prejudice? (CHAPTER 6.6)

Figure 2. Conceptual model



4. Flemish context

4.1. Flemish migration context

Flanders has developed into a multi-ethnic society, as a result of different migration waves. Belgium has attracted immigrants throughout its history, initially in the nineteenth century so called “guest workers” from neighboring countries, such as Italy, to work in the coal industry. However, in 1930, an economic crisis resulted in the development of arrangements to protect the Belgian labor market against “foreign workers” (Van den Broucke et al., 2015). After the Second World War, Belgium sought more guest workers, especially from Poland and Italy, to help rebuild its economy and to work in the coal mines. Due to the tragedy in the coal mine Le Bois du Cazier at Marcinelle in 1956 (Martiniello, 2013), the immigration contract with Italy was terminated. Subsequently, Belgium therefore concluded new bilateral agreements with other countries, to recruit guest workers to work in the construction, textile, port, and catering industries. During the 1960s, the Belgian government attracted guest workers from countries, such as Spain (1956), Greece (1957), and later Morocco (1964), Turkey (1964), Tunisia (1969), Algeria (1969), and Yugoslavia (1970). However, the economic and oil crisis of 1970, accompanied by high unemployment rates, led to a halt of migration in 1974; an arrangement that is still officially in place. This did not mean that migration stopped in practice. Labor migration remained possible, citizens could move freely within the European Union, family migration from outside the European Union often occurred, tourists and students could obtain specific residence

permits, many naturalizations (being given Belgian nationality) were realized, and asylum seekers could apply to be recognized as refugees. As a result of the armed conflicts that started in Yugoslavia in 1991, many European countries received an influx of refugees from this area. Since 2013—the beginning of the European Refugee Crisis—hundreds of thousands of Middle Eastern and African migrants have crossed the Mediterranean to seek asylum in the European Union (Noppe & Lodewijckx, 2013; Van den Broucke et al., 2015; Vanduynslager et al., 2013). As a result, after 1990, when policymakers began to realize that immigrants were settling permanently, ethnicity became increasingly a topic on the agenda of researchers (Van Damme, 2006). As shown in Table 1, most people with a non-Belgian nationality in Flanders come from European Union member states (67%), especially from the Netherlands (26%), followed by Poland (7%) and Romania (5%). Other large groups of non-Belgians come from Morocco (5%) and Turkey (4%) (See table 1). Official statistics only consider nationality. However, most ethnic minority pupils were born in Belgium and have Belgian nationality. Therefore, the estimated number of ethnic minorities based on nationality are lower than the estimated number based on the birth country of the (grand)mother or respondent (Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014), used in this dissertation.

Table 1. Number and percentage of people with a non-Belgian nationality in Flanders, from each continent, specified to the countries with the highest numbers of people in Flanders

Nationality	Numbers	% of foreign people in the non-Belgian population
TOTAL	6,477,804	
Belgium	5,951,410	
Europe		67%
Eastern Europe	117,687	22%
Poland	39,171	7%
Romania	25,021	5%
Bulgaria	18,150	3%
Western Europe	247,186	47%
The Netherlands	135,770	26%
Italy	23,491	4%
France	20,682	4%
Asia	76,570	15%
Turkey	18,527	4%
Africa	63,097	12%
Morocco	28,591	5%
America	14,699	3%
Oceania	470	0%
Other (Missing - Stateless)	6,094	1%

Source: FOD Economie, KMO, Middenstand en Energie (2016). Table adapted by the authors.

4.2. Social policy in Flanders

As a response to the growing ethnic diversity and the disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities in Flanders, the government reacted by developing policies that focused on the problems experienced by this group.

The immigrants who came to Belgium in the 1960s were considered as guest workers. Most of them settled in large cities, where they also worked, such as Antwerp, Ghent, Leuven, Genk, and Mechelen. Because the Belgian government assumed that these temporary workers would return to their home country, there was no need for a policy relating to them, except to ensure their employment through an active labor migration policy (Sierens, 2006). The changing political climate and the conclusion that most migrants would not return, prompted the government to invest in migrants and their children.

In 1980, the Flemish government became responsible for the reception and integration of migrants and designed its own integration policies. This resulted in a first law in 1980 to protect newcomers, by giving them more legal certainty and protection against administrative arbitrariness (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000; Sierens, 2006; Van den Broucke et al., 2015). A number of policy instruments were developed, such as guidance services for migrants, the promotion of self-organizations, and the establishment of language education for adult migrants (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000; Van den Broucke et al., 2015). Partly in response to the increasing success of far-right parties at the end of the 1980s, and in particular the “Black Sunday” in November 1991, the “migrant theme” became a policy priority. On that day, a relatively new party called

“Vlaams Blok” radically redefined the electoral landscape in the country with a first massive victory at the polls.

In 1989, the D’hondt report, that is a report formulated by Paula D’Hondt, the Royal Commissioner for Migration Policy, stated that Flanders was a multicultural society, and that difficulties related to the integration of ethnic minorities had to be dealt with in a coherent and systemic way. The Inter-Ministerial Committee for Migration Policy—a consultation forum for all governments involved in immigration policy—and the Royal Commission for Migration Policy (later the “Center for equal opportunities and anti-racism”) were established (Van den Broucke et al., 2015; De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000) and Flemish integration centers were raised.

In 1995, the Inter-Departmental Committee on Migrants prepared a strategic plan for Flemish policy toward ethnic-cultural minorities, which was approved by the Flemish government. The first minority decree came into effect on 28 April 1998. The minority policy was translated into a three-pronged strategy: an emancipation policy for established groups, a welcome policy for foreigners arriving in Flanders, and a reception policy for people without legal residence status (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000; Vanduynslager et al., 2013). In 1999, the term “integration” (*inburgering*) first appeared in the coalition agreement.

In 2004, an integration decree (*inburgeringsdecreet*) was introduced, implemented by the reception agencies, and another integration decree (*integratiedecreet*) was established in 2009, focusing on the active and shared citizenship of everyone (Van den Broucke et al., 2015). Both these decrees aimed at integrating ethnic minorities and

teaching both ethnic minorities and majorities how to deal with the increased diversity (Van den Broucke et al., 2015). These two separate decrees were merged in the Flemish integration policy (*Vlaamse integratie- en inburgeringsbeleid*) in 2013, in which integration is seen as a dynamic and interactive process where both the newcomers and the recipient society must strive for social cohesion (Loobuyck & Jacobs, 2009). The Flemish government has set up a civic integration program, consisting of a Dutch language course, a course about life in Flanders, and assistance in looking for work and obtaining information about sports, culture, and leisure activities. Knowledge of Dutch takes a central place in Flemish integration policies (Altinkamis & Agirdag, 2014) as it states: “It is very important to learn Dutch. It makes it easier to feel at home, find work, get to know Flemish people, feel comfortable in your surroundings, feel happy in Flanders, and participate in society” (Van den Broucke et al., 2015). This may indicate that, as in many other European countries, integration policies regarding migrants seem to focus on their assimilation into the majority culture (Blommaert, 2011; Phalet, Baysu, & Van Acker, 2015; Van Kerckem, 2014).

4.3. Social position of ethnic minorities in Flanders

Despite the above-mentioned policies, compared with the Flemish majority group, ethnic minority groups still have to deal with some disadvantages in their daily lives. In Flanders, only a minority of people from the majority group seem to have non-native friends, and they rarely talk to minorities (Van den Broucke et al., 2015). Moreover, minorities have on average a less favorable socioeconomic position and lower

employment rates than Flemings, and often work under short-term and irregular employment contracts (Glorieux, Laurijssen, & Van Dorsselaer, 2009; Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003; Van den Broucke et al., 2015). Related to their lower socioeconomic position, they are more likely to have a lower income or a minimum living wage, and a higher risk of (being born into) poverty. They are more likely to report not being able to pay their bills and claim that it is very difficult to get by (Van den Broucke et al., 2015). In addition, their living and housing situation is worse than for their Flemish counterparts. They are less likely to own a home, more frequently rent (social) housing, and more often indicate that their home is in poor physical condition (Loopmans et al., 2014; Van den Broucke et al., 2015). With regard to health, ethnic minorities eat on average less healthy foods, and more often postpone medical care for financial reasons or because they experience difficulties in accessing healthcare facilities (Hanssens, Detollenaere, Van Pottelberge, Baert, & Willems, 2017; Van den Broucke et al., 2015). Minorities are also less likely to be members of associations, and their political and cultural participation is on average lower than for Flemings (Van den Broucke et al., 2015).

When looking at the attitudes of Flemings toward ethnic minorities in Table 2, it becomes clear that these minorities are not particularly welcomed in Flanders. Almost a quarter of the Flemish population say that they do not trust migrants, and almost 40% believe that migrants take advantage of the Belgian social security and are a threat to the Belgian culture (Billiet et al., 2017).

Table 2. Attitudes toward migrants: percentage of respondents who (totally) agree with the three statements

Migrants ...	Flanders (%)
are generally unreliable.	23
come to Belgium to benefit from social security.	44
are a threat to our culture and customs.	38

Source: Billiet et al., 2017.

In sum, despite the policies aimed at the integration of ethnic minorities in society, compared with ethnic majorities, minorities still experience disadvantages regarding their economic position, housing, social relations, and education.

4.4. Flemish education context

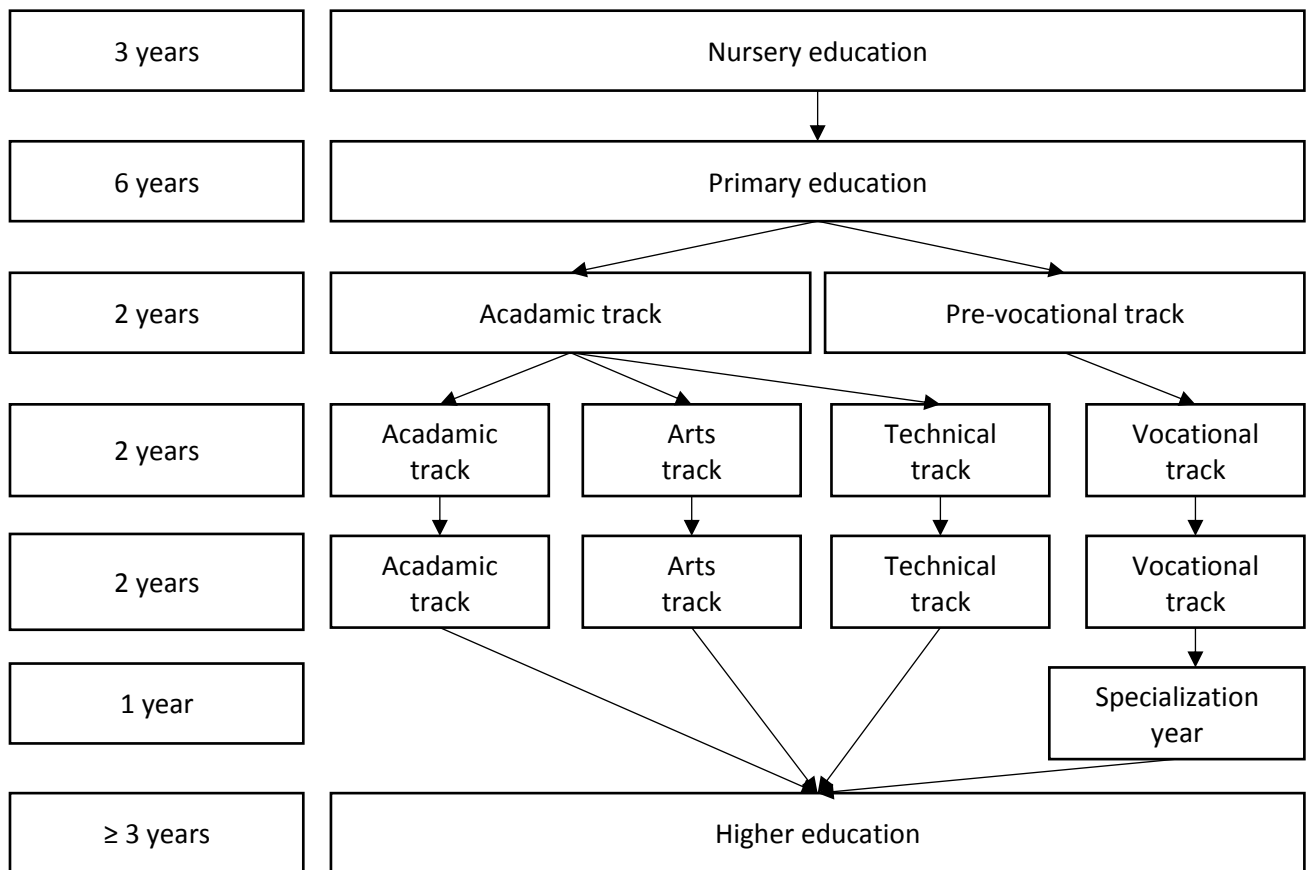
Belgium is composed of three regions—the Flemish, the Walloon, and the Brussels-Capital Region—and three language communities: Flemish, French, and German-speaking. Due to the federalization of Belgium in 1989, education is organized by the three communities, with the exception of three competences that remain a federal matter: the determination of the beginning and the end of compulsory education, the minimum requirements for the issuing of diplomas, and the regulation of retirement for employees in the educational system. Flanders has a unique educational system (see Figure 3). Education is compulsory for all children from the age of six until eighteen. Elementary education comprises both pre-school or nursery education, and primary education. Although it is not obligatory, almost all children (97%) from the age

of two and a half to six participate in pre-primary education. Primary education comprises six subsequent school years. A child usually starts primary education at the age of six and finishes at twelve, and obtains a certificate when successfully completing primary education. This certificate gives pupils access to secondary education, organized for children from twelve to eighteen and comprises three stages, each consisting of two grades.

Secondary schooling is based on four different types of education. First, general or academic education focuses on broad general education, preparing pupils for higher education. Second, technical education includes a greater degree of technical and practical training. Third, arts education combines a broad general education with active participation in the arts. Both technical and arts education prepare students to practice a profession or progress to higher education. Fourth, vocational education is a practically-oriented type of education with options to follow a year of specialization, focusing on learning a specific profession. A certificate of upper-secondary education grants unrestricted access to higher education.

Higher education outside universities consists of higher education short type (three year vocational training), higher education long type (a course of at least four years), and professional bachelor's programs (practice-oriented education preparing students for specific professions). The courses at universities are academic bachelor's programs (preparing students for studies at master's level) and master's programs (characterized by the integration of education and research, and a master's dissertation) (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013; Van Praag, Demanet, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2017) (See Figure 3).

Figure 3. Flemish educational system



Source: Van Praag, Demanet, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2017.

4.5. Educational policy for immigrant children

As many immigrants are school-age youths, schools have become increasingly diverse. Because immigrants in the 1960s were expected to stay in Belgium temporarily, the position of ethnic minorities in the Flemish education system received little attention in the education policy. No reception classes (*onthaalklassen*) were developed, unlike in Germany, and only some local and independent projects were organized (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000; Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014). The focus was on the problems of migrant children and learning Dutch. On the one hand, extra teachers and

teaching hours were provided to help learn Dutch. On the other hand, courses in the immigrants' mother tongue were organized, in preparation for their return to their home country (Bank et al., 2005; De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000). The migrant children were sent to existing schools and the government assumed that they would learn Dutch at school. When it turned out that these children were not automatically learning Dutch at school, and were not performing as well as their Flemish peers, teachers and social policymakers typically blamed the ethnic minorities and their communities for being the cause of this social problem ("deficit thinking") (Sierens, 2006). Because parents of Flemish pupils did not like the migrant children at "their" school, as they associated the presence of ethnic minorities in school with a decrease in the quality of educational provision, they took their children to other schools with fewer migrant children. In Flanders, the assignment of students to schools is not regulated and parents are free to choose the (secondary) school where their children will go, so they are allowed to choose or avoid schools with certain features. This causes the phenomenon of "white flight" when it applies to native, middle-class parents, and "black flight" when concerning higher-educated and economically better-situated immigrant parents (Demanet, Agirdag, & Van Houtte, 2012), leading to ethnic segregation and the creation of concentration schools (Agirdag, Loobuyck, & Van Houtte, 2011; Sierens, 2006).

From 1982 to 1991, when the government realized that most immigrants and their children would not return to their home country, the project *Elkaar Ontmoetend Onderwijs* was established in elementary schools. It was aimed at integration, but at

the same time, at the preservation of the migrants' own (minority) identity. The existing projects were poorly evaluated because of vague goals, little cooperation from schools, and incorrect use of the received funds (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000).

In 1991, policymakers started to focus on children living in deprived, lower social class families in general, instead of focusing exclusively on ethnic (cultural) minorities. However, it was recognized that migrants had additional challenges related to their ethnic-cultural background (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000; Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014). The aims were to tackle the educational disadvantage of migrant children, develop mutual respect, foster positive interethnic contacts, and to allow migrant children to develop their own identity (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000). This resulted in the first official Education Policy for Migrants, including (1) Educational Priorities Policy (*Onderwijsvoorrangsbeleid*), (2) Intercultural Education (*Intercultureel Onderwijs*), (3) Education in Own Language and Culture (*Onderwijs in Eigen Taal en Cultuur*), and (4) Welcome Policy for Newcomers who do not Speak Dutch (*Onthaalbeleid voor anderstalige nieuwkomers*). In 1994, Intercultural Education and Education in Own Language and Culture were brought together in a global Educational Priorities Policy, in addition to a general Welcome Policy (*Onthaalbeleid*), focusing on extra courses in Dutch, and a Non-Discrimination Policy (*Non-discriminatiebeleid*) in 1993, whereby schools within the same community voluntarily sign an agreement, focusing on the ethnic composition of schools.

The last two policies have rarely been executed. Moreover, intercultural or multicultural education, focused on developing intercultural tolerance and preparing

young people to function in a multicultural society, was often neglected by schools. Two support centers for intercultural education were established in Ghent and Leuven alongside a center for experiential education. Moreover, intercultural education was included in the attainment targets (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000). These attainment targets state the minimum goals for education that the Flemish government considers necessary and achievable. They include multicultural aims, such as “Students can illustrate that different social and cultural groups have different values and norms” (Flemish Ministry of Education and Formation, 2010, p. 89). However, Flemish schools have a high degree of autonomy in implementing the attainment targets and can, as a result, ignore particular expectations stipulated in school policies (Bank et al., 2005). The curricula remain monocultural and if intercultural education was practiced, it was often in schools with many immigrant pupils (Leman, 2002). Many Flemish schools prohibit wearing headscarves and speaking another language than Dutch in school (except during specific foreign language classes), showing that Flemish school policies tend to focus on assimilation and expect minorities to adapt to and adopt the dominant culture (Pulinx, Van Avermaet, & Agirdag, 2015), instead of applying an intercultural or multicultural approach concerning cultural differences. On the other hand, Belgium has a limited number of European schools and “Foyer schools”: organizations dealing with diversity, interculturality, and social cohesion at the local, regional, and international level. These schools are characterized by an intercultural orientation because children are taught in their own language. However, European schools are an

expensive investment for the government and both Foyer and European schools appear to lead to more difficult integration in the host country (Leman, 2002).

The Educational Priorities Policy provides extra resources for schools with more than 10% of pupils whose mother left school before the age of eighteen or whose maternal mother or grandmother was not born in Belgium (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000; Sierens, 2006). In addition, to obtain these resources, the schools had to fulfill certain conditions, such as in-service training for teachers and ensuring cooperation with parents. This shows a shift in focus from a deficit thinking approach to a view that emphasizes the importance of the organization and pedagogical approach of the school. The Educational Priorities Policy was active in five areas, namely (1) education in the own culture and language, (2) the involvement of parents, (3) prevention and remediation to reduce the educational disadvantages of migrant children, (4) intercultural education, in which cultural diversity was approached positively—aimed at teaching students how to deal with diversity—and (5) language skills education, focusing on Dutch as a second language and instruction language. Nevertheless, language education was (still) central in this approach. Schools adopted more of an assimilation perspective and focused almost exclusively on “Dutch language development” (Bank et al., 2005; De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000). Education in the migrants’ own culture and language was experienced as a threat by teachers and school principals, so they were reluctant to implement this. Moreover, it was never given a legal (binding) framework, and was therefore rarely implemented and evaluated by schools (Bank et al., 2005).

The Equal Education Opportunities Policy (*Gelijke Onderwijskansen, GOK*) was introduced in 2002, aimed at giving all children equal opportunities to learn and to develop, and paying specific attention to children from disadvantaged backgrounds, including those who live away from their family, belong to a migratory population, speak a language other than Dutch at home, live in a family with no income or a replacement income, or have a mother without a diploma. Schools receive extra support on the basis of these equal opportunity indicators. The equal opportunities decree consists of three parts: (1) the right to enroll your child in a school of your choice, (2) the establishment of local consultation platforms that administer the equal opportunities policy and a commission that oversees the rights of students, and (3) integrated support that allows schools to develop comprehensive care for all children, but especially disadvantaged ones (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003). Three cycles of GOK policies have been implemented. However, it is uncertain what future policies will bring, and how they can lead to more equal education opportunities (Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014).

In sum, during the 1960s, the focus was on the negative aspects of migration and little attention was paid to ethnic minorities in education. This changed in 1991, as the government started to approach minorities more positively and tried to tackle their educational disadvantages. Moreover, the focus shifted toward developing positive interethnic contacts, which resulted in the first education policy for migrants. However, Intercultural Education, Education in Own Language and Culture, and the Welcome Policy for Newcomers who do not Speak Dutch received little attention, and the focus

of the policy for migrants was restricted to the Educational Priorities Policy. The Equal Education Opportunities Policy was launched in 2002, but to date, there is uncertainty about the extent to which future policies will lead to more equal education opportunities.

Despite the policies aimed at equal educational opportunities for ethnic minorities, they still lag behind their Flemish counterparts (Glorieux, Laurijssen, & Van Dorsselaer, 2009; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009). They are more likely to repeat a school year, they are overrepresented in vocational education, and the dropout rates are much higher than among their ethnic majority peers (Baysu & Phalet, 2012; Phalet, Deboosere, & Bastiaenssen, 2007; Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003; Van den Broucke et al., 2013). Research shows that these disadvantages are related to their ethnic, socioeconomic, religious, and linguistic distinctiveness (Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2012; Merry, 2005).

5. Methodological framework

5.1. Data

This PhD builds on two projects. The first is the RaDiSS1-project (R1), or Racism and Discrimination in School Project. This UGent BOF-funded undertaking, supervised by Stevens and Van Houtte, examined the occurrence, development, and effects of ethnic prejudice in Flemish education, using a large-scale, quantitative dataset that was collected as part of this project (D'hondt, 2015). The data was collected in the school year 2011–2012 in 55 secondary schools, involving 4,322 students and 645 teachers. Using this data, D'hondt (2015) wrote her dissertation on *Ethnic Discrimination and Educational Inequality*. She focused on ethnic minorities in Flanders, more specifically on how their feelings of victimization and discrimination were related to their sense of school belonging, teachers' attitudes towards ethnic minorities, ethnic minorities' sense of academic futility, and the association between discrimination, identification, and deviance from the norm (D'hondt, 2016). The second project, the RaDiSS2-project (R2), is a FWO-funded research project, also supervised by Stevens and Van Houtte. The aim was to collect an additional wave of data from the same students three years after the R1 project, in order to study the development of ethnic prejudice and its relationship with oppositional school cultures and educational and well-being outcomes for Turkish and Moroccan minority students, and native Belgian students. In the school year 2014–2015, data was collected in 45 secondary schools, for 3,371 students and 669 teachers.

There are several reasons why we used the two datasets separately for our research. Our first paper is based on R1 and was written during the data collection of R2. Because the focus of R2 was on determinants of ethnic prejudice, some new variables were added, absent in the questionnaires of R1, such as multicultural teaching. Moreover, the R2 data was collected from pupils in their final year of secondary school (Grade 6). The relative stability of ethnic attitudes during adolescence implies that the final year of secondary education is a theoretically more interesting period for examining ethnic prejudice (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). Longitudinal research using both waves would offer added value, but was impossible because information concerning the central variables of this dissertation was not collected in both waves. The main focus of this dissertation is on multicultural teaching, multicultural leadership, and ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils. Because the scale used for measuring MCT was not included in R1, and the question on multicultural leadership often remained unanswered, the other five articles in this dissertation are based on the R2 data.

5.1.1. Sampling strategy

Because the research of D'hondt, Stevens, and Van Houtte focused on ethnic discrimination, and our research is about ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils, sufficient variability and cases in terms of the level of urbanization of the school environment and pupils' ethnicity was needed. Therefore, a multistage sampling frame was used. First, four large multicultural Flemish districts—Antwerp, Ghent, Hasselt, and Sint-Niklaas—were selected for sampling. These were chosen because of the large

number of inhabitants with a non-Western-European background. Second, all the secondary schools in these districts were selected, except method schools (such as Steiner and Freinet) and schools that only provide arts education, because these represent only a small proportion of all secondary schools in Flanders (1.5%). Schools in these areas were divided into three location categories: city center, suburban area, or rural area. Within these districts, a further selection was made of one third of schools with a low proportion of ethnic minority pupils (less than 15%), one third with a medium proportion (between 15% and 49.9%), and one third with a high proportion (between 50% and 100%). This selection was based on student population characteristics provided by the Flemish Educational Department (FED) (2011). One of the characteristics is the home language of the student. More specifically, the FED asked parents: (1) Does the child speak Dutch with his/her mother? (2) Does the child speak Dutch with his/her father? (3) Does the child speak Dutch with his/her siblings? If the parents answered “no” to two out of the three questions, the Department registered the child as “non-Dutch-speaking at home.” The proportion of students who did not speak Dutch at home was used to categorize schools into those with a low, medium or high proportion of ethnic minority pupils. Schools were randomly selected from each category according to the above criteria. The researchers aimed to realize a sample of sixty schools with two thirds of them from an urban area and one third from a suburban or rural area, because particularly in urban areas in Flanders, schools are notably ethnically diverse (Brief et al., 2005; Desmedt & Nicaise, 2006). Within these

categories, the final selection was made on the basis of the proportion of ethnic minority students as detailed above.

The principals of the selected schools were contacted with an invitation letter, containing information about the focus of the study, the expectations that the researchers had from the school, and what the school could gain from participating in the study (D'hondt, 2015). Because discrimination and ethnic prejudice are sensitive topics, the focus of the study was described as the relationship between social cohesion and the well-being and academic achievement of students. As a reward for their participation, every school was offered a personalized student and teacher report with the most important findings of the study (for an example of a student report, see appendix B). The principal could indicate whether he/she was willing for the school to participate, and was asked to give his/her answer in a written format (scan, e-mail, or fax).

In total, 104 schools were contacted, out of which 55 were willing to participate in R1. The response rate of 53% is relatively low, because schools in Flanders often apply a “first come, first served” principle with regard to research participation. Of the 55 schools in the sample, 33 were located in a city center, 15 in a suburban area, and 7 in a rural location. Further, 17 schools had a low proportion of ethnic minorities, 16 a medium proportion, and 22 a high proportion (See Table 3). For R2, the same 55 schools from R1 were contacted and 45 were willing to participate, resulting in a response rate of 82%. Of those 45, 26 were located in a city center, 12 in a suburban

area, and 7 in a rural location. Further, 14 schools had a low proportion of ethnic minority pupils, 15 a medium proportion, and 16 a high proportion (See Table 3).

Table 3. Number of schools in RaDiSS 1 and 2, categorized by the level of urbanization of the school environment and the proportion of ethnic minority pupils

		RaDiSS 1				RaDiSS 2			
		Urbanization of the school environment							
		Rural	Suburban	Urban	TOTAL	Rural	Suburban	Urban	TOTAL
Proportion of ethnic minority pupils	Low	6	4	7	17	6	2	6	14
	Medium		3	13	16		5	10	15
	High	1	8	13	22	1	5	10	16
	TOTAL	7	15	33	55	7	12	26	45

5.1.2. Data collection and response

In the participating schools for R1, all the third-grade pupils (comparable with Grade 9 in the American system) were asked to complete a written questionnaire, in the presence of the researcher and one or more teachers. The teachers did not answer any questions about the content of the survey, nor did they collect the surveys. They were only present to facilitate a working environment that helped students to fill in the survey in a quiet and focused way. Because the researchers aimed to collect two waves,

matching the data from the first wave with data from the second wave—such as academic results provided by the schools—the questionnaires were not anonymous. However, all the students were informed that their names would be removed once the database was complete, making the final database anonymous and confidential. In total, 4,322 of the 4,672 students completed the questionnaire, resulting in a response rate of 92.5%. The only reasons for some students not completing the questionnaire were because they were sick or on a trip with their class. Because this has a random basis, it does not affect the findings. The teachers and principals in the schools were subsequently asked to complete an online questionnaire. All the teachers tutoring Grade 3 were sent a letter containing information about the research project, a link to the online survey, and a code specific to their school. In total, 645 out of 1,613 teachers completed the questionnaire, resulting in a response rate of 40%. As the code was only specific to each school, the anonymity of the teachers was guaranteed.

The R2 data was collected from students in the sixth grade (comparable with Grade 12 in the American system), the teachers of these students, the school administration, and the school principal. Pupils in their final year at secondary school were asked to complete a written questionnaire in the presence of the researcher and one or more teachers. Again, all the pupils were reassured that their names would be removed once the database was complete and that teachers or school staff would not be allowed access to the completed questionnaires, making the final database confidential. In total, 3,371 out of the 4,107 students completed the questionnaire, resulting in a response rate of 82%. The teachers in Grade 6 were free to choose to complete a

written questionnaire or not. In total, 669 out of 1,584 teachers completed the questionnaire, equating to a response rate of 42%. Because we only asked for the name of the school, the anonymity of the teachers was guaranteed. The school administration and the school principal were also asked to complete a written questionnaire. In R2, we divided the principals' questionnaire used in R1 into two different questionnaires: one for the school principal and one for the school administration. We did this to minimize the work load for the school principal and because school administrators could also answer questions about the number and composition of pupils. The teachers, school administration, and the school principal could complete the questionnaire when and where they wanted and could return it free of charge, as we paid for the postage and envelopes, in order to achieve a higher response rate compared with R1.

5.1.3. Sample characteristics

The R1 sample is almost equally divided with regard to pupils' gender, with 48.2% being female (See Table 4). The mean age of the pupils is 15, and the mean SES is 50.93 (SD = 16.83; range 16–90) (See Table 4). As is common practice in research on immigrants in Flanders, and in line with the official Flemish definition of non-native groups, pupils and teachers are considered as being of foreign descent if their maternal grandmother, their mother, or the pupils and teachers themselves had a birthplace other than Western Europe (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003). Native pupils are overrepresented, comprising 65.8% (See Table 4). Pupils were asked to indicate the

educational track in which they were enrolled, with the possible responses being academic (40.5%), technical (24.9%), arts (1.7%), and vocational education (32.9%). The R2 sample is similarly divided with regard to pupils' gender, with 50.1% being female. The mean age of the pupils is 19 and the mean SES is 50.79 (SD = 17.08; range 16–90). The majority of the pupils are natives (70.8%). Pupils were enrolled in academic (35.6%), technical (30.6%), arts (1.2%), and vocational education (32.6%) (See Table 4). Schools that only provide arts education and pupils in arts education were excluded both in R1 and R2, because these schools represent only a small proportion of all the secondary schools in Flanders and due to the small number of pupils involved in arts education. In R1, the mean age of the teachers is 39. Most are natives (92.2%), and the mean SES is 52.7 (SD = 15.51; range 16–90). In R2, most of the teachers are natives (95.5%). The mean age of the teachers in R2 is 43, and the mean SES is 52.38 (SD = 15.64; range 16–90) (See Table 4).

Comparing the two datasets, there are a few notable findings. In both R1 (63.3%) and R2 (62.6%), most of the teachers are female. This is an accurate reflection of the current gender ratio of Flemish teachers in secondary education (Huyge et al., 2003; Matheus, Siongers, & Van den Brande, 2004). The age of the pupils corresponds to the average age of the third and sixth grade. The fact that the average age in the sixth year is nineteen instead of eighteen might be explained by pupils who repeated a year. The lower number of missing values regarding the teachers' age is notable. This can partly be explained by the fact that in R2, we asked for the birth year instead of explicitly asking for the age (Billiet & Waeye, 2001). The number of non-Belgian pupils differs

slightly, which is associated with the drop-out rate of certain schools with a high number of ethnic minorities in R2. However, the differences are not large and the data still has about two thirds natives and one third non-natives in both datasets. The low number of non-Belgian teachers is notable, but is also a general finding (Huyge et al., 2003). The SES of both pupils and teachers remained almost unchanged. Almost half of the pupils ($n = 1,835$) answered questions in both R1 and R2. SES was measured by their parents' professions, and as most parents' professions do not change every year, it is logical that the results for SES remain reasonably similar. With regard to teachers, the comparable SES can be partly explained by the fact that most teachers in secondary education belong to the middle class (Huyge et al., 2003), and thus have a similar SES (See Table 4). For non-Belgian pupils, both in R1 and R2, those from Turkey ($R1 = 7.2\%$; $R2 = 5.9\%$), Morocco ($R1 = 10.6\%$; $R2 = 8.2\%$), and Eastern Europe ($R1 = 5.8\%$; $R2 = 4.8\%$) are overrepresented. This is in line with the official statistics, only considering nationality (See Table 5).

Table 4. Sample characteristics of the RaDiSS 1 and 2 data

	RaDiSS 1		RaDiSS 2	
	Pupils (n = 4,322)	Teachers (n = 645)	Pupils (n = 3,371)	Teachers (n = 669)
Gender				
Male (%)	51.2	36.7	49.8	37.1
Female (%)	48.2	63.3	50.1	62.6
Missing (%)	.6	/	.1	.3
Age				
Mean	15	39	19	43
(Missing %)	(1.1)	(36.12)	(.6)	(.3)
Ethnicity				
Native (%)	65.8	92.2	70.8	95.5
Non-native (%)	33.5	7.8	28.8	4.5
Missing (%)	.7	/	.4	/
SES				
Mean	50.93	52.70	50.79	52.38
SD	16.83	15.51	17.08	15.64
(Missing %)	(17.4)	(.01)	(4.7)	(.01)
Track				
Academic (%)	40.5		35.6	
Arts (%)	1.7	/	1.2	/
Technical (%)	24.9		30.6	
Vocational (%)	32.9		32.6	

Table 5. The ethnicity of the pupils in the RaDiSS 1 and RaDiSS 2 data

	RaDiSS 1 (n = 4,322)	RaDiSS 2 (n = 3,371)
Ethnicity		
Belgium (%)	61.9	66.6
Turkey (%)	7.2	5.9
Morocco (%)	10.6	8.2
Eastern Europe (%)	5.8	4.8
Other (%)	14.5	14.5

5.2. Methods

Given that we are dealing with clustered samples of pupils and teachers nested within schools, it was most appropriate to use multilevel analysis (MLwiN software version 2.30) to address all the research questions. There are a number of reasons for using multilevel models. Traditional multiple regression techniques treat the units of analysis as independent observations, however, students/teachers are grouped together in a certain school, which they chose themselves, and this choice is rarely random. Moreover, students/teachers interact, so they influence each other. Since simple regression analysis cannot account for the fact that students/teachers within a single school tend to be more alike than students/teachers from different schools, multilevel analysis is used to avoid this problem. Another benefit of multilevel modeling is that it can determine how much of the variance in the outcome variable is located at the individual versus the school level, allowing us to verify how much of the variance can be explained by student/teacher characteristics and how much by school

characteristics. This is done by first running a so-called zero model—that is, an unconditional model where no variables are included—to determine the amount of variance in the outcome, within and between schools. Because in all the articles, a significant and considerable amount of the variance in ethnic prejudice is located at the school level, the use of multilevel analyses was suitable (see the following chapters). In later models, the explanatory and control variables were added. However, how these models were built depends on the research questions addressed in each specific empirical chapter. Individual-level controls that were systematically added to the empirical models are gender, socioeconomic status, having non-native friends, and school track, because all these have been shown to be associated with ethnic prejudice. Ethnic school composition was systematically added to the empirical models as a school-level control.

5.3. Main variables

5.3.1. Output variables

Ethnic prejudice refers to a negative attitude to ethnic outgroups (Quillian, 1995; De Witte, 1999). Because the majority of the ethnic minorities in Flanders come from Morocco, Turkey, and Eastern Europe (e.g., Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and Kosovo), negative attitudes to these three groups were summed to measure ethnic prejudice. A 5-point Likert scale with 18 items was used, ranging from absolutely disagree (= 1) to completely agree (= 5). Three examples of the items are: “Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans do not contribute to the welfare of Belgium,” “In some areas, the

government does more for Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans than for the Belgians who live there,” and “Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans are commonly unreliable” (Quillian, 1995). The scale has possible scores of 1 to 5, with a higher score indicating greater ethnic prejudice. Cronbach’s alpha for the ethnic prejudice scale for teachers in R1 is .94 ($M = 3.27$; $SD = .57$), for teachers in R2 it is .95 ($M = 2.5$; $SD = .7$), and for pupils in R2 the Cronbach’s alpha for the ethnic prejudice scale is .89 ($M = 2.84$; $SD = .68$) (See Table 6).

5.3.2. Input variables

Ethnic school composition at the school level is a metric variable, based on the proportion of ethnic minority pupils. As is common practice, and in line with the official Flemish definition of non-native groups, the ethnicity of the pupils was assessed primarily by the birthplace of the pupil’s maternal grandmother (OECD, 2008). If this data was not available, the mother’s birthplace was used. In the event that this was also missing, the birthplace of the pupil was used (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003). This method was used because most of the non-natives pupils in Flanders are second-generation immigrants (they were born in Flanders, but their parent(s) were not) or third-generation immigrants (their grandparent(s) were not born in Flanders). The schools’ average proportion of ethnic minority pupils in R1 is .45 ($SD = .32$), in R2 the average proportion of ethnic minority pupils is .37 ($SD = .29$) (See Table 6).

Intergroup friendships was measured by asking pupils how many of their friends were non-natives. The possible answers were: none (= 1), a few (= 2), half (= 3), most (= 4),

and all (= 5). We created three dummy variables, with having no non-native friends (11.6%) as the reference category: the dummy variables are “a few non-native friends” (73.1%), “half” (9.2%), and “most or all” (6.1%) (See Table 6).

5.3.3. Process variables

Multicultural teaching (MCT) was measured by a 6-point Likert-type scale that we constructed ourselves consisting of 12 items, ranging from absolutely disagree (= 1) to completely agree (= 5) and not applicable (= 6). The last category was recoded into 1, because “not applicable” indicates that teachers did not pay attention to the content of the item during their lessons and the focus here is on the amount of MCT. Three sample items are as follows: “During my lessons at this school, I work explicitly on themes about differences between cultures,” “During my lessons at this school, I do not use examples from other cultures,” and “During my lessons at this school, the many different cultures in our society are discussed.” Missing values were imputed by item correlation substitution (Huisman, 2000). The scale was created by the mean scores on the 12 items, resulting in possible scores of 1 to 5, with a higher score indicating that teachers practice more MCT. An exploratory factor analysis reveals that there is one underlying dimension. The item loadings range between .331 and .814, and Cronbach’s alpha for the MCT scale is .79 ($M = 3.07$; $SD = .77$) (See Table 6).

Multicultural teacher culture was measured by aggregating teachers’ individual practices of MCT to the school level. As is common practice, this can be achieved by calculating the mean value for each school (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, & Sanders,

1990; Van Houtte, 2004a). We used the index of “mean rater reliability” (Glick, 1985; Shrout, & Fleiss, 1979), to ascertain whether the practice of multicultural teaching is indeed shared by the teachers in the same school. This index is based on the intra-class correlation (ICC) in a one-way analysis of variance, which measures the degree of resemblance between micro units belonging to the same macro unit (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). The ICC is calculated by the formula

$$(Between\ Mean\ Square - Within\ Mean\ Square) / Between\ Mean\ Square$$

If this value is greater than .6, then we can state that the practice of multicultural teaching is shared by teachers from the same school, and that it is therefore legitimate to speak of a multicultural culture at the school level (see also Van Houtte, 2004a). For the measurement of multicultural teaching, the ICC is .71 ($F = 3.503$; $p < .001$), showing that multicultural teaching is indeed shared by the teachers from the same school. The measurement of the culture of multicultural teaching has a mean of 2.98 ($SD = .31$) (See Table 6).

Table 6. Descriptive statistics for input, process and output variables: frequencies (%), means, standard deviations (SD), and minimum and maximum values

	RaDiSS 1				RaDiSS 2			
	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Output								
Ethnic prejudice	3.27	.57	1	5	2.84	.68	1	5
Process								
Multicultural teaching					3.07	.77	1	5
Multicultural teacher culture					2.98	.31	1	5
Input								
Ethnic school composition	.45	.32	.00	1.00	.37	.29	.00	.95
Intergroup friendships								
<i>None</i>					11.6			
<i>A few</i>					73.1			
<i>Half</i>					9.2			
<i>Most/all</i>					6.1			

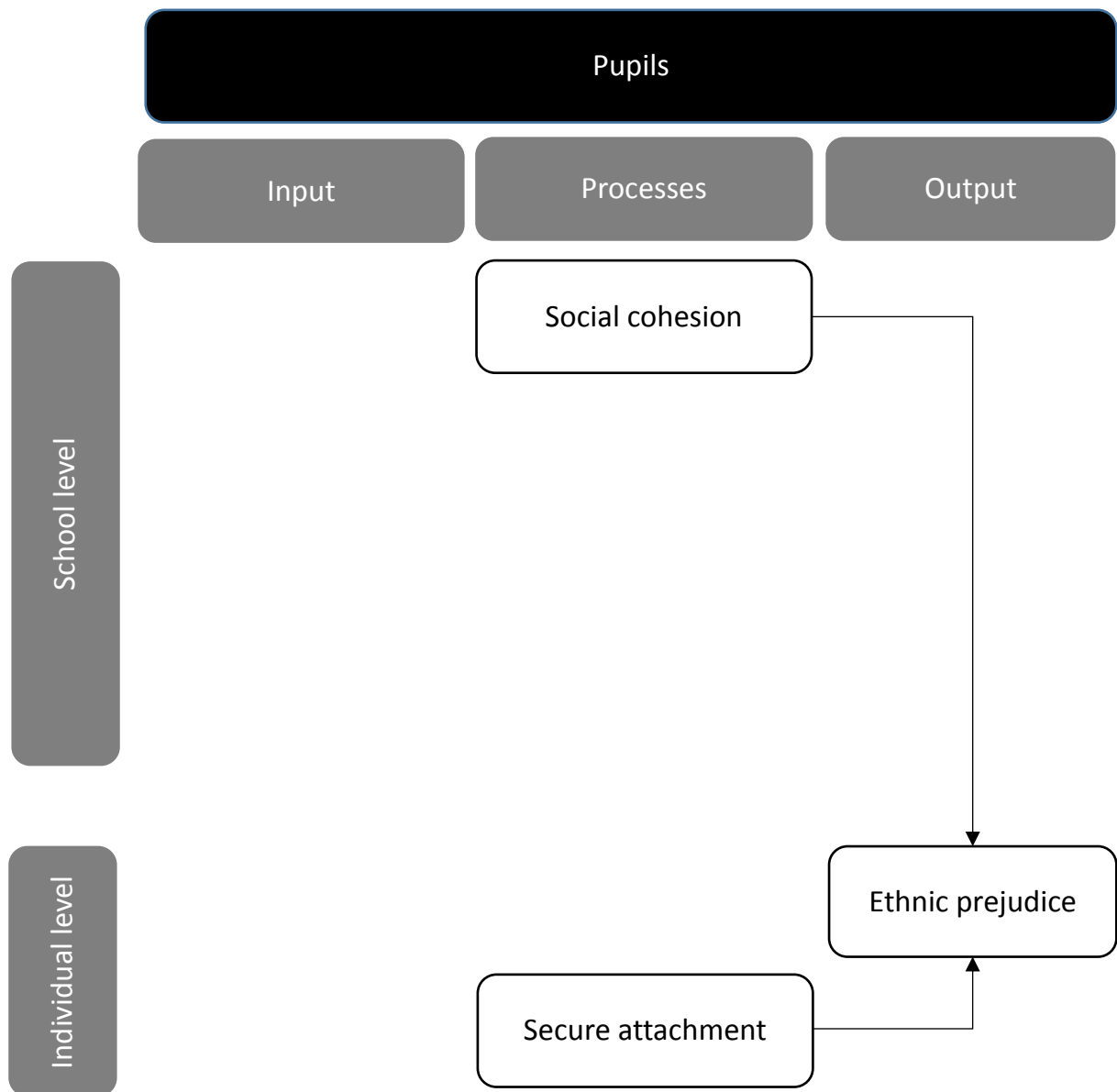
Note. "Ethnic prejudice" for RaDiSS 1 refers to teachers' values, for RaDiSS 2 to pupils' values. "Intergroup friendships," "Multicultural teaching," and "Multicultural teacher culture" are only used in and thus given for RaDiSS 2.

6. Empirical studies

*“Education is what
remains after one
has forgotten what one
has learned in school”*

Albert Einstein

6.1. Veilige Hechting met Ouders, Leerkrachten en School, Sociale Cohesie op School en Etnische Vooroordelen bij Vlaamse Jongeren



Samenvatting

Als gevolg van de wereldwijde migratieprocessen, zijn ook de scholen in Vlaanderen meer etnisch divers geworden. Rekening houdend met het ontbreken van onderzoek naar determinanten van etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse leerlingen en Bowlby's hechtingstheorie, wil deze studie het belang van enerzijds het individuele gevoel van hechting en anderzijds de sociale cohesie op school bij Vlaamse leerlingen uit het secundair onderwijs onderzoeken. Bovendien worden etnische schoolcompositie en leerlingenkenmerken die eerder gerelateerd werden aan etnische vooroordelen, mee in rekening gebracht. Er wordt gebruikgemaakt van de data van het Racisme en Discriminatie in Secundaire Scholen-onderzoek (RaDiSS 2), verzameld aan de hand van papieren vragenlijsten bij 2,233 leerlingen, verspreid over 48 Vlaamse secundaire scholen. Deze studie toont aan dat het individuele gevoel van veilig gehecht te zijn, geassocieerd wordt met minder etnische vooroordelen: Vlaamse jongeren die zich gesteund voelen door hun ouders, leerkrachten en school zijn minder etnisch bevooroordeeld. Bovendien lijkt sociale cohesie binnen een school samen te hangen met minder vooroordelen bij Vlaamse leerlingen.

Introductie

Sinds de Tweede Wereldoorlog is Vlaanderen een multiculturele samenleving geworden. Tijdens de jaren zestig migreerden heel wat arbeiders van Marokko, Turkije en later van Oost-Europa (Polen, Bulgarije, Roemenië en Kosovo) naar België. Ze kwamen oorspronkelijk naar hier om te werken, maar na een tijd vestigde ook hun

familie zich in België (Sierens, Van Houtte, Loobuyck, Delrue, & Pelleriaux, 2006; Vanduynslager, Wets, Noppe, & Doyen, 2013). Ten gevolge van deze arbeidsmigratie en later familiehereniging zijn ook de Vlaamse scholen steeds meer (etnisch) divers geworden (Brief et al., 2005; Desmedt & Nicaise, 2006). Deze evolutie ging gepaard met een toename van studies naar de attitudes van de Vlamingen tegenover etnische minderheden (Billiet & De Witte, 1995; De Witte, 1999). Bestaand onderzoek focust echter vooral op de negatieve gevolgen van etnische vooroordelen voor het welbevinden en zelfvertrouwen van minderheden (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Het weinige onderzoek dat de determinanten van etnische vooroordelen onderzoekt, beperkt zich vaak tot individuele, sociodemografische kenmerken (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). Er wordt zelden gekeken naar de invloed van de kwaliteit van de relatie met ouders, leerkrachten en scholen. Dit is nochtans erg nuttig, aangezien dit soort invloeden beter te controleren en te veranderen is dan individuele, sociodemografische kenmerken van de leerlingen (Marcoulides, Heck, & Papanastasiou, 2005). Bowlby's hechtingstheorie (1969) stelt dat kinderen die zich veilig gehecht voelen bij bepaalde actoren, zoals ouders, leerkrachten en school, meer empathisch, medelevend, zorgzaam, altruïstisch en tolerant zijn dan onveilig gehechte kinderen (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001, 2005). Bovendien toont onderzoek aan dat veilig gehechte kinderen minder etnisch bevooroordeeld zijn (Dalal, 2006; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001, 2005). Dit onderzoek is echter kwalitatief en experimenteel, waardoor het gebaseerd is op een klein aantal observaties en kwantitatief, grootschalig

onderzoek hier een belangrijke aanvulling kan betekenen. Naast het individuele gevoel van hechting kan ook de sociale cohesie binnen een school gerelateerd worden aan etnische vooroordelen van leerlingen. Het “school-als-gemeenschap”-perspectief ziet de school als een plaats waar leerlingen zich gesteund en gerespecteerd voelen (Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012; Libbey, 2004), wat dan weer geassocieerd wordt met meer empathie, respect voor anderen en sociale vaardigheden van de leerlingen (Battistich, Solomon, Watson, & Schaps, 1997). Dit zijn allemaal belangrijke aspecten die gerelateerd kunnen worden aan etnische vooroordelen (Mikulincer, 1997). Ten slotte is het merendeel van het onderzoek naar etnische vooroordelen gericht op de Amerikaanse context. Daarom is er nood aan verder onderzoek in andere contexten, zoals Vlaanderen, waar etnische minderheden ook etnische vooroordelen en discriminatie in het onderwijs ervaren (D’hondt, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2015; Vervaet, D’hondt, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2015).

Deze studie wil een bijdrage leveren aan het onderzoek naar determinanten van etnische vooroordelen door tegelijk te focussen op het individuele gevoel van hechting en de sociale cohesie op school bij Vlaamse leerlingen uit het secundair onderwijs. Bovendien controleren we voor etnische schoolcompositie en leerlingenkenmerken die eerder gerelateerd werden aan etnische vooroordelen.

Theoretisch kader

Etnische vooroordelen

De termen 'etnische vooroordelen' en 'etnocentrisme' verwijzen naar bepaalde ideeën en attitudes tegenover etnische minderheden (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). Sumner (1906) omschrijft etnocentrisme als een begrip met een duale structuur: het omvat zowel een overdreven negatieve attitude tegenover anderen als een bovenmatig positieve houding tegenover de eigen groep. In deze studie verwijzen etnische vooroordelen enkel naar het negatieve aspect (De Witte, 1999; Quillian, 1995), aangezien er in Vlaanderen geen sterke relatie gevonden werd tussen de negatieve houding tegenover etnische minderheden en de positieve houding tegenover de eigen groep (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). Bovendien werden de schadelijke gevolgen van deze negatieve attitudes voor etnische minderheden meermaals aangetoond (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Aangezien deze negatieve houdingen van meerderheidsgroepen nefast zijn voor etnische minderheden (Billiet & De Witte, 1995; Elchardus & Siongers, 2009) en Vlaamse scholen tegelijk steeds meer (etnisch) divers worden (Brief et al., 2005; Desmedt & Nicaise, 2006), heeft deze studie tot doel de determinanten van etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren bloot te leggen. Eerder onderzoek toonde aan dat geslacht (Dejaeghere, Hooghe, & Claes, 2012; Stevens, Charalambous, Tempriou, Mesaritou, & Spyrou, 2014; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008), inkomen (Cambré, De Witte, & Billiet, 2001; De Witte, 1999), socio-economische status (Quillian, 1995), opleidingsniveau (Dejaeghere, Hooghe, & Claes, 2012; Duriez & Hutsebaut, 2000; Zick,

Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008), de gevolgde onderwijsvorm (Elchardus & Siongers, 2003; Van Praag, Boone, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2015), het hebben van minderheidsvrienden (Pettigrew, 2008; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008; Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2012) en de etnische compositie van een school (Bakker, Denessen, Pelzer, Veneman, & Lageweg, 2007; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) gerelateerd zijn aan de mate van vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren. Tot zover wij weten, werd er echter nog geen kwantitatief onderzoek gedaan naar de relatie tussen hechting en etnische vooroordelen. Dit terwijl heel wat studies aantonen dat hechting samenhangt met een waaier aan uitkomsten die duidelijk gerelateerd kunnen worden aan etnische vooroordelen (Mikulincer, 1997; Shaver & Hazan, 1993).

Hechting

Hechting verwijst naar affectieve relaties die mensen hebben met andere mensen (Krohn, Massey, Skinner, & Lauer, 1983). De veilige of onveilige gehechtheidspatronen van mensen hebben een invloed op hun denken, voelen en handelen (Bowlby, 1969). Bowlby's hechtingstheorie (1969) toonde het belang aan van het gevoel veilig gehecht te zijn. Oorspronkelijk was het gezin de belangrijkste bron van hechting, aangezien ouders belangrijke rolmodellen zijn en zij hun kinderen sociaal aanvaardbaar gedrag aanleren (Wiatrowski, Griswold, & Roberts, 1981). We zien echter dat wanneer een samenleving complexer en meer divers wordt, ook leerkrachten en school een grotere rol krijgen in de socialisatie van kinderen (Parsons, 1959; Smelser & Halpern, 1978). Daarom maken we in deze studie een onderscheid tussen drie hechtingsactoren:

ouders, leerkrachten en school (Wiatrowski, Griswold, & Roberts, 1981). Een veilige hechting aan deze actoren blijkt cruciaal te zijn voor de algemene ontwikkeling en het welbevinden van jongeren (Barber & Olsen, 2004; Battistich et al., 1997).

Bovendien hangt een veilige hechting ook samen met heel wat uitkomsten die gerelateerd kunnen worden aan etnische vooroordelen (Mikulincer, 1997; Shaver & Hazan, 1993). Zo toont onderzoek aan dat jongeren die zich veilig gehecht voelen, positiever staan tegenover anderen (Cohen, Towbes, & Flocco, 1988), meer zelfvertrouwen hebben (Mikulincer, 1998), meer openstaan voor informatie die onze stereotiepe denkbeelden tegenspreekt (Mikulincer & Arad, 1999) en meer empathisch, zorgzaam en altruïstisch zijn (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2005). Bovendien gaan ze gemakkelijker relaties aan, hebben ze meer vertrouwen in anderen en zijn hun sociale vaardigheden beter ontwikkeld (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Verder blijken veilig gehechte jongeren meer tolerant te zijn, minder negatieve reacties te uiten tegenover en meer positief te interageren met minderheden (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001). Daarenboven voelen ze zich minder bedreigd door immigranten, focussen ze zich minder op verschillen tussen groepen en kunnen ze beter omgaan met stressvolle situaties (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Mikulincer, 1998; Mikulincer & Florian, 1998). Met andere woorden, mensen hebben minder nood aan het uiten van negatieve reacties tegenover minderheden wanneer ze een sterk gevoel van veilige hechting hebben (Mikulincer, 1997). Ondanks deze relevante bevindingen werd de directe relatie tussen het gevoel van veilige hechting en etnische vooroordelen tot zover wij weten nog niet kwantitatief onderzocht.

Sociale cohesie

Voor we verder ingaan op de relatie tussen sociale cohesie en etnische vooroordelen, willen we even stilstaan bij de veelheid aan begrippen die door elkaar gebruikt worden binnen dit soort onderzoek (voor een overzicht, zie Libbey, 2004). In de Engelstalige literatuur worden begrippen als 'attachment', 'bonding', 'connectedness' en 'engagement' gebruikt om te verwijzen naar enige verbondenheid met de school. Wij gebruiken de term 'sociale cohesie'. Castelijns et al. (2009) omschrijven sociale cohesie als de mate waarin het individu zich identificeert met het collectief, in deze context de school, en het collectief het individu accepteert. Sociale cohesie in dit artikel verwijst naar het gedeeld gevoel van verbondenheid met school bij leerlingen binnen eenzelfde school (Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012).

Sociale cohesie en etnische vooroordelen

Niet enkel het individuele gevoel van hechting, maar ook de sociale cohesie binnen een school kan worden gerelateerd aan etnische vooroordelen van leerlingen. Barber en Olsen (2004) onderscheiden drie elementen bij socialisatie van adolescenten: verbondenheid met belangrijke anderen, regulering van gedrag en psychologische autonomie. Het "school-als-gemeenschap"-perspectief focust op het eerste aspect: de verbondenheid/hechting met de school. De school wordt gezien als een plaats waar leerlingen zich gesteund en gerespecteerd voelen (Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012; Libbey, 2004), waardoor leerlingen bovendien meer empathisch zouden zijn, meer respect zouden hebben voor anderen en over meer sociale vaardigheden zouden

beschikken (Battistich et al., 1997). Ook deze aspecten kunnen allemaal gerelateerd worden aan etnische vooroordelen (Mikulincer, 1997). Toch werd in vorig onderzoek, voor zover we weten, de relatie tussen sociale cohesie of een gedeeld gevoel van veilige hechting op school en etnische vooroordelen nooit eerder onderzocht.

School- en individuele kenmerken en etnische vooroordelen

Hoe meer etnische minderheden op school, hoe groter de kans op interetnische contacten tussen Vlaamse en niet-Vlaamse leerlingen (Blau, 1994; Fritzsche, 2006; Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014). Dit zorgt ervoor dat een hoger aantal leerlingen uit minderheidsgroepen op school gepaard kan gaan met minder negatieve attitudes bij meerderheids-leerlingen tegenover minderheden (Bakker et al., 2007; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Onderzoek toont namelijk aan dat louter de aanwezigheid of een hogere concentratie van etnische minderheden gepaard kan gaan met minder etnische vooroordelen (Kalin, 1996; Zebrowitz, White & Wieneke, 2008). Dit kan deels verklaard worden door de loutere blootstellingshypothese (mere exposure hypothesis) van Zajonc (1968). Die stelt dat herhaalde blootstelling aan etnische minderheden gepaard gaat met meer vertrouwen en dit resulteert in een meer positieve houding tegenover minderheden. De contacthypothese van Allport (1954) gaat ervan uit dat loutere blootstelling aan minderheden niet volstaat om vooroordelen te reduceren. Hij zegt dat loutere blootstelling enkel zou leiden tot minder vooroordelen indien (a) verschillende groepen een gelijke status verwachten en ervaren, (b) ze gemeenschappelijke doelen nastreven, (c) er samenwerking bestaat en

(d) er steun komt van bovenaf. Pettigrew (1998) voegde vriendschap toe als vijfde voorwaarde. De positieve effecten van het hebben van minderheids-vrienden op etnische vooroordelen werd meermaals bevestigd (Pettigrew, 2008; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008; Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2012). Gezien de belangrijke rol die veilige hechting speelt in (interetnische) relaties, kan het ook bijdragen aan het inzicht in de effecten van interetnische vriendschap op etnische vooroordelen (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001). Het is mogelijk dat interetnische vriendschappen een gevoel van veilige hechting activeren en dat dit gepaard gaat met het bevorderen van warme en vriendelijke relaties en oprechte bezorgdheid voor anderen, resulterend in minder negatieve vooroordelen tegenover etnische minderheden. Vervolgens zijn er nog enkele individuele kenmerken die vaak gerelateerd worden aan de mate van etnische vooroordelen. Onderzoek toont aan dat vrouwen (Coenders & Scheepers, 1998; Elchardus & Siongers, 2003), mensen met een hoger inkomen (Cambré, De Witte, & Billiet, 2001; De Witte, 1999) en mensen met een hogere socio-economische status (Quillian, 1995) minder etnisch bevooroordeeld zijn. Bovendien zou een hoger opleidingsniveau ook gepaard gaan met minder etnische vooroordelen (Cambré, De Witte, & Billiet, 2001; Elchardus & Siongers, 2003). Het secundair onderwijs in Vlaanderen bestaat uit vier onderwijsvormen: (a) algemeen secundair onderwijs (= ASO: voorbereiding op hoger onderwijs), (b) beroepssecundair onderwijs (= BSO: praktisch en jobspecifiek onderwijs), (c) kunstsecundair onderwijs (= KSO: algemeen onderwijs gecombineerd met kunst) en (d) technisch secundair onderwijs (= TSO: meer gefocust op technische en praktische onderwerpen).

Onderwijsvormen zijn over het algemeen hiërarchisch gerangschikt op basis van de mate van abstractie en theorievorming: ASO wordt beschouwd als de meest gewaardeerde en moeilijkste onderwijsvorm, terwijl BSO en TSO vaak onderaan de ladder geplaatst worden (Van Houtte & Stevens, 2010; Boone & Van Houtte, 2013). Specifiek voor Vlaanderen lijken leerlingen uit het BSO meer bevooroordeeld te zijn dan leerlingen uit meer academische onderwijsvormen (Elchardus & Siongers, 2003; Van Praag, Boone, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2015). Aangezien er in het BSO meer etnische minderheden aanwezig zijn dan in het ASO en TSO (Demanet, Agirdag, & Van Houtte, 2011), zouden we op basis van de contacttheorie (Allport, 1954) verwachten dat leerlingen in het BSO minder bevooroordeeld zijn. De realistic group conflict theory (Campbell, 1965), die stelt dat competitie tussen groepen voor waardevolle, schaarse goederen ethnocentrisme kan veroorzaken, biedt een mogelijke verklaring voor de bevinding dat in het BSO toch meer vooroordelen worden vastgesteld. Het is bovendien zo dat individuen met een laag opleidingsprofiel zich meer bedreigd voelen tegenover etnische minderheden, omdat deze streven naar, onder andere, dezelfde jobs (Quillian, 1995; Scheepers, Gijberts, & Coenders, 2002; Semyonov, Raijman, & Gorodzeisky, 2006).

Deze studie

In deze studie willen we de relatie tussen hechting met verschillende actoren en etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren testen (H1). Hierbij wordt zowel gekeken naar veilige hechting met de ouders, leerkrachten als de school. We verwachten dat

een groter gevoel van veilige hechting met zowel de ouders (H1a), leerkrachten (H1b) als de school (H1c) gepaard gaat met minder etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren. Bovendien verwachten we dat leerlingen in scholen waar een gedeeld gevoel van veilige hechting met de school bestaat onder de leerlingen en er dus sprake is van sociale cohesie, minder etnisch bevooroordeeld zullen zijn (H2). Er wordt bovendien gecontroleerd voor etnische schoolcompositie en enkele individuele kenmerken die vaak gerelateerd worden aan het al dan niet hebben van etnische vooroordelen.

Methode

Steekproef

We gebruikten de data van het RaDiSS 2-onderzoek (Racisme en Discriminatie in Secundaire Scholen), verzameld tijdens het schooljaar 2014-2015. Om voldoende variatie te garanderen, werd een getrapte steekproef gebruikt op basis van de verstedelijkingsgraad van de schoolomgeving en de etniciteit van de leerlingen. Eerst werden vier grote, multiculturele steden geselecteerd, namelijk Antwerpen, Gent, Hasselt en Sint-Niklaas. Vervolgens werden alle secundaire scholen (behalve kunstonderwijs vanwege van het geringe aantal ingeschreven leerlingen) opgesplitst op basis van de ligging: in het centrum van de stad, een voorstedelijk gebied, of een landelijk gebied. Het doel was om twee derde van de eerste groep en een derde van de laatste twee groepen te realiseren. Binnen deze steden werd een verdere selectie gemaakt, waarbij een derde van de scholen gekenmerkt werd door een lage proportie etnische minderheden (minder dan 15%), een derde met een matige proportie (tussen

15% en 49.9%), een derde met een hoge proportie (tussen 50% en 100%). In totaal werden 55 scholen gecontacteerd, waarvan er 45 wilden deelnemen aan het onderzoek (een respons van 82%). Van deze scholen waren er 26 gelokaliseerd in het stadscentrum, 12 in een voorstedelijk gebied en 7 in een landelijk gebied. Verder waren er 14 scholen met een lage proportie etnische minderheden, 15 scholen met een matige proportie en 16 scholen met een hoge proportie. De leerlingen van het zesde middelbaar werden bevraagd aan de hand van een papieren vragenlijst. In totaal vulden 3,371 van de 4,107 leerlingen een vragenlijst in, wat resulteerde in een respons van 82 procent. De enige reden waarom leerlingen niet deelnamen aan het onderzoek was dat ze afwezig waren door ziekte of op uitstap waren, waardoor dit geen vertekend beeld oplevert. De leerlingen vulden de vragenlijst in onder toezicht van de onderzoeker en één of meerdere leerkrachten. De vragenlijsten waren niet anoniem, aangezien de data later gekoppeld zouden worden aan andere data, waaronder de attesten en eindresultaten van de leerlingen. De leerlingen werden verwittigd dat hun namen verwijderd werden zodra alle gegevens verwerkt waren en dat de leerkrachten hun vragenlijsten niet mochten en konden inkijken. Zo was de uiteindelijke dataset toch vertrouwelijk en anoniem. Aangezien “etnische vooroordelen” in deze studie verwijst naar vooroordelen tegenover zowel Turken, Marokkanen als Oost-Europeanen, werden enkel de Vlaamse jongeren mee opgenomen in dit onderzoek (71%). Dit resulteerde in een steekproef van 2,233 Vlaamse leerlingen. Van deze leerlingen was 50 procent vrouwelijk, 44.9 procent zat in het ASO, 31.6 procent in het

BSO, 23.5 procent in het TSO. De gemiddelde leeftijd en socio-economische status (= SES) bedroeg respectievelijk 17.45 (range 15-29) en 55.1 (range 16-90) (zie Tabel 7).

Variabelen

Etnische vooroordelen. Etnische vooroordelen verwijst naar een negatieve houding tegenover mensen die tot een andere etnische groep behoren (De Witte, 1999; Quillian, 1995). Aangezien de meeste etnische minderheden in Vlaanderen uit Marokko, Turkije en Oost-Europa (Polen, Bulgarije, Roemenië en Kosovo) komen, werden negatieve houdingen tegenover deze drie groepen samengenomen onder de term ‘etnische vooroordelen’. Er werd een 5-punts-Likertschaal gebruikt met 18 items, met antwoordcategorieën gaande van helemaal niet akkoord (= 1) tot volledig akkoord (= 5). Drie voorbeelden van items zijn “Marokkanen/Turken/Oost-Europeanen dragen niet bij tot de welvaart van België”, “Marokkanen/Turken/Oost-Europeanen zijn over het algemeen onbetrouwbaar”, en “In sommige buurten doet de overheid meer voor de Marokkanen/ Turken/Oost-Europeanen dan voor de Belgen die er wonen” (Quillian, 1995). Ontbrekende waarden werden opgevangen door itemcorrelatiesubstitutie: een ontbrekende waarde voor één item werd vervangen door de waarde van het item dat het sterkst correleerde met dat item (Huisman, 2000). De schaal werd gecreëerd door de gemiddelde score op de 18 items te berekenen, wat leidde tot een mogelijke score van 1 tot 5. Een hogere score betekende meer etnische vooroordelen. De Cronbachs alfa voor deze schaal bedroeg .89 ($n = 2,233$; gemiddelde (M) = 2.84; standaarddeviatie (SD) = .68) (zie Tabel 7).

Hechting met ouders. Hechting met ouders of ouderlijke steun verwijst naar de mate waarin leerlingen zich aanvaard en gerespecteerd voelen door hun ouders en het gevoel hebben dat deze geloven in zijn/haar kunnen (Brutsaert, 2001). Er werd een 5-punts-Likertschaal gebruikt met zeven items, met antwoordcategorieën gaande van nooit (= 1) tot altijd (= 5). Drie voorbeelden van items zijn “Mijn ouders aanvaarden mij zoals ik ben”, “Ik heb het gevoel dat mijn ouders heel weinig om mij geven”, en “Mijn ouders hebben vertrouwen in mij” (Brutsaert, 1993). Ontbrekende waarden werden opgevangen door itemcorrelatiesubstitutie (Huisman, 2000). Er werd een principale componentenanalyse uitgevoerd, die resulteerde in één factor. De zeven items hadden een lading van .672 tot .829. De schaal werd gecreëerd door de gemiddelde score op de zeven items te berekenen, wat leidde tot een mogelijke score van 1 tot 5. Een hogere score betekende meer veilige hechting met de ouders. De Cronbachs alfa voor deze schaal bedroeg .86 ($n = 2,233$; $M = 4.26$; $SD = .66$) (zie Tabel 7).

Hechting met leerkrachten. Hechting met leerkrachten werd gemeten aan de hand van de Psychological Sense of School Membership scale (Goodenow, 1993; Libbey, 2004). Deze schaal bestaat uit zeven items, waarbij leerlingen konden antwoorden aan de hand van een 5-puntenschaal, gaande van helemaal niet akkoord (= 1) tot helemaal akkoord (= 5). Drie voorbeelden van items zijn “De mensen op school weten dat ik goed werk kan leveren”, “De leerkrachten respecteren mij” en “De leerkrachten op deze school zijn niet geïnteresseerd in mensen zoals ik”. Er werd een principale componentenanalyse uitgevoerd, die resulteerde in één factor. De zeven items hadden een lading van .417 tot .747. De schaal werd gecreëerd door de gemiddelde score op

de zeven items te berekenen, wat leidde tot een mogelijke score van 1 tot 5. Een hogere score betekende meer veilige hechting met hun leerkrachten. De Cronbachs alfa voor deze schaal bedroeg .78 ($n = 2,233$; $M = 3.62$; $SD = .57$) (zie Tabel 7).

Hechting met de school. Hechting met de school werd ook gemeten aan de hand van de Psychological Sense of School Membership scale (Goodenow, 1993; Libbey, 2004). Deze schaal bestaat uit elf items, waarbij leerlingen konden antwoorden aan de hand van een 5-puntenschaal, gaande van helemaal niet akkoord (= 1) tot helemaal akkoord (= 5). Drie voorbeelden van items zijn “Ik voel me echt deel van deze school”, “Ik wou dat ik op een andere school zat” en “Iedereen op school is vriendelijk tegen mij”. Er werd een principale componentenanalyse uitgevoerd, die resulteerde in één factor. De elf items hadden een lading van .483 tot .759. De schaal werd gecreëerd door de gemiddelde score op de elf items te berekenen, wat leidde tot een mogelijke score van 1 tot 5. Een hogere score betekende meer veilige hechting met de school. De Cronbachs alfa voor deze schaal bedroeg .84 ($n = 2,233$; $M = 3.47$; $SD = .62$) (zie Tabel 7).

Sociale cohesie. Om sociale cohesie te meten, werden de individuele metingen van hechting met de school (Goodenow, 1993) geaggregeerd tot het schoolniveau (Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012), door het gemiddelde hiervan te nemen in elke school (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, & Sanders, 1990). Hierbij werd eerst nagegaan of het gevoel van hechting met de school gedeeld werd bij leerlingen van dezelfde school. Daartoe berekenden we de mean rater reliability (Glick, 1985; Shrout & Fleiss, 1979), gebaseerd op de intra-class correlation (ICC) op basis van een one-way ANOVA met

hechting met school als afhankelijke variabele en school als factor. De ICC wordt berekend aan de hand van de volgende formule:

$$(Between\ Mean\ Square - Within\ Mean\ Square) / Between\ Mean\ Square$$

en moet groter zijn dan .6 om geaggregeerd te mogen worden (Glick, 1985; Shrout & Fleiss, 1979). Voor hechting met school bedroeg de ICC .78. Scholen verschillen significant voor wat het gemiddeld niveau van hechting van de leerlingen betreft ($F = 4.616$; $p < .001$). Dit betekent dat hechting met school gedeeld wordt bij leerlingen en dat het dus legitiem is om te spreken van sociale cohesie op schoolniveau. Het gemiddelde bedraagt 3.5 ($SD = .19$) (zie Tabel 7).

Etnische schoolcompositie. Etnische compositie is een variabele op schoolniveau gebaseerd op de proportie etnische minderheden per school in de steekproef. De etniciteit van de leerlingen werd bepaald op basis van het geboorteland van de grootmoeder langs moeders kant (OECD, 2008). Als deze gegevens ontbraken, werd het geboorteland van de moeder gebruikt en indien ook deze data ontbraken, werd het geboorteland van de leerling zelf gebruikt. Zoals gebruikelijk (Agirdag, Van Avermaet, & Van Houtte, 2013; Demanet, Agirdag, & Van Houtte, 2011) en in lijn met de officiële Vlaamse definitie van minderheden (Brans et al., 2004) werden leerlingen als etnische minderheid beschouwd als hun grootmoeder, hun moeder of de leerling zelf werd geboren buiten West-Europa (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003). De gemiddelde proportie etnische minderheden op school bedroeg .19 ($SD = .19$) (zie Tabel 7).

Geslacht. Onze steekproef is gelijkmatig verdeeld wat geslacht betreft: 50 procent van de leerlingen is vrouwelijk, 50 procent mannelijk (zie Tabel 7).

Socio-economische status (= SES). De SES van de leerlingen werd gemeten aan de hand van het beroep van hun ouders. Hun beroep werd gehercodeerd met behulp van de International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) (Ganzeboom, De Graaf, & Treiman, 1992), afgeleid van de International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). De hoogste score van de twee ouders werd gebruikt als indicator voor de SES van de leerlingen. Hoe hoger de score, hoe hoger de SES. In onze steekproef was de minimumscore 16 en de maximumscore 90, met een gemiddelde waarde van 55.10 (SD = 15.94) (zie Tabel 7).

Onderwijsvorm. Er werd gevraagd aan de leerlingen om aan te geven in welke studierichting ze zitten. Op basis van de richting werd de variabele “onderwijsvorm” aangemaakt, waarbij we een onderscheid maakten tussen algemeen (ASO), beroeps (BSO), kunst (KSO) en technisch secundair onderwijs (TSO). Leerlingen uit het KSO werden niet mee opgenomen in de analyses, aangezien dit om een erg klein aantal ging. Aangezien onderzoek aantoont dat leerlingen uit het TSO en BSO meer etnisch bevooroordeeld zijn dan leerlingen uit het ASO (De Witte, 1999), maakten we twee dummyvariabelen aan met “ASO” (44.9%) als referentiecategorie: de variabele “TSO” (31.6%) en “BSO” (23.5%) (zie Tabel 7).

Interetnische vriendschappen. Er werd aan de leerlingen gevraagd hoeveel van hun vrienden van niet-Belgische afkomst waren. De mogelijke antwoorden waren niemand (= 1), een paar (= 2), de helft (= 3), de meesten (= 4) en allemaal (= 5). Er werden drie

dummyvariabelen aangemaakt met “geen enkele niet-Belgische vriend” (11.7%) als referentiecategorie: de variabele “een paar niet-Belgische vrienden” (73.5%), “de helft niet-Belgische vrienden” (9%) en “de meeste/allemaal niet-Belgische vrienden” (5.8%) (zie Tabel 7).

Tabel 7. Beschrijvende statistieken voor afhankelijke en onafhankelijke variabelen: frequenties (%), gemiddelden, standaarddeviaties (SD), minimum (Min.) en maximum (Max.) waarden (n = 2,233)

	%	GEMIDDELDE	SD	MIN.	MAX.
Uitkomstvariabele					
Etnische vooroordelen		2.84	.68	1	5
Variabelen schoolniveau					
Etnische schoolcompositie		.19	.19	.00	.95
Sociale cohesie		3.50	.19	2.81	4.20
Variabelen individueel niveau					
Geslacht					
Mannelijk	50				
Vrouwelijk	50				
Socio-economische status		55.10	15.94	16	90
Onderwijsvorm					
ASO	44.9				
TSO	31.6				
BSO	23.5				
Minderheids-vrienden					
Geen enkele	11.7				
Een paar	73.5				
De helft	9				
De meeste/allemaal	5.8				
Hechting ouders		4.26	.66	1	5
Hechting leerkrachten		3.62	.57	1	5
Hechting school		3.47	.62	1	5

Onderzoeksopzet

Aangezien we werken met een geclusterde steekproef van leerlingen binnen scholen, was een multilevelanalyse het meest geschikt (MLwiN 2.30). Sociale cohesie is een onafhankelijke variabele op schoolniveau, veilige hechting met de ouders, leerkrachten en school onafhankelijke variabelen op het individuele niveau. Er werd gecontroleerd voor etnische compositie op schoolniveau en geslacht, SES, het hebben van vrienden uit minderheidsgroepen en de onderwijsvorm op individueel niveau. Alle metrische variabelen werden gecentreerd met behulp van grand mean centering.

Het eerste model (Tabel 9, Model 0) was het intercept-only-model, een onvoorwaardelijk model om te kijken hoeveel van de variantie in etnische vooroordelen zich op individueel en schoolniveau bevindt. In het tweede model (Tabel 9, Model 1) werd hechting op individueel niveau toegevoegd om de eerste hypothesen te testen die verwachten dat leerlingen die veilig gehecht zijn aan hun ouders (H1a), leerkrachten (H1b) en school (H1c) minder etnisch bevooroordeeld zijn. We controleerden voor etnische schoolcompositie, aangezien onderzoek aantoont dat louter de aanwezigheid (Zajonc, 1968; Zebrowitz, White, & Wieneke, 2008) of een hogere concentratie (Kalin, 1996) van etnische minderheden gepaard gaat met minder etnische vooroordelen. Verder werden geslacht, SES, het hebben van minderheidsvrienden en de onderwijsvorm mee opgenomen als controlevariabelen, aangezien onderzoek aantoont dat mannen, mensen met een lagere SES, mensen met weinig of geen vrienden uit minderheidsgroepen en leerlingen in het BSO en TSO meer etnisch bevooroordeeld zijn dan vrouwen, mensen met een hogere SES, mensen met meer

minderheids-vrienden en leerlingen in het ASO (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; De Witte, 1999; Pettigrew, 1998; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). In het derde model (Tabel 9, Model 2) werd sociale cohesie toegevoegd om de tweede hoofdhypothese te testen die stelt dat meer sociale cohesie binnen een school gepaard gaat met minder etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren (H2).

Resultaten

De bivariate correlaties in Tabel 8 tonen dat hechting met zowel ouders ($r = -.091$; $p < .01$), leerkrachten ($r = -.172$; $p < .01$) als school ($r = -.163$; $p < .01$) negatief gecorreleerd was met etnische vooroordelen. Dit toont aan dat leerlingen die zich veilig gehecht voelen bij hun ouders, leerkrachten en school minder etnisch bevooroordeeld zijn dan leerlingen die zich niet veilig gehecht voelen. Ook het hebben van niet-Belgische vrienden ($r = -.162$; $p < .01$) en SES ($r = -.103$; $p < .01$) waren negatief gecorreleerd met etnische vooroordelen. Dit betekent dat leerlingen met een hogere SES en leerlingen met meer minderheids-vrienden minder etnisch bevooroordeeld zijn dan leerlingen met een lagere SES en leerlingen met weinig/geen vrienden uit minderheidsgroepen. Een significante, positieve relatie werd gevonden tussen geslacht ($r = .090$; $p < .01$), onderwijsvorm ($r = .226$; $p < .01$) en etnische vooroordelen. Vrouwelijke leerlingen en leerlingen uit ASO zijn minder bevooroordeeld dan mannelijke leerlingen en leerlingen uit BSO of TSO.

Tabel 8. Bivariate (Pearson) correlaties tussen afhankelijke en onafhankelijke variabelen (n = 2,233)

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Etnische vooroordelen	1	.090**	-.103**	.226**	-.162**	-.091**	-.172**	-.163**
2. Geslacht		1	.038	.047*	.034	.035	-.030	.027
3. Socio-economische status			1	-.452**	-.142**	.024	.059**	.090**
4. Onderwijsvorm				1	.223**	-.083**	-.105**	-.209**
5. Minderheids-vrienden					1	-.053*	-.023	-.067**
6. Hechting ouders						1	.284**	.323**
7. Hechting leerkrachten							1	.571**
8. Hechting school								1

Note. *p < .05, **p < .01.

We startten de multilevelanalyse met een onvoorwaardelijk model (Tabel 9, Model 0). Dit model geeft aan dat 21 procent van de variantie in etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren zich op schoolniveau bevindt. Het tweede model toonde dat de relatie tussen hechting met de ouders en vooroordelen negatief en significant was ($p < .05$; Tabel 9, Model 1), dus de eerste hypothese (H1a) werd bevestigd: leerlingen die zich veilig gehecht voelen bij hun ouders, zijn minder etnisch bevooroordeeld. Ook de associatie tussen hechting met de leerkrachten en de mate van vooroordelen was negatief en significant ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 1), dus werd de tweede hypothese (H1b), die veronderstelde dat een veilige hechting met de leerkrachten gepaard gaat met minder etnische vooroordelen ook bevestigd. Een veilige hechting met de school bleek ten slotte negatief en significant gerelateerd te zijn aan vooroordelen ($p < .05$; Tabel 9, Model 1), waarmee de derde hypothese (H1c) ook bevestigd werd: leerlingen die zich veilig gehecht voelen op school, zijn minder etnisch bevooroordeeld. We controleerden voor etnische schoolcompositie, geslacht, SES, de onderwijsvorm van de leerlingen en het hebben van minderheids-vrienden (Tabel 9, Model 1). Mannelijke leerlingen bleken meer etnisch bevooroordeeld te zijn dan vrouwelijke leerlingen ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 1). Leerlingen uit het TSO ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 1) en BSO ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 1) scoorden hoger op etnische vooroordelen dan leerlingen uit het ASO. Hoe meer vrienden uit minderheidsgroepen de Vlaamse leerlingen hadden, hoe minder etnische vooroordelen ze hadden: zowel leerlingen met een paar ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 1), de helft ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 1) als de meeste/allemaal

($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 1) niet-Belgische vrienden waren minder bevooroordeeld dan leerlingen zonder interetnische vriendschappen.

In het derde model (Tabel 9, Model 2) gingen we na of sociale cohesie binnen een school geassocieerd was met de mate van etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren. Dit bleek zo te zijn: in scholen met een sterkere cohesie waren Vlaamse leerlingen minder etnisch bevooroordeeld ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 2). De tweede hoofdhypothese (H2) werd dus ook bevestigd. Door het toevoegen van sociale cohesie aan het model, zien we dat het effect van etnische schoolcompositie vergroot ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 2). Dit kan deels verklaard worden door het feit dat het positieve effect van etnische schoolcompositie op vooroordelen onderdrukt wordt in het eerste model. Aangezien de sociale cohesie in scholen met meer minderheden minder sterk is, wordt het effect van schoolcompositie sterker na controle voor sociale cohesie. Het effect van het individuele gevoel van hechting met de school werd iets kleiner ($p < .1$; Tabel 9, Model 2). Mannelijke leerlingen bleken nog steeds meer etnisch bevooroordeeld te zijn dan vrouwelijke leerlingen ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 2). Leerlingen uit het TSO ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 2) en BSO ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 2) scoorden hoger op etnische vooroordelen dan leerlingen uit het ASO. Hoe meer minderheids-vrienden de Vlaamse leerlingen hadden, hoe minder etnische vooroordelen ze hadden: zowel leerlingen met een paar ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 2) als die met, de helft ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 2) of de meeste/allemaal ($p < .001$; Tabel 9, Model 2) vrienden uit minderheidsgroepen waren minder bevooroordeeld dan leerlingen zonder interetnische vriendschappen.

Tabel 9. Etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren. Multilevelresultaten
(n = 2,233, groepen = 48)

Parameter	MODEL 0	MODEL 1	MODEL 2
Schoolniveau			
Etnische schoolcompositie		-.390* (.150)	-.634*** (.144)
Sociale cohesie			-.635*** (.148)
Individueel niveau			
Geslacht (ref: vrouwelijk)		.091*** (.029)	.092*** (.029)
Socio-economische status		-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)
Technisch secundair onderwijs (ref: ASO)		.235*** (.047)	.209*** (.046)
Beroeps secundair onderwijs (ref: ASO)		.470*** (.052)	.440*** (.051)
Een paar minderheids-vrienden (ref: Geen)		-.233*** (.042)	-.235*** (.042)
De helft minderheids-vrienden (ref: Geen)		-.462*** (.061)	-.460*** (.061)
De meeste/allemaal minderheids- vrienden (ref: Geen)		-.492*** (.071)	-.492*** (.071)
Hechting ouders		-.046* (.021)	-.048* (.021)
Hechting leerkrachten		-.093*** (.028)	-.094*** (.028)
Hechting school		-.058* (.027)	-.048+ (.027)
Constant	2.789***	2.835***	2.859***
Individual-level variance	.403	.372	.372
School-level variance	.107	.042	.027
Log-likelihood	4,412.983	4,203.649	4,187.183

Note. De gecentreerde coëfficiënten zijn gepresenteerd, met standaardfouten tussen haakjes.

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, +p < .1

Discussie en conclusie

Wereldwijde migratie zorgde voor een toename van etnische diversiteit in de samenleving en scholen. Deze evolutie ging gepaard met meer onderzoek naar etnische vooroordelen van de etnische meerderheid ten aanzien van etnische minderheden. De negatieve gevolgen van vooroordelen voor etnische minderheden werden al meermaals bevestigd (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Desondanks bestaat er weinig onderzoek naar de determinanten van etnische vooroordelen. De weinige studies die dit doen, kijken bijna uitsluitend naar determinanten op individueel niveau (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). Dit onderzoek bouwt hierop voort door te kijken naar de relatie tussen veilige hechting met de ouders, leerkrachten en school op individueel niveau en etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren. Bovendien wordt ook de rol van sociale cohesie op schoolniveau onderzocht. Daarbij wordt rekening gehouden met de etnische compositie van een school en andere sociodemografische kenmerken die eerder gerelateerd werden aan etnische vooroordelen. Eerst werd nagegaan of een gevoel van veilige hechting bij Vlaamse jongeren met zowel de ouders, leerkrachten als de school gepaard ging met minder etnische vooroordelen. Vervolgens werd er gekeken of meer sociale cohesie binnen een school gerelateerd was aan minder etnische vooroordelen.

De belangrijkste bevinding van dit onderzoek is dat het individuele gevoel van veilig gehecht te zijn aan zowel ouders, leerkrachten als school geassocieerd wordt met minder etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse adolescenten. Onze eerste hypothese met

drie deelhypothesen werd dus bevestigd. Dit is in lijn met eerder onderzoek dat aantoonde dat veilige hechting gepaard gaat met heel wat aspecten die gerelateerd kunnen worden aan etnische vooroordelen. Wanneer leerlingen zich veilig gehecht voelen, zullen ze dus niet enkel meer tolerant, empathisch en zorgzaam zijn (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001, 2005), maar ook minder bevooroordeeld zijn ten aanzien van etnische minderheden. Dit toont nogmaals het belang aan om niet enkel individuele kenmerken, maar ook de sociale relaties binnen een schoolcontext mee op te nemen in onderzoek over vooroordelen (Stevens & Görgöz, 2010). Door een onderscheid te maken tussen de verschillende hechtingsactoren, vonden we dat zowel ouders, vrienden, leerkrachten als de school een invloed hebben op de etnische attitude van jongeren (Munniksmä, Flache, Verkuyten, & Veenstra, 2012). Dit is erg relevant om concrete beleidsimplicaties te formuleren. Bovendien lijken Vlaamse leerlingen in scholen met meer sociale cohesie minder etnisch bevooroordeeld te zijn. Leerlingen op scholen waar een gedeeld gevoel van veilige hechting met de school bestaat, zullen minder etnisch bevooroordeeld zijn. Daardoor werd ook de tweede hypothese van dit onderzoek bevestigd. Dit kan deels verklaard worden doordat leerlingen die zich gesteund en gerespecteerd voelen op school, meer empathisch zijn, meer respect hebben voor anderen en over meer sociale vaardigheden beschikken (Battistich et al., 1997), allemaal eigenschappen die gerelateerd kunnen worden aan minder etnische vooroordelen (Mikulincer, 1997). Als we kijken naar de rol van de etnische samenstelling van een school, vonden we dat de aanwezigheid van etnische minderheden op school gepaard gaat met minder etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse

jongeren. Dit is in lijn met eerdere bevindingen die aantonen dat louter de aanwezigheid of een hoger aantal minderheden kan leiden tot minder vooroordelen (Kalin, 1996; Zajonc, 1968; Zebrowitz, White, & Wieneke, 2008). De positieve invloed van veilige hechting op schoolniveau en de etnische samenstelling van de school tonen bovendien aan dat ook schoolkenmerken een rol spelen bij het verklaren van etnische vooroordelen. Desondanks bevestigden onze bevindingen het belang van enkele individuele en relationele kenmerken, die eerder gerelateerd werden aan de mate van etnische vooroordelen. Jongens lijken meer etnisch bevooroordeeld te zijn dan meisjes (Coenders & Scheepers, 1998; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). Ondanks het feit dat etnische minderheden vaker in TSO en BSO terechtkomen (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013; Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009), stelden we vast dat leerlingen in het TSO en BSO meer vooroordelen hebben tegenover etnische minderheden dan jongeren uit het ASO (De Witte, 1999). Dit is in tegenspraak met wat we zouden verwachten op basis van de contacttheorie (Allport, 1954). Aangezien er zich net in deze richtingen meer etnische minderheden bevinden, zouden we verwachten dat leerlingen in deze onderwijsvormen minder bevooroordeeld zijn. De realistic group conflict theory (bv. Campbell, 1965) biedt een mogelijke verklaring voor de bevinding dat in het BSO toch meer vooroordelen worden vastgesteld. Deze theorie stelt dat competitie tussen groepen voor waardevolle, schaarse goederen vijandigheid of ethnocentrisme kan creëren. Bovendien blijkt dat individuen met een laag opleidingsprofiel zich meer bedreigd voelen tegenover etnische minderheden, omdat deze strijden voor dezelfde plaatsen op de arbeidsmarkt (Quillian, 1995; Scheepers et

al., 2002; Semyonov, Raijman, & Gorodzeisky, 2006). Dit kan dus zeker en vast van toepassing zijn op leerlingen in technische en beroepsrichtingen. Ten slotte gaat het hebben van niet-Belgische vrienden gepaard met minder etnische vooroordelen (Pettigrew, 2008; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008; Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2012). Onze resultaten tonen bovendien aan dat ook de hoeveelheid niet-Belgische vrienden een rol speelt: hoe meer interetnische vriendschappen, hoe minder etnisch bevooroordeeld Vlaamse jongeren zijn. Naast deze relevante bevindingen, kent deze studie ook enkele gebreken. Aangezien we een getrapte steekproef gebruikten op basis van de verstedelijkingsgraad van de schoolomgeving en de etniciteit van de leerlingen, zijn onze bevindingen moeilijk te veralgemenen naar heel Vlaanderen. Het is bovendien een cross-sectioneel onderzoek, waardoor het onmogelijk is om uitspraken te doen over de causaliteit. Zo zou het kunnen dat leerlingen die meer bevooroordeeld zijn, zich minder veilig gehecht voelen bij hun ouders, leerkrachten en op school of dat deze leerlingen minder snel naar scholen gaan die gekenmerkt worden door een sterke sociale cohesie. Bovendien zouden andere metingen kunnen leiden tot andere bevindingen. Zo werd enkel de rol van veilige hechting onderzocht, zonder een onderscheid te maken tussen de verschillende types van onveilige hechting, namelijk vermijdende, ambivalente en gedesoriënteerde hechting. Vervolgens kan de schaal die werd gebruikt om etnische vooroordelen te meten gevoelig zijn voor sociaal wenselijke antwoorden. Daardoor zou het nuttig kunnen zijn om meer impliciete metingen van vooroordelen op te nemen (Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014). Ten slotte werden vooroordelen tegenover Turken, Marokkanen en Oost-Europeanen

samengenomen. Het apart analyseren van vooroordelen tegenover deze minderheden zou kunnen leiden tot andere bevindingen, aangezien vooroordelen samenhangen met de nationaliteit van de minderheden en de immigratiegeschiedenis van een land (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Kalin, 1996). Dit is ook een van de redenen waarom de resultaten specifiek gelden voor Vlaanderen, en niet veralgemeend kunnen worden naar andere landen.

Deze studie opent de deur voor verder onderzoek naar etnische vooroordelen binnen de schoolcontext en bevestigt dat het belangrijk is om zowel individuele, relationele als schoolkenmerken mee op te nemen als mogelijke determinanten (Bar-Tal, 1997; Stevens & Görgöz, 2010). Hechting blijkt verbonden te zijn aan heel wat uitkomsten die gerelateerd kunnen worden aan etnische vooroordelen. Het zou nuttig zijn om na te gaan welk van deze processen, zoals empathie, zelfvertrouwen, sociale vaardigheden, de relatie tussen hechting en vooroordelen medieert of modereert. Bovendien kan longitudinaal onderzoek een meerwaarde betekenen, aangezien onderzoek aantoonde dat de invloed van de ouders, vrienden, leerkrachten en school evolueert doorheen de ontwikkeling van een kind en bij veranderingen in de samenleving (Brutsaert, 1993; Hello, Scheepers, & Gijsberts, 2002). In deze studie wordt enkel gekeken naar de aard van de relaties tussen leerlingen en hun verschillende hechtingsactoren.

Toekomstig onderzoek zou kunnen controleren voor de attitudes van die significante anderen. Zo kunnen we verwachten dat leerlingen die veilig gehecht zijn aan ouders die etnisch bevooroordeeld zijn, meer vooroordelen zullen hebben dan leerlingen die

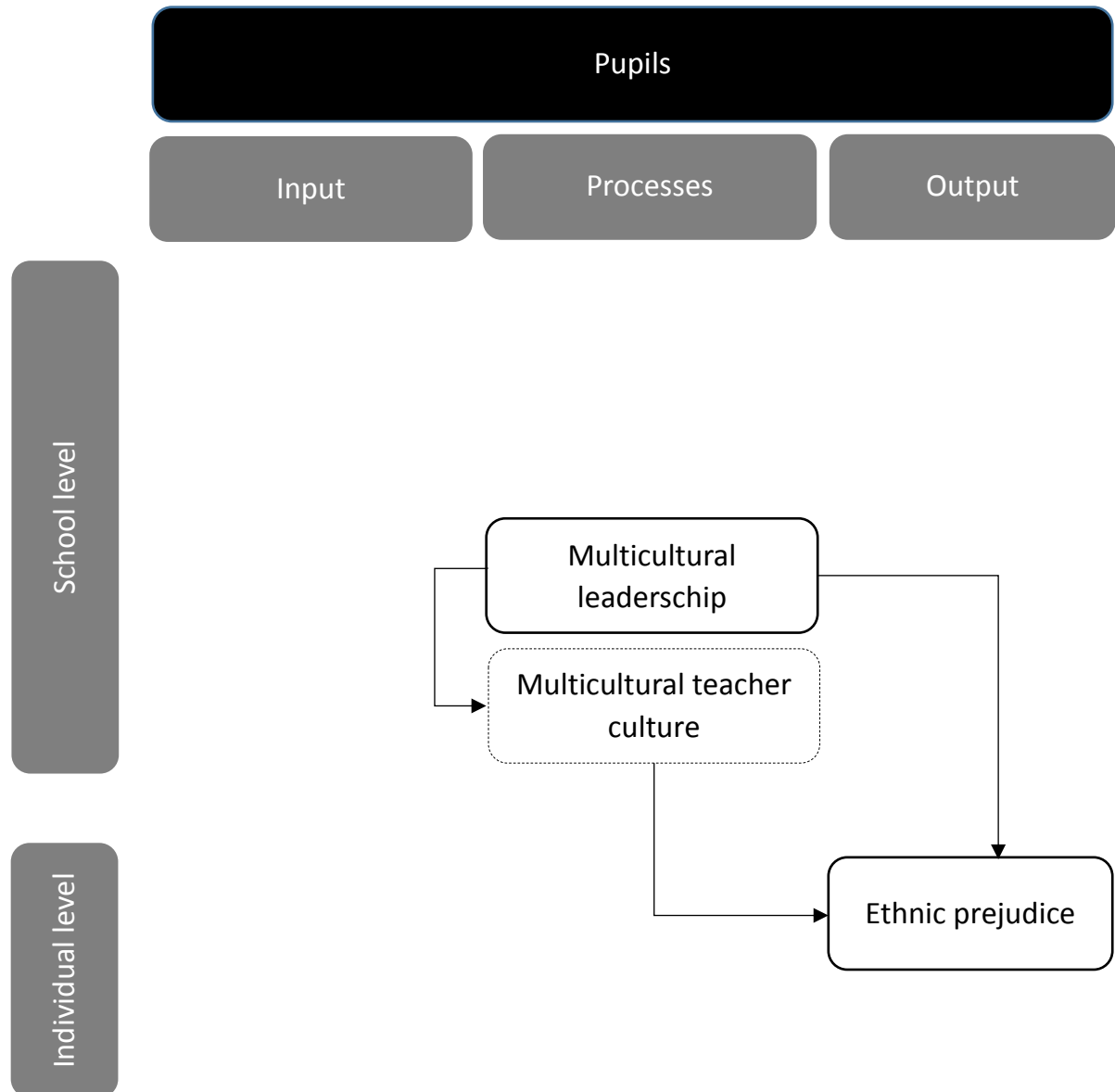
een veilige hechting hebben met onbevooroordeelde ouders. Het feit dat we in deze studie de hechtingstheorie konden bevestigen, toont echter aan dat in relatie met etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren, de aard van deze hechtingsrelaties belangrijk zijn, los van wat de hechtingsfiguren denken over etnische minderheden. Ten slotte zou toekomstig onderzoek onze bevindingen kunnen toetsen in een representatieve steekproef van scholen, zodat de bevindingen veralgemeend kunnen worden naar heel Vlaanderen. Dit onderzoek zou ook relevant zijn om meer concrete en leeftijdsgebonden beleidsimplicaties te formuleren om etnische vooroordelen bij jongeren aan te pakken. Om etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren te reduceren, zou men er alvast voor moeten zorgen dat jongeren zich veilig gehecht voelen. Goede relaties tussen leerlingen en hun ouders, leerkrachten en school moeten dan ook een streefdoel worden binnen het Vlaamse onderwijssysteem. Dit is geen evidente opdracht, aangezien we weten dat naarmate het kind ouder wordt, het moeilijker is om veilige hechting te bewerkstelligen (IJendoorn, Tavecchio, Goossens, & Vergeer, 1982). Toch kan het “school-als-gemeenschap”-perspectief een belangrijke inspiratiebron vormen. Volgens deze benadering zijn scholen effectief wanneer er ruimte is voor samenwerking, participatie, goede relaties tussen leerlingen en leerkrachten, waar leerlingen het gevoel hebben inspraak te hebben op school (Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012). Wanneer een school deze doelen nastreeft, zullen de leerlingen zich veel meer gehecht en gesteund voelen door medeleerlingen, leerkrachten en school (Libbey, 2004). Dit kan onder andere door leerkrachten te stimuleren om bepaalde lesmethodieken te hanteren die gericht zijn op samenwerking

of door het oprichten van een leerlingenraad op school. Daardoor zal er hoogstwaarschijnlijk meer sociale cohesie ontstaan, wat dan weer gepaard kan gaan met minder etnische vooroordelen. Streven naar een etnische mix op school en interetnische vriendschappen stimuleren, zijn ook mogelijke initiatieven om etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse jongeren te reduceren.

*“The aim of education is
the knowledge,
not of facts,
but of values”*

William S. Burroughs

6.2. Multicultural School Leadership, Multicultural Teacher culture and The Ethnic Prejudice of Flemish Pupils



Abstract

This study investigates the association between multicultural school leadership, multicultural teaching and the ethnic prejudice of majority pupils, controlling for ethnic school composition and various sociodemographic characteristics that have been related to pupils' ethnic prejudice. Multilevel analyses were carried out on data of 2,006 Flemish pupils in 38 Flemish (Belgian) secondary schools, collected through a written questionnaire. In the Flemish context, multicultural leadership is not related to pupils' ethnic prejudice. Moreover, teachers' multicultural practices are not affected by multicultural leadership. Nevertheless, teachers' multicultural practices seem to be associated with pupils' ethnic prejudice. When teachers use more examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures in their subject area, Flemish pupils seem to be less ethnic prejudiced. These findings highlight the need for more research into the underlying processes that influence the effectiveness of principals' efforts to implement multicultural policies in their schools and the importance of national (education) contexts in shaping this relationship. In terms of social policy, preservice school leaders and teachers must be prepared to create a more multicultural school culture by learning how to cope with stereotypes and conflicting intercultural relations.

Introduction

From the Second World War onward, Flanders (the Northern, Dutch-speaking region of Belgium) has developed into a multi-ethnic society. As a result of labor migration processes, migrant family reunification, and chain migration processes (Sierens et al.,

2006; Vanduynslager, Wets, Noppe, & Doyen, 2013), schools in Flanders are now notably ethnically diverse (Brief et al., 2005; Desmedt & Nicaise, 2006). This diversity poses a challenge to all educational systems (Little, Leung, & Van Avermaet, 2013; Nuri-Robins et al., 2007) and school leaders are encountering more complex and challenging school contexts (Billot, Goddard, & Cranston, 2007; Collard, 2007; Johnson, 2007; Nuri-Robins et al., 2007; Riehl, 2000). Despite the extensive research on the (in)direct association between school leadership and a wide range of student outcomes (Asfaw, 2008; Nettles & Herrington, 2007; Robinson, Lloyd, & Rowe, 2008; Ross & Gray, 2006), the role of school leaders, related to pupils' degree of ethnic prejudice is rarely examined (Aveling, 2007). Research on ethnic prejudice tends to focus on the victims (ethnic minority pupils) and the undesirable consequences of ethnic prejudice for them (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), but rarely examines the influence of school leaders in reducing ethnic prejudice. However, school leaders are able to tackle ethnic prejudice in their schools (Ryan, 2003) and have a professional responsibility to reduce biases and prejudices among ethnic majority students (Asfaw, 2008). This can be partly realized by taking into account the increasing diversity and multiculturalism in society (Dimmock & Walker, 2005; Leithwood et al., 2004; Verhoeven et al., 2002) when developing school policies and rules (Bustamante, Nelson, & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Nieto, 1994; Pashiardis, 2004; Ryan, 2006). The more school leaders are aware of their multicultural environment, the more the school policy will pay attention to multicultural issues (Asfaw, 2008). Although school leaders can try to improve pupils' inter-ethnic attitudes

through implementing multicultural school policies, very little research has been carried out on the association between (multicultural) school leadership, school policies, and ethnic majority pupils' ethnic prejudice. Researchers often give suggestions to school leaders for making school (policies) more multicultural (Aguilar, 2011; Brown, 2007; Nuri-Robins et al., 2007; Smith, 2005; Theoharis, 2010) and develop instruments to measure the extent to which schools respond to the increasing diversity (Bustamante, Nelson, & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Hammer, 2012; Holcomb-McCoy, 2004; Nuri-Robins et al., 2007), without investigating whether school leaders and their policies even have an impact on pupils' outgroup attitudes. Next to the direct association between school leadership and pupils' ethnic prejudice, school leadership may have an indirect impact on student outcomes through the teachers and their classroom practices (Leithwood et al., 2004; Nettles & Herrington, 2007; Robinson, Lloyd, & Rowe, 2008; Ross & Gray, 2006). Teachers' practices may be affected by decisions made by the school leaders (Aguilar, 2011; Quinn, 2002) and school teachers are a key part of the causal chain between school leaders, their policies and students' outcomes as teachers 'enact' policy in interaction with their students. This means that they give their interpretation to school policies and implement these in their own way (Braun, Maguire, & Ball, 2010). Moreover, teachers, particularly in the Flemish context, have a lot of autonomy to decide what and how they teach in their classrooms (Mortier & Verhoeven, 1982). Furthermore, teachers' multicultural practices seem to be associated with improved democratic attitudes (Banks, 2009) and enhanced intergroup relations among majority pupils (Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2012;

Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Zirkel, 2008). As a result, school leaders may have an indirect impact on students' ethnic prejudice, mediated by teachers' multicultural teaching practices.

This study contributes to existing research into ethnic prejudice by examining the role of multicultural leadership on students' ethnic prejudice. More specifically, we want to investigate if the extent to which the school policy pays attention to multicultural issues relates to the ethnic prejudice of Flemish secondary school pupils. Moreover, we want to explore the (mediating) role of a multicultural teacher culture, that is the extent to which teachers use examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principals, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline.

Background

Ethnic prejudice

The term "ethnic prejudice" in this study is based on Sumners' (1906) description of ethnocentrism. According to Sumner (1906), ethnocentrism is a concept with a dual structure, referring to an exaggerated negative attitude to the outgroup, coupled with an overly positive attitude to the ingroup. Ethnic prejudice in our study refers only to a negative attitude to ethnic outgroups. Elchardus and Siongers (2009) found that in Flanders, a positive attitude to the ingroup is not related to a negative attitude to the outgroup. Moreover, previous research confirms the harmful consequences of negative outgroup attitudes for ethnic minorities (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman,

Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), thus a negative attitude to the outgroup is thought to be the most problematic component of ethnocentrism (Billiet & De Witte, 1995; Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). As a response to growing ethnic diversity in Flanders, an increasing number of sociological studies have attempted to explain the variability in ethnic prejudice between ethnic majority groups (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). However, the few studies that pay attention to the variability of ethnic prejudice among pupils tend to restrict their attention to individual-level characteristics, such as gender, socioeconomic status (SES), age, and level of education (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). To date, research about the influence of school, teachers, and the importance of underlying processes has been notably scarce. However, these types of variables are important, in that school staff or policymakers have considerable control over the school's processes and can change them more readily than they can change pupils' characteristics (Marcoulides, Heck, & Papanastasiou, 2005).

Multicultural School Leadership, School Principals and Multicultural School Policy

As a response to the increasing diversity in schools, the roles and responsibilities of school leaders have been discussed intensively (Turhan, 2010). Recent literature suggests that they have a responsibility in creating school environments that are socially just and culturally sensitive (Nelson et al., 2008), and school leaders seems to make issues of multiculturalism increasingly central to their leadership practice and vision (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016). Moreover, numerous researchers have begun

to explore the moral dimensions of school leadership (Collard, 2007; Riehl, 2000; Turhan, 2010). To examine this moral dimension of school leadership, a variety of concepts are used, such as “culturally responsive”, “culturally relevant”, “culturally compatible”, “cultural proficiency”, “leadership for social justice”, “inclusive schools”, “cross-cultural leadership”, and “cultural competence”, all referring to the need for educational contexts to understand, respond, incorporate, and ultimately celebrate the entirety of all children (Bustamante, Nelson, & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis, 2016; Ryan, 2006). According to these definitions, a ‘culturally competent school’ is a school that responds to cultural differences as reflected by its policies, programs, and practices (Nelson, Bustamante, Wilson, & Onwuegbuzie, 2008) and culturally competent school leaders are individuals who develop a school vision that works to decrease stereotypes about minority students (Smith, 2005). In line with these definitions, school leaders need to focus on where they can make a difference in order to reduce ethnic prejudice in their schools, namely on their school policies (Bustamante, Nelson, & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016; Nieto, 1994; Pashiardis, 2004; Ryan, 2006). Therefore, in this study, multicultural leadership refers to the extent to which school policy includes regulations and initiatives on ethnic prejudice and multicultural issues.

Lingard and Ozga (2007) define education policy, as ‘all texts, apart from curricula, which seek to frame, constitute and change educational practices’. In our study, policies do not just refer to written documents. We understand policy as a process that is subject to interpretation as it is enacted within schools and classrooms. Enactment

refers to the finding that policies are not simply implemented, but also interpreted by diverse actors in the school environment, such as school leaders and teachers (Armstrong, 2003; Hodgson, Edward, & Gregson 2007). In line with this description of policy, multicultural leadership refers to the interpretation of the policy by school principals, and more specifically, the degree in which they claim that multicultural issues are present in the policy of their school. Moreover, teachers' enactment and implementation of the (multicultural) policy is included by examining the role of a multicultural teacher culture.

Multicultural School Leadership and Pupils' Ethnic prejudice

There exists variation in the way school leaders deal with diversity, multiculturalism and ethnic prejudice in their school. Schools, particularly in urban areas, are increasingly more characterized by a more multicultural pupil population, but this does not mean that all these schools have developed a multicultural policy designed to promote cultural diversity (Guimond et al., 2013).

The literature suggests that school leaders frequently deny the existence of ethnic prejudice (Riehl, 2000; Ryan, 2003). School leaders who are not aware of unequal power relations between majority and minority ethnic groups may not try to reduce prejudice (Opfer, 2006), and research suggest that only a few school leaders are in favor of inclusive policies (Bustamante, Nelson, & Onwuegbuzie, 2009). Leaders may not understand the nature of ethnic prejudice, they often have a limited understanding of how ethnic prejudice works and they may be ill-equipped to deal with expressions

of ethnic prejudice (Aveling, 2007; Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010). In such situations, it seems unlikely that rules about ethnic prejudice and multicultural issues will be included in the school policy.

At the same time, studies on critical and social justice leadership in education emphasize the role of school leaders in the struggle for social justice and equality (Theoharis, 2007; Turhan, 2010; Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010) and highlight the inclusive practices of school leaders, led by values of social justice, diversity and equality (Gardiner & Enomoto, 2006; Riehl, 2000). School leaders need to create school cultures which are culturally sensitive to ethnic differences, without discrimination and prejudice (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016; Riehl, 2000). School leaders who embraced a critical and social justice agenda seemed to emphasize the importance of attacking ethnic prejudice (Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010), and transformed their school policies and practices as a response to the increased diversity in their schools. Moreover, they believed that school policy could drive cultural competence within a school setting (Nelson et al., 2008). In such situations, school leaders seem convinced of the importance to consider ethnic prejudice and multicultural issues in developing their school policies.

Multicultural School Leadership, Multicultural Teacher Culture and Pupils' Ethnic prejudice

The literature on the association between leadership and students' outcomes is characterized by contrasting findings.

On the one hand, studies confirm that the decisions that a school leader makes regarding established policies may affect students (Danielson, 2002). Previous research found that in schools without health and antismoking policies, smoking was more prevalent among pupils (Sellström & Bremberg, 2006). At country level, results showed that when the multicultural policy of a country was high, referring to a policy that seeks to recognize and promote cultural diversity as a positive national feature, prejudice was significantly reduced and intergroup attitudes were more positive (Berry, 1997; Guimond et al., 2013). In line with these findings, more multicultural school leadership may be associated with reduced ethnic prejudice among majority pupils.

On the other hand, the view that school leaders have a direct effect on students' outcomes has largely been abandoned and replaced by a focus on the indirect relationships through their influence on teachers (Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis, 2016; Nettles & Herrington, 2007). Researchers have found that school leaders can influence students' outcomes through their impact on teachers' instruction (Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis, 2016; Riehl, 2000). This is in line with conclusions drawn by quantitative leadership researchers that school leaders have indirect effects on student outcomes, since this association is mediated by teachers (Leithwood, Seashore, Anderson, & Wahlstrom, 2004; Leithwood & Riehl, 2005; Robinson, Lloyd, & Rowe, 2008; Quinn, 2002). Educational or school policies may influence teachers' practices. However, teachers interpret and implement, that is 'enact' school policy (Ball, 1997; Braun, Maguire, & Ball, 2010). Teachers may serve as the medium for causing the result of policy as they deliver it to pupils into classrooms (Brain, Reid, & Comerford Boyes,

2006), and all aspects of teaching are explicitly and implicitly controlled by policy (Maguire & Dillon, 2007). It is important that school policy and regulations are supported and expressed by the teachers (Aguilar, 2011), since policy success may depend on the extent to which practitioners, in this case the teachers, accept the rules and apply them in the classroom (Brain, Reid, & Comerford Boyes, 2006), for example by implementing multicultural teaching. In line with these findings, we assume that school policy will be related to the amount of multicultural teaching, since teachers enact the policy by implementing multicultural teaching. Nevertheless, teachers in Flanders have a lot of autonomy to decide what and how they teach in the classroom (Mortier & Verhoeven, 1982) and can, as a result, ignore particular expectations stipulated in school policies, which may lead them to emphasize multicultural teaching more or less compared to what is prescribed through the policy. Therefore, it is possible that in Flanders, teachers' practices are less or even not influenced by school policy. Because multicultural education in school is associated with improved democratic attitudes among majority pupils (Banks, 2009) and with enhanced intergroup relations (Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2012; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Zirkel, 2008), we assume that a more multicultural teacher culture, that is the extent to which teachers use examples from a variety of cultures as illustrations in their discipline (Banks, 1989, 1993), is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority pupils.

The above mentioned studies examined relationships between leadership, policy and student outcomes, but the majority of these studies were conducted in American

schools, where teachers have less autonomy than teachers in Flanders (Deal & Celotti, 1980, see context section for more detail). Therefore, Flanders is an interesting context to examine the relation between policy, teaching and pupils' ethnic prejudice. Most of the studies examined leadership in elementary schools and although these studies have examined the impact of leadership on a wide range of student outcomes, academic outcomes predominated. Studies examining the association between leadership and students' social and personal well-being included measures of students' attitudes to school, academic self-concept, and engagement with and participation in schooling (Robinson, 2007; Robinson, Lloyd, & Rowe, 2008). However, as far as we know, the relationship between multicultural leadership and ethnic prejudice among pupils has not yet been examined.

The Present Study

Because Flemish schools are becoming increasingly diverse and negative outgroup attitudes of ethnic majorities are undesirable for ethnic minorities (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009; Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), this study aims to explore the role of multicultural leadership and multicultural teaching as determinants of Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice, taking into account individual and school characteristics that have been shown to be related to ethnic prejudice. First, we examine the direct association between multicultural leadership and pupils' ethnic prejudice. Second, we focus on how a multicultural teacher culture in school is related to pupils' ethnic prejudice,

assuming that a more multicultural teacher culture is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils.

Flemish Immigration and the Educational Context

At the beginning of the 1960s, laborers from Morocco, Turkey, and subsequently from various Eastern European countries (e.g. Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and Kosovo) migrated to Belgium to live and work there, and were later joined by their families (Vanduynslager et al., 2013). In Flanders, the largest ethnic minority groups share a Muslim identity, a religious background that is not particularly welcomed (Agirdag, Merry, & Van Houtte, 2016). Many ethnic minority pupils continue to lag behind their Flemish counterparts academically (Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2012).

Flanders has a unique educational system. Every school is state subsidized, and the Flemish government is fully responsible for the educational policy within its territory. Education is compulsory from the ages of 6 to 18 and most Flemish children attend nursery school from the age of two and a half onward. After six years of primary education, children transfer to secondary education, comprising four main tracks: (1) general secondary or academic education (preparing for higher education), (2) technical secondary education (focusing more on technical and practical topics), (3) arts secondary education (general education combined with active art practice), and (4) vocational secondary education (very practical and job-specific education). Tracks are commonly hierarchically classified by the level of abstraction and theorizing, and academic education is widely regarded as the most valued and demanding track,

whereas technical and vocational tracks are located at the bottom of the ladder (Van Houtte & Stevens, 2010; Boone & Van Houtte, 2013). Although pupils can select the track they will pursue, their actual opportunity to do so is mainly a function of prior achievement in primary education and their socioeconomic status (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013). As a result, ethnic minority pupils are overrepresented in the lower tracks (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013; Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009).

In Flanders, every school is free to choose if and how they implement multicultural education (Suijs, 2004). Nevertheless, Flemish schools still seem to focus on assimilation policies in order to conform ethnic minorities to the dominant (language) culture (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000; Verlot & Sierens, 1997). Next to the schools, the Flemish teachers also have a lot of autonomy to decide what and how they teach in the classroom and how they evaluate their students (Mortier & Verhoeven, 1982; Van Petegem et al., 2006; Vlaamse Onderwijsraad, 2005). As a result, they can neglect agreements about multicultural issues formulated in school policies and decide by their own the amount of attention paid to multicultural issues. Therefore, it is possible that teachers' practices are less or not influenced by school policy in Flanders compared to other contexts, such as the UK or America, where all aspects of teaching and evaluation are controlled by national education policy and central governments (Maguire & Dillon, 2007).

Methods

Sample

The data used is taken from the Racism and Discrimination in Secondary Schools survey (RaDiSS 2), collected during the school year 2014-2015. A multistage sampling frame was used, in order to ensure sufficient variability and cases in terms of the level of urbanization of the school environment and pupils' ethnicity. First, four large, multi-cultural Flemish districts were selected for sampling (Antwerp, Ghent, Hasselt, and Sint-Niklaas). Second, all the secondary schools (excluding arts education, due to the small number of pupils enrolled) in these areas were divided into three location categories: city center, suburban area, or rural area. The aim was to select two thirds of the schools from urban areas and one third from suburban and rural areas. Within these districts, a further selection was made of one third of schools with a low proportion of ethnic minority pupils (less than 15%), one third with a medium proportion (between 15% and 49.9%), and one third with a high proportion (between 50% and 100%) (Flemish Educational Department, 2011). In total, 55 schools were contacted, out of which 45 were willing to participate (a response rate of 82%). Of those in the sample, 26 schools were located in a city center, 12 in a suburban area, and 7 in a rural location. Some schools (14) had a low proportion of ethnic minorities, 15 a medium proportion, and 16 a high proportion. As a result, the participating schools cover the entire range of ethnic minority composition from 0% to 95% (see Table 10). Teachers in Grade 6 (comparable with Grade 12 in the American system) were asked to complete a written questionnaire. They could do this when and where they wanted

and could return it free of charge, as we paid for the postage and envelopes with the aim of obtaining a high response rate. In total, 669 out of 1,584 teachers completed the questionnaire, equating to a response rate of 42%. Because we only asked for the name of the school, the anonymity of the teachers was guaranteed. In view of our research questions, including the role of a multicultural teacher culture, we only incorporated schools where at least five teachers completed the questionnaire, which is in line with other research (Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, & Hoy, 2001; Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2009), resulting in a sample of 636 teachers across 40 schools. Pupils in Grade 6 were also asked to complete a written questionnaire. In total, 3,371 out of 4,107 pupils completed the questionnaire, which equates to a response rate of 82%. The only reasons pupils did not participate were because of absence due to illness or because a class was on a field trip, so no bias occurred. Pupils filled out the questionnaire in the presence of a researcher and one or more teachers. In order for the data to be linked to other information, such as academic results provided by the schools, the pupil questionnaires were not anonymous. However, all the pupils were informed that their names would be removed once the database was complete and that teachers were not allowed access to the completed questionnaires, making the final database anonymous and confidential. Because the ethnic prejudice of pupils is taken into account—which includes prejudice against Turks, Moroccans, and Eastern Europeans—for this study only native pupils (62.7%) were selected, resulting in a final sample of 2,006 Flemish students across 38 schools. Of these, 49.2% were female.

With regard to the track, 24.9% were in vocational, 29.5% in technical, and 45.7% in academic education. The mean age is 17.46 (range 15-29).

Variables

Ethnic prejudice. Ethnic prejudice refers to a negative attitude to ethnic outgroups (De Witte, 1999; Quillian, 1995). Because the majority of the ethnic minorities in Flanders come from Morocco, Turkey, and Eastern Europe (e.g. Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and Kosovo), negative attitudes to these three groups were measured separately and then totaled to assess the ethnic prejudice of Flemish pupils. Three examples of the items are: “Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans do not contribute to the welfare of Belgium”, “In some areas, the government does more for Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans than for the Belgians who live there”, and “Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans are commonly unreliable” (De Witte, 1999). A 5-point Likert scale with 18 items was used, ranging from absolutely disagree (= 1) to completely agree (= 5). Missing values were imputed by item correlation substitution: A missing value for one item was replaced by the value of the item correlating most closely to it (Huisman, 2000). The scale was created by taking the mean scores on the 18 items, resulting in possible scores from 1 to 5, with a higher value indicating greater ethnic prejudice. Cronbach’s alpha for the ethnic prejudice scale is .89 ($n = 2,006$; mean (M) = 2.86; SD = .68) (See Table 10).

Multicultural leadership. Multicultural leadership was measured by means of an index of our own design consisting of 12 items (inspired by Hermans, 2004; Laquière, 2001),

presented to the school principals. Our design of the index was based on Hermans' (2004) application of Ogbu and Simons' (1998) theory of minority academic achievement to the situation of the largest minority groups in Belgium and the Netherlands, that is Moroccans (Hermans, 2004; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). Hermans (2004) shows that community forces, such as the relationship with the dominant society and issues of identity, culture and language, hinder the academic achievement of Moroccan children. He found that some schools forbade their pupils to speak their mother tongue in class or on the playground, state schools were obliged to organize Islamic courses for Muslim pupils, some schools forbade girls to wear headscarves, did not grant leave on Islamic festivals and did not always respect religious dietary laws. Moreover, Laquière (2001) formulates concrete suggestions to tackle ethnic prejudice and discrimination in the school context. Based on Hermans' (2004) and Laquière's (2001) findings, specific for the Flemish context, we formulated 12 questions, presented to the school principals to measure the amount of multicultural leadership. Three example questions are "Do you have a clearly defined anti-racism policy in school?", "Does the school organize project work on racism?" and "May foreign language students speak a language other than Dutch in the classroom?". The possible responses were yes (= 1), to a certain extent (= 2) and no (= 3). The variable is recoded into a dichotomous variable (0 = no; 1 = yes/to a certain degree). The total score on these 12 questions defined the degree of multiculturalism in school policy, with a higher score indicating a more multicultural school leadership. The mean score on multicultural school leadership in this data set was 5.80 (SD = 2.08. See Table 10).

Multicultural teacher culture. Multicultural teacher culture was measured by a 6-point Likert scale of our own design. Teachers were asked to what extent teachers use examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principals, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline (Banks, 1993). Three example items are: “During my lessons at school, I work explicitly on themes about differences between cultures”, “During my lessons at this school, I do not highlight holidays of different religions”, and “During my lessons at school, the many different cultures in our society are discussed”. The scale consists of 12 items, with answering categories ranging from absolutely disagree (= 1) to completely agree (= 5) and inapplicable (= 6). The last category was recoded to 1, because inapplicable indicates that teachers did not pay attention to the content of the item. Missing values were imputed by item correlation substitution (Huisman, 2000). The scale was created by the mean scores on the 12 items, resulting in possible scores from 1 to 5, with a higher score indicating that teachers practice more multicultural teaching. Exploratory factor analysis reveals that there is one underlying dimension. The item loadings range between .463 and .833, and Cronbach’s alpha for the multicultural teaching scale is .87. Because we wanted to examine the role of a multicultural teacher culture, teachers’ individual practices were aggregated to the school level. As is common practice, this can be achieved by calculating the mean value for each school (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, & Sanders, 1990; Van Houtte, 2004a). We used the index of “mean rater reliability” (Glick, 1985; Shrout & Fleiss, 1979), to ascertain whether the practice of multicultural teaching is indeed shared by the teachers in the same school and

aggregation is legitimate. This index is based on the intra-class correlation (ICC) in a one-way analysis of variance, which measures the degree of resemblance between micro units belonging to the same macro unit (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). The ICC is calculated by the formula

$$(\textit{Between Mean Square}-\textit{Within Mean Square})/\textit{Between Mean Square}$$

If this value is greater than .60, then we can state that the practice of multicultural teaching is common to teachers from the same school, and that it is therefore legitimate to speak of a multicultural culture at the school level (see also Van Houtte, 2004a). For the measurement of multicultural teaching, this ICC is .71 ($F = 3.503$, $p < .001$), showing that multicultural teaching is indeed shared by the teachers from the same school. The measurement of the culture of multicultural teaching has a mean of 2.97 ($SD = .31$. See Table 10).

Ethnic school composition. Ethnic composition at the school level is a metric variable, based on the proportion of ethnic minority pupils. The ethnicity of the pupils was assessed primarily by the birthplace of the pupil's maternal grandmother (OECD, 2008). If this data was not available, their mother's birthplace was used. In the event that this information was also missing, the country of birth of the pupil was used. As is common practice, and in line with the official Flemish definition of non-native groups, pupils were considered as being of foreign descent if their maternal grandmother, their mother, or the pupils themselves had a birthplace other than Western European (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003). The average proportion of ethnic minority pupils is .19 ($SD = .19$. See Table 10).

Gender. Our sample is almost equally divided with regard to gender (female = 1), with 49.2% being female (See Table 10).

Socioeconomic status. The SES of origin of the pupils was measured by the profession of their father and mother. The parents' professions were recoded, using the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) (Ganzeboom, De Graaf, & Treiman, 1992), derived from the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). This metric variable has a range from 16 to 90. The highest score out of the two parents was used, and the higher the score, the higher the SES. In our sample, the minimum score is 16 and the maximum 90, with a mean score of 55.02 (SD = 15.96. See Table 10).

Track. Pupils were asked to indicate the educational track in which they were enrolled. The possible responses were academic, technical, arts, and vocational education. Pupils in arts education were excluded, due to the small number involved. Because previous research indicates that pupils in technical and vocational education are more ethnically prejudiced (De Witte, 1999), two dummy variables were constructed, with pupils in academic track (45.7%) as reference category: the variable "technical education" (29.5%) and the variable "vocational education" (24.9%) (See Table 10).

Intergroup friendships. Pupils were asked how many of their friends were non-natives. The possible answers were: none (= 1), a few (= 2), half (= 3), most (= 4), and all (= 5). We created three dummy variables, with having no non-native friends (12.6%) as the reference category: the variable "a few non-native friends" (73.1%), the variable "half" (8.8%), and the variable "most or all" (5.6%) (See Table 10).

Table 10. Descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables: Frequencies (%), means, standard deviations (SD), and minimum and maximum values (n = 2,006)

	%	MEAN	SD	MIN.	MAX.
Outcome					
Ethnic prejudice		2.86	.68	1	5
Individual-level					
Gender					
Male	50.8				
Female	49.2				
Socioeconomic status		55.02	15.96	16	90
Track					
Academic education	45.7				
Technical education	29.5				
Vocational education	24.9				
Intergroup friendships					
None	12.6				
A few	73.1				
Half	8.8				
Most/all	5.6				
School-level					
Multicultural School leadership		5.80	2.08	2	10
Multicultural teacher culture		2.97	.31	2	4
Ethnic school composition		.19	.19	.00	.95

Research Design

In view of the fact that we are dealing with a clustered sample of pupils nested within schools, it was most appropriate to use multilevel analysis (with the MLwiN 2.30 software package). Multicultural school leadership and teacher culture were added as a school-level feature (see also Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012). We controlled for ethnic school composition at the school level and for gender, SES, track, and the number of non-native friends at the individual level. All metric variables were grand mean centered. A random intercept model was used.

The first estimated model (Table 13, Model 0) is an intercept-only model: an unconditional model to determine the amount of variance occurring at the individual level and at the school level. In the second model (Table 13, Model 1), multicultural school leadership was added, in order to test the relationship between multicultural school leadership and Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice. We controlled for ethnic school composition, because as previously mentioned, research shows that the mere presence of outgroup members (Zajonc, 1968; Zebrowitz, White, & Wieneke, 2008), or simply a higher concentration of ethnic minorities (Kalin, 1996) is associated with lower ethnic prejudice. Moreover, we controlled for individual characteristics that recur in research on ethnic prejudice, because men, people with a lower SES, and those with fewer non-native friends appear to be more ethnically prejudiced (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Pettigrew, 1998; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). In addition—and more specifically related to the Flemish educational system—being in vocational education is associated with increased ethnic prejudice

(De Witte, 1999). In the third model (Table 13, Model 2), multicultural teacher culture was introduced, testing the mediating role of teachers own assessments of their multicultural educational practices in the association between multicultural school policy and pupils' ethnically prejudiced attitude (H2).

Results

The bivariate correlations between the individual characteristics, presented in Table 11, show a significant negative relationship between pupils' ethnic prejudice, and gender ($r = -.100$; $p < .01$), socioeconomic status ($r = -.091$; $p < .01$), and intergroup friendships ($r = -.183$; $p < .01$). Female pupils, a higher socioeconomic status and more intergroup friendships are all associated with lower ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils. Being in the vocational track is associated with more ethnic prejudice, as track is positively related to pupils' ethnic prejudice ($r = .194$; $p < .01$).

Table 11. Bivariate (Pearson) correlations between dependent and independent variables (n = 2,006)

Measure	1	2	3	4	5
1. Gender	1	-.031	-.055*	-.047*	-.100**
2. Socioeconomic status		1	-.453**	-.149**	-.091**
3. Track			1	.224**	.194**
4. Intergroup friendships				1	-.183**
5. Ethnic prejudice					1

Note. *p < .05, **p < .01

The bivariate correlations between the school characteristics, presented in Table 12, show that ethnic school composition is positively related with multicultural school leadership ($r = .339$; $p < .05$) and multicultural teacher culture ($r = .538$; $p < .01$). In schools with more ethnic minority pupils, school leadership and teacher culture are more multicultural.

Table 12. Bivariate (Pearson) correlations between dependent and independent variables (n = 38)

Measure	1	2	3
1. Multicultural school leadership	1	.089**	.339*
2. Multicultural teacher culture		1	.538**
3. Ethnic school composition			1

Note. *p < .05, **p < .01

We started the multilevel regression analysis, presented in Table 13, with an unconditional model (Table 13, Model 0). This model indicates that 13.21% ($\sigma_e^2 = .414$, $\sigma_u^2 = .063$) of the variance in Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice is situated at the school level.

In the next step, multicultural school leadership was included in order to test the relationship between school leadership and pupils' ethnic prejudice (Table 13, Model 1). The association is not significant ($\gamma^* = .001$; $SE = .018$. See Table 13, Model 1). The different control variables were also included in this model (Table 13, Model 1). Ethnic school composition is negatively related to pupils' ethnic prejudice ($\gamma^* = -.448$; $SE = .153$; $p < .001$) and gender is also negatively related to ethnic prejudice by Flemish pupils ($\gamma^* = -.120$; $SE = .031$; $p < .001$). Track is associated with the pupils' level of ethnic prejudice in that pupils in technical tracks ($\gamma^* = .226$; $SE = .049$; $p < .001$) and the vocational track ($\gamma^* = .455$; $SE = .053$; $p < .001$) are more ethnically prejudiced than pupils in academic tracks. Having outgroup friends is negatively related to ethnic prejudice, as pupils with a few ($\gamma^* = -.229$; $SE = .044$; $p < .001$), half ($\gamma^* = -.476$; $SE = .065$; $p < .001$), or most/all ($\gamma^* = -.541$; $SE = .076$; $p < .001$) non-native friends are less ethnically prejudiced than pupils with no outgroup friends.

In the second model, multicultural teacher culture was included (Table 13, Model 2). The association between multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice is negative and borderline significant at the 10% level ($\gamma^* = -.206$; $SE = .115$; $p < .1$. See Table 13, Model 2), thus a more multicultural teacher culture is associated with a lower level of ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils. The overall picture remains largely the

same. The association of ethnic school composition with pupils' ethnic prejudice decreases, but remains significant.

Table 13. Ethnic prejudice of native pupils. Results of stepwise multilevel analysis, standard errors between parentheses (n = 2,006, groups = 38)

Parameter	MODEL 0	MODEL 1	MODEL 2
School level			
Multicultural school leadership		.001 (.018)	-.001 (.017)
Multicultural teacher culture			-.206+ (.115)
Ethnic school composition		-.448*** (.153)	-.295*** (.171)
Individual level			
Gender (<i>ref: Male</i>)		-.120*** (.031)	-.116*** (.031)
Socioeconomic status		-.001 (.001)	-.002* (.001)
Technical track (<i>ref: Academic track</i>)		.226*** (.049)	.228*** (.049)
Vocational track (<i>ref: Academic track</i>)		.455*** (.053)	.458*** (.053)
A few non-native friends (<i>ref: None</i>)		-.229*** (.044)	-.225*** (.044)
Half non-native friends (<i>ref: None</i>)		-.476*** (.065)	-.470*** (.065)
Most/all non-native friends (<i>ref: None</i>)		-.541*** (.076)	-.542*** (.076)
Constant	2.820***	2.977***	2.979***
Individual-level variance	.414	.387	.387
School-level variance	.063	.027	.024
Log-likelihood	3,992.935	3,837.621	3,834.516

Note. The centered coefficients are presented, with standard errors shown in parentheses.

+p < .1, *p < .05, **p < .01, *** p < .001

Discussion

As a result of the worldwide migration and increasing diversity in Flemish schools, research has paid increasingly more attention to the degree of ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority pupils. Although the undesirable consequences of such prejudice have been thoroughly explored (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), only a few studies have focused on its determinants and these studies restricted their attention mostly to individual-level predictors (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008), neglecting the possible influence of the school leaders or teachers. Therefore, this study explores the (in)direct association between multicultural leadership and Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice, taking into account individual and school characteristics that have been related to ethnic prejudice. First, we aimed to examine the association between multicultural leadership and pupils' ethnic prejudice. Second, we focus on how a multicultural teacher culture in a school may mediate this association, assuming that more multicultural leadership is related to a more multicultural teacher culture and that this culture is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils. At the same time, as Flemish teachers have a lot of autonomy to decide what and how they implement school policy and teach in their classrooms (Mortier & Verhoeven, 1982), it remains to be seen whether their classroom practices are influenced by school leaders or policy.

The main finding of this study is that multicultural leadership is not related to pupils' ethnic prejudice in the context of Flanders. This is in line with previous US research,

that questions the role of school leaders in students' non-cognitive outcomes (Sylva, 1994). This could in part be explained by the finding that many school leaders working to enact social justice met resistance from within and outside of their schools. In addition, school leaders may also be ill-prepared to cope with the more multicultural school environment (Theoharis, 2007). When school leaders meet resistance, lack preparation and/or are not aware of multicultural issues, they will not be able to reduce pupils' ethnic prejudice. Moreover, the distance between school leaders and students may be larger than the distance between teachers and their students. Teachers have more face-to-face contacts and thus might be expected to know their students better than school leaders, resulting in teachers having presumably more influence than school leaders on their pupils (Reynolds et al., 2014; Sylva, 1994).

Contrary to other studies (Aguilar, 2011; Quinn, 2002), this study shows that teachers' practices are not affected by multicultural leadership. This is in line with our expectations, because in Flanders teachers have a lot of autonomy concerning their teaching practices (Mortier & Verhoeven, 1982). According to Ball (1997), teachers 'enact' policy, that is they give their interpretation to school policies and implement these in their own way (Braun, Maguire, & Ball, 2010), regardless of school leaders and policy.

Teachers' multicultural practices seem to be associated with Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice. When teachers use more examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures in their subject area, pupils seem to be less ethnic prejudiced. This is in line with previous findings suggesting that teachers' multicultural practices are associated

with improved democratic attitudes (Banks, 2009) and enhanced intergroup relations among majority pupils (Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2012; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Zirkel, 2008). The findings of our study provide some large-scale data support for the importance of creating inclusive school cultures to reduce ethnic prejudice among ethnic majorities and the importance of teachers' contributions to this.

In line with previous findings, this study confirms that the mere presence of ethnic minority pupils in school is related to lower levels of ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority pupils, because a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in school is associated with reduced negative outgroup attitudes among Flemish pupils. With regard to pupils' individual characteristics, this study confirms that female pupils are less ethnically prejudiced than their male counterparts (Coenders & Scheepers, 1998; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008) and that pupils in vocational and technical education are more ethnically prejudiced than those in academic education (De Witte, 1999). Finally, pupils with a greater number of non-native friends are less ethnically prejudiced (Pettigrew, 2008; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008; Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2012).

This study has some limitations, leading to suggestions for further research on multicultural leadership, multicultural teaching and ethnic prejudice. First, our study uses cross-sectional data, so causality cannot be determined in the relationship between multicultural leadership, multicultural teacher culture and pupils' levels of ethnic prejudice. A selection effect is plausible, whereby pupils who are more ethnically prejudiced are less likely to attend a school with multicultural leadership or

a multicultural teacher culture, because in Flanders, pupils and their parents are completely free to choose the secondary school they want to attend. Longitudinal research may compensate for this deficiency. However, the absence of a longitudinal design is somewhat mitigated by working with students in the sixth year of secondary education, since we can assume that their (outgroup) attitudes have been already stabilized (Whitebread, 2011). Further research could consider countries where teachers experience relatively more or less pressure from policy makers or management to implement policies, because teachers in different countries have no equal responsibility or autonomy with regard to teaching practices (Pashiardis, 2004). Further, some issues should be mentioned with regard to our measurements and operationalizations. Leadership is often distributed among principals, assistant principals, formal and informal leaders (Lashway, 1995; Leithwood et al., 2004; Ryan, 2006; Riehl, 2000). Moreover, what school leaders say they do, does not necessarily correspond to what they effectively do, or to what is (in)formally communicated by the school leaders about school policy. Nevertheless, we asked school principals about the content of the school policy to examine the role of multicultural leadership because prior research suggests that school principals can have a major impact on teachers' instruction and students. Furthermore, the principal is the most recognizable leadership position in a school. He/she is best positioned to reform school (Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis 2016) and the principal remains the central source of leadership influence (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016; Pashiardis, 2004; Quinn, 2002; Riehl, 2000; Smith, 2005; Turhan, 2010). Further research may focus on

the different actors involved in formulating school policy, such as school leaders, teachers, parents and community groups (Lashway, 1995; Leithwood et al., 2004; Ryan, 2006; Riehl, 2000). The interpretations of students may also be important, since research shows that pupils' perceptions of classroom practices are related to various cognitive and affective outcomes (Goh & Fraser, 2000; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Vervaet, Van Houtte, & Stevens, in press). Therefore, qualitative research may examine pupils' interpretations of school policy, trying to develop and implement more effective school policies. We cannot go into detail with regard to the effects of individual teachers, because we operationalize multicultural teacher culture by considering school-wide attitudes. We do this, because in secondary schools, it is more logical to investigate the role of teacher cultures than that of individual teachers' practices, because pupils engage with a number of different teachers during a school year (Van Houtte & Demanet, 2016).

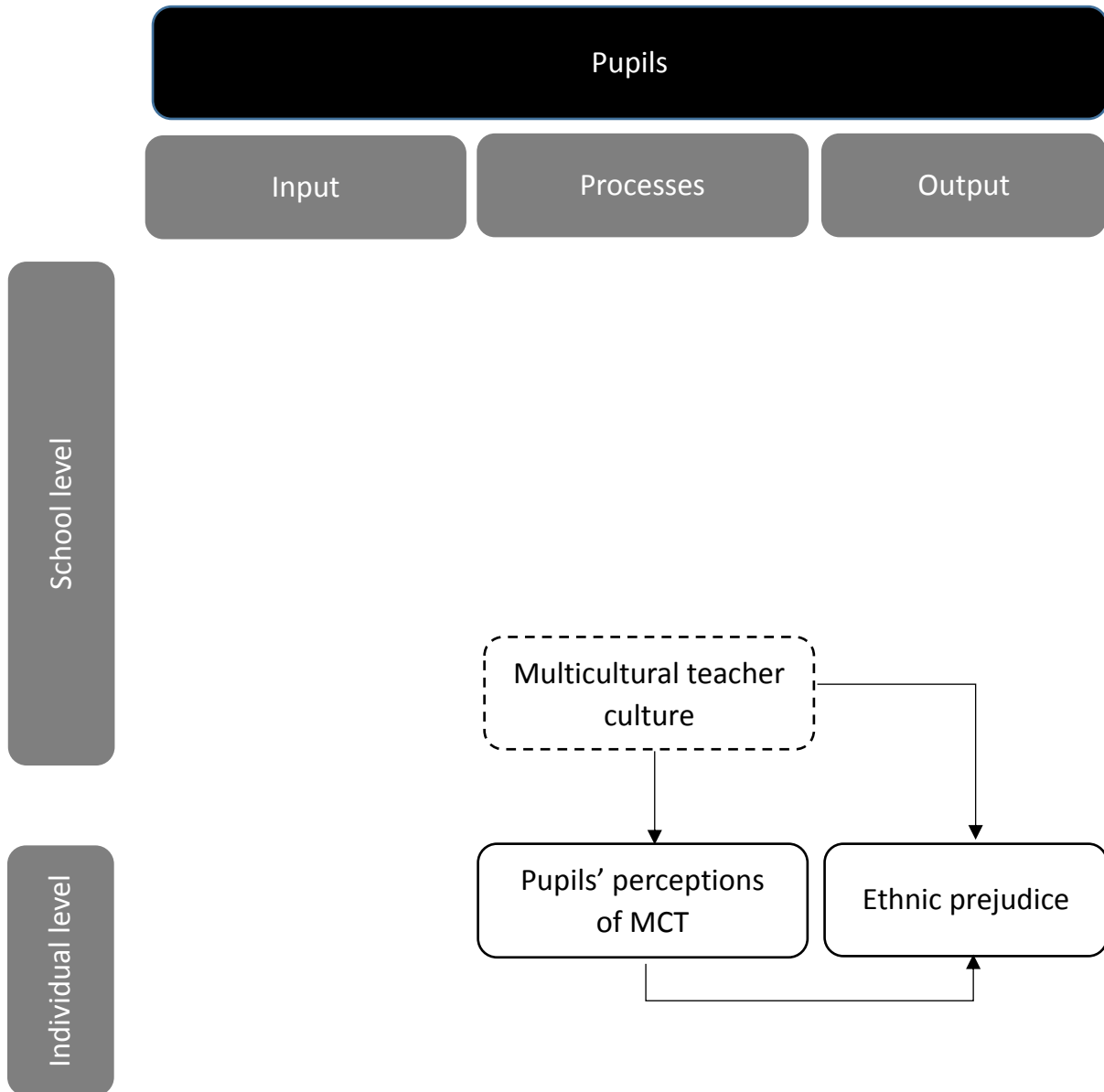
In terms of social policy, a first challenge is to create a more multicultural school culture. In many schools, assimilation (instead of multiculturalism) is still the dominant approach to diversity (Riehl, 2000). Changing this can partly be done by preparing preservice school leaders, since there is no doubt that ethnically diverse schools require leaders with special capabilities (Billot, Goddard, & Cranston, 2007). To create culturally competent school environments, future school leaders need tools to assist them to contribute to inequitable policies and practices (Asfaw, 2008; Bustamante, Nelson, & Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Holcomb-McCoy, 2004; Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis, 2016; Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010), since professionally trained school leaders in multicultural

education may tackle ethnic prejudice (Asfaw, 2008). Since multicultural teaching is related to a decrease in ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils, it is crucial for teachers to know how to manage stereotypes and conflicting relations and to become more competent in providing multicultural teaching (Collard, 2007; Dusi, Steinbach, & Messetti, 2012). Therefore, teacher training needs to teach prospective teachers to reflect on their own prejudices (Gay, 2010; McAllister & Irvine, 2000) and increase their knowledge of other cultures (Avery & Walker, 1993; Nieto, 2000), trying to reduce the ethnic prejudice of teachers and make them more appreciative and knowledgeable of multicultural school environments (Bennet, 2001). Moreover, our findings emphasize the need for more multicultural teaching in tracks and schools in which many pupils belong to the ethnic majority group, because for majority pupils, the school environment is often the only place where they can have intercultural experiences (Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009). Finally, teachers can facilitate the creation of intergroup friendships among pupils and thus reduce ethnic majority pupils' levels of ethnic prejudice by using certain teaching methods, such as cooperative learning (Cooper, 1999). To conclude, our findings show that what matters most for reducing prejudice among Flemish pupils is not what school leaders claim they do in terms of multicultural policy, but what teachers do in practice by implementing multicultural teaching.

*“The highest result of
education is tolerance”*

Helen Keller

6.3. The Ethnic Prejudice of Flemish Pupils: The Role of Pupils' and Teachers' Perceptions of Multicultural Teacher Culture



Abstract

As a result of migration processes, schools in Flanders (the Dutch-speaking region of Belgium) are notably ethnically diverse. This evolution has coincided with an increasing number of studies focusing on ethnic minority pupils' experiences of ethnic prejudice from their ethnic majority counterparts. Taking into consideration the lack of research on the importance of cultural school features for students' ethnic prejudice, this study investigates the association between a multicultural teacher culture and the ethnic prejudice of Flemish secondary school pupils. In addition, the analysis tests the mediating role of pupils' perceptions of the multicultural educational practices of teachers and controls for individual and school characteristics that have been shown to be related to ethnic prejudice. Multilevel analyses were carried out on data of 2,083 Flemish pupils and 636 teachers in 40 secondary schools, collected by means of a written questionnaire. The main finding of this study is that a more multicultural teacher culture is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils. However, the association between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice is mediated by pupils' perceptions of multicultural teaching. These findings highlight the importance of including macro factors, individual variables and their interdependence when explaining ethnic prejudice. The findings also show that what matters most for reducing prejudice among pupils is not what teachers claim they do in terms of multicultural teaching, but pupils' perceptions of what their teachers do in practice.

Introduction

From the Second World War onward, Flanders (the Dutch-speaking region of Belgium) has developed into a multi-ethnic society. As a result of labor migration processes, migrant family reunification, and chain migration processes (Sierens et al., 2006; Vanduyndslager, Wets, Noppe, & Doyen, 2013), schools in Flanders are now notably ethnically diverse, particularly in urban areas (Brief et al., 2005; Desmedt & Nicaise, 2006). This evolution has coincided with an increasing number of studies focusing on the outgroup attitudes of ethnic majority pupils, including their degree of ethnic prejudice. Research on this topic tends to focus on the victims (ethnic minority pupils) and the undesirable consequences of ethnic prejudice for them with regard to their motivation, mental health, and self-esteem (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), but neglects the determinants of ethnic prejudice. The few studies that pay attention to the variability of ethnic prejudice among pupils tend to restrict their attention to individual-level characteristics, such as gender, socioeconomic status (SES), age, and level of education (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). To date, research about the influence of school, teachers, and the importance of underlying processes has been notably scarce. However, these types of variables are important, in that school staff or policymakers have considerable control over the school's processes and can change them more readily than they can change pupils' characteristics (Marcoulides, Heck, & Papanastasiou, 2005). Despite the finding that multicultural education in school is associated with improved democratic attitudes

among majority pupils (Banks, 2009) and with enhanced intergroup relations (Agirdag, Merry, Van Houtte, 2016; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Zirkel, 2008), the association between multicultural teaching and pupils' ethnic prejudice is rarely examined (for an exception, see Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). However, it is important to reduce ethnic prejudice, since Flanders has developed into a multi-ethnic society, but ethnic minorities in Flanders continue to experience discrimination and ethnic prejudice from the ethnic majority group on different domains, such as the labor and housing market and school (Verhaeghe, Van der Bracht, & Van de Putte, 2015; Vervaet, D'hondt, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2016). The school context is not only a place to study, but also a place where pupils learn to function in our (multicultural) society. Education is often seen as a key mechanism through which pupils learn to cope with the existing diversity and to develop a less prejudiced and respectful attitude towards ethnic minorities, for example by providing multicultural teaching (Luciak, 2006). Multicultural teaching (= MCT) in our study refers to the extent to which teachers use examples from a variety of cultures as illustrations in their discipline (Banks, 1989, 1993), which can stimulate ethnic majority pupils to develop more constructive and positive attitudes to cultural diversity. These more positive intercultural attitudes can in turn help to develop a more just society with less discrimination. Research shows that in primary schools, children's perceptions of multicultural education mediate its impact on their prejudiced attitudes (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). The relative stability of ethnic attitudes during adolescence implies that secondary education is a theoretically interesting period for examining the association between multicultural teaching and ethnic prejudice (Verkuyten & Thijs,

2013). In addition, most of the existing research on multicultural education focuses on America, which calls for further research in different contexts, such as Flanders, where ethnic minorities experience prejudice and discrimination in education (Vervaeke et al., 2016). The importance of MCT in the context of Belgium cannot be overstated in the light of the recent terrorist activities and increased radicalization of ethnic minority youth in Europe. Research has shown that ethnic minority youth may respond to ethnic prejudice by anti-social activities, such as radicalization (Bhui, Warfa, & Jones, 2014; Brondolo, Ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty, & Contrada, 2009). It is therefore crucial that teachers and teacher education programs in Belgium and similar contexts explore the potential of MCT to develop more positive attitudes towards diversity amongst ethnic majority students and empower ethnic minority students, in order to prevent them from turning to violence and anti-social activities in response to perceived injustices. This study contributes to existing research into ethnic prejudice by examining the association between a multicultural teacher culture, pupils' perceptions of teachers' multicultural educational practices, and the ethnic prejudice of Flemish secondary school pupils. We control for ethnic school composition and various sociodemographic characteristics that have been shown to be related to ethnic prejudice.

Background

Ethnic Prejudice

Ethnic prejudice and ethnocentrism both refer to certain ideas and attitudes regarding ethnic outgroups (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). Sumner (1906) describes

ethnocentrism as a concept with a dual structure, including an overly negative attitude to the outgroup together with an exaggerated positive attitude to the ingroup. In this study, we use the term ethnic prejudice only referring to a negative attitude from the majority group to ethnic outgroups (De Witte, 1999; Quillian, 1995), because in Flanders, no strong relationship has been observed between a positive ingroup attitude and a negative outgroup attitude (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). Moreover, previous research confirms the harmful consequences of negative attitudes from the majority group to the outgroup for ethnic minorities (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Accordingly, the negative component of ethnocentrism is thought to be the most problematic (Billiet & De Witte, 1995; Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). Because negative outgroup attitudes of ethnic majorities are undesirable for ethnic minorities (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009) and Flemish schools are becoming increasingly diverse, this study aims to explain the variability in the ethnic prejudice of ethnic majority pupils, specifically by examining multicultural teaching.

Multicultural Education and Multicultural Teaching

Multicultural education is conceptualized in various ways in educational research literature (Banks, 1989, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Nieto, 1992). We use the theoretical contributions of James Banks (1989, 1993) to define the meaning of a multicultural teacher culture, because this conceptualization is the most widely used framework in the field of multicultural education (Bigler, 1999; Munroe & Pearson,

2006; Stanley, 1996). Moreover, Banks' (1989, 1993) remarkably lucid conceptualization of multicultural education appears meaningful in the context of Flanders, because it offers a good representation of the way in which Flemish teachers understand and thus may implement multicultural teaching in school (Agirdag, Merry, & Van Houtte, 2016).

Banks' Model of Multicultural Education

Banks (1993) identifies five dimensions of multicultural education. *Content integration* refers to the extent to which teachers use examples from a variety of cultures as illustrations in their discipline. The second dimension, the *knowledge construction* process, describes how teachers help their pupils to understand that scientists create knowledge and how this knowledge construction is influenced by the positions of individuals and groups. *Prejudice reduction* defines strategies to support pupils to develop more democratic attitudes and values. *Equity pedagogy*, the fourth dimension, exists when teachers take the initiative to improve the academic achievement of pupils from low-status population groups. The last dimension refers to *restructuring the organization and culture of a school*, creating an empowering school culture, and producing educational equality for pupils from any racial, ethnic, and social-class group.

Banks (1989) further identifies four approaches to multicultural content integration. In the same way as a stage theory, each approach implies an improvement over the previous one. The *contribution approach* is the easiest way to incorporate multicultural

content in the curriculum. Ethnic role models and discrete cultural artefacts—such as food, holidays, and music—are added to the mainstream curriculum. The *additive approach* refers to the addition of content or themes, such as a book or film, still viewing the ethnic content from the perspective of the mainstream. The *transformative approach* changes the fundamental goals and structure of the curriculum, and therefore differs from the previous approaches. Through the interaction of diverse cultural elements from various groups, pupils learn to view issues from different perspectives and extend their understanding of the multicultural society. Lastly, the *social action approach* includes teachers' efforts to empower pupils and educate them with regard to social action and decision-making skills.

Many teachers' understanding of multicultural teaching in Flemish schools as well as other contexts (Agirdag, Merry, & Van Houtte, 2016), is limited to the content integration dimension (Banks, 1993). Moreover, content integration is probably the most widely implemented, but least studied, aspect of multicultural education (Zirkel, 2008). Therefore, in this article we use the term multicultural teaching to refer to Banks' conceptualization of content integration: the extent to which teachers use examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline (Banks, 1993).

Because pupils in secondary schools are tutored by a variety of teachers during the school year, it makes sense to examine the impact of the wider teacher culture on pupils' outcomes (Van Houtte & Demanet, 2016). Teacher cultures arise because after

a while, teachers in the same school develop shared work-related values and ideas about education and school (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Hargreaves, 1992). Teachers' instructional methods—in this study, the practice of multicultural teaching—can be seen as an expression or manifestation of the prevalent teacher culture (Schein, 1984). Therefore, we do not focus on the multicultural teaching practice of individual teachers, but instead on the effects of the overall multicultural teacher culture.

Multicultural Teacher Culture and Pupils' Ethnic Prejudice

By considering teachers' instructional practice as an evident manifestation of the teacher culture, it can be linked to various individual pupil outcomes (Van Houtte, 2002). There is considerable evidence that multicultural teaching improves intergroup relations and outgroup attitudes (Stephan & Vogt, 2004; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Zirkel, 2008). On the one hand, multicultural teaching emphasizes particular social norms, because it stresses the unacceptability of ethnic prejudice and discrimination. On the other hand, it attempts to increase knowledge and understanding of cultural differences. Learning about these differences may be effective in various ways. First, pupils' negative outgroup attitudes can be challenged when they are confronted with counter-stereotypical information (Pettigrew, 1998). Second, multicultural teaching may create a better understanding of different cultural traditions, practices, and behaviors, resulting in a less-prejudiced attitude (Pettigrew, 1998; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). Third, multicultural teaching might

highlight similarities between ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority, by focusing on what these groups have in common (Houlette et al., 2004; Levy et al., 2005). However, it is important not to look only for commonalities between cultures, because this entails the risk of ignoring or minimizing group differences, i.e. color blindness (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). Color blindness proposes that cultural differences do not matter and should not be considered. The color blindness perspective is associated with greater racial attitude bias (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). On the other hand, the multiculturalism approach regarding cultural differences, which proposes that group differences need to be acknowledged, considered and celebrated, yields more positive outcomes for intergroup relations (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). Therefore, we focus on the multiculturalism approach. In sum, multicultural teaching not only involves the transmission of social norms but also tries to increase knowledge and understanding of cultural differences, resulting in less negative outgroup attitudes (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). Therefore, we hypothesize that a more multicultural teacher culture is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils (H1).

Multicultural Teacher Culture and Pupils' Perception of Multicultural Teaching

Research shows that pupils' perceptions of classroom practices are related to various cognitive and affective outcomes (Goh & Fraser, 2000). For example, achievement scores can be explained by pupils' perceptions of the cultural environment of the school, because their perceptions of what teachers do in classrooms are related to

their math performance and their attitudes about learning the subject (Marcoulides, Heck, & Papanastasiou, 2005). To the best of our knowledge, the association between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' perceptions of teachers' involvement with multicultural teaching in secondary schools has not previously been examined in ethnic prejudice research. However, the assessments of teachers and the perceptions of pupils might both be important to take into account, because the effects of teachers' practices on pupils' attitudes might be mediated by the perceptions of pupils regarding their teachers (Way, 2011).

Related to multiculturalism, Verkuyten & Thijs (2013) found that in primary schools, the aggregated perceptions of classmates about the multicultural practices of teachers are positively related to pupils' evaluations of ethnic minority groups, and that this relationship is mediated by children's individual perceptions. Moreover, these perceptions have a greater impact on pupils' ethnic attitudes than teachers' own assessments of their multicultural educational practices (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2004). In line with these findings, we hypothesize that the perceptions of pupils concerning teachers' involvement with multicultural teaching will mediate the relationship between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice (H2).

*Ethnic School Composition, Intergroup Friendships, and Pupils' Individual**Characteristics*

Previous research shows that the ethnic composition of a school is related to pupils' ethnic prejudice, as a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in school is associated with reduced negative outgroup attitudes among ethnic majority pupils (Bakker et al. 2007; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Within a school context, the ethnic composition will determine the opportunities to establish interethnic contact (Fritzsche, 2006; Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014), because ethnic minorities and majorities will evidently have a greater likelihood of interacting when the proportion of ethnic minorities increases (Blau, 1994). Research shows that the mere presence of outgroup members (Zebrowitz, White, & Wieneke, 2008), or simply a higher concentration of ethnic minorities (Kalin, 1996), is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice. This can be partly explained through Zajonc's mere exposure hypothesis (1968), which suggests that repeated exposure to ethnic minorities results in familiarity, and is associated with more positive outgroup attitudes. Allport's intergroup contact theory (1954) argues that four conditions are necessary to make mere exposure effective. According to Allport (1954), increased intergroup contact leads to reduced ethnic prejudice, only when (a) different groups expect and perceive equal status in the situation, (b) they pursue common goals, (c) cooperation exists, and (d) there is support from authoritative figures. Researchers have added friendship as a fifth condition for optimal intergroup contact associated with reduced ethnic prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998). Existing research often confirms the

negative relationship between intergroup friendship and ethnic prejudice (Pettigrew, 2008; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008; Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2012). In addition to ethnic school composition and intergroup friendships, some individual characteristics may also be related to pupils' ethnic prejudice. Research shows that women are more tolerant than men (Coenders & Scheepers, 1998; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008), people with a higher income may be less ethnically prejudiced (Coenders & Scheepers, 1998), and lastly, a higher level of education is related to less prejudice toward outgroups (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008).

The Present Study

In this study, we explore the role of a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' perceptions of multicultural teaching as determinants of Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice. The ethnic composition of the school is taken into account, because a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in school has been shown to be related to reduced ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority pupils (Bakker et al., 2007; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). First, we focus on how a multicultural (teacher) culture in a school is associated with pupils' ethnic prejudice. We hypothesize that a more multicultural teacher culture is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils (H1). Second, we assume that pupils' perceptions of teachers' involvement with multicultural teaching mediate the relationship between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice (H2).

Flemish Immigration and the Educational Context

At the beginning of the 1960s, laborers from Morocco, Turkey, and subsequently from various Eastern European countries (e.g. Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and Kosovo) migrated to Belgium to live and work there, and were later joined by their families (Vanduynslager et al., 2013). In Flanders, the largest ethnic minority groups share a Muslim identity; a religious background that is not particularly welcomed (Agirdag, Merry, & Van Houtte, 2016). Flemish teachers often have negative attitudes to Islam (Agirdag, Loobuyck, & Van Houtte, 2012; Juchtmans, & Nicaise, 2013), and many ethnic minority pupils continue to lag behind their Flemish counterparts academically (Agirdag, Van Houtte, Van Avermaet, 2012b).

Flanders has a unique educational system. Every school in there is state subsidized, and the Flemish government is fully responsible for the educational policy within its territory. Education is compulsory from the ages of six to eighteen and most Flemish children also attend nursery school from the age of two and a half onward. After six years of primary education, children transfer to secondary education, comprising four main tracks: (1) general secondary or academic education (preparing for higher education), (2) technical secondary education (focusing more on technical and practical topics), (3) artistic secondary education (general education combined with active art practice), and (4) vocational secondary education (very practical and job-specific education). Tracks are commonly hierarchically classified by the level of abstraction and theorizing, and academic education is widely regarded as the most valued and demanding track, whereas technical and vocational tracks are located at

the bottom of the ladder (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2010). Although pupils can select the track they will pursue, their actual opportunity to do so is mainly a function of prior achievement in primary education and their socioeconomic status (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013). As a result, ethnic minority pupils are overrepresented in the lower tracks (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013; Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009). At the end of each year, pupils are given a certificate indicating whether they can continue their current educational path (A certificate) or not (B or C certificate). Students given a B certificate may progress to the next year, but need to join a lower track, whereas a C certificate means that the student has to repeat the year. A diploma of secondary education in Flanders grants unlimited access to all forms of higher education.

In 1991, the Dutch Ministry of Education launched Educational Priority Policy, a three-pillar plan to deal with the disadvantaged position of migrant children in Belgian school, through: "Education in their own language and culture", "Dutch as a Second Language" and "Intercultural Education". Also in 1991, the final curriculum objectives for schools were developed and implemented. These are objectives in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes which the government sees as necessary and attainable for the student population. These objectives include (limited) aspects of intercultural education, such as "learn to function in a multicultural society" and "behave respectfully to other cultures". Next, "Equal Educational Opportunities Policy", implemented in 2002, tried to give all children optimal possibilities to learn and develop. It is based on five principles: (1) the right to register in school for every pupil

who fulfills the conditions of admission, (2) priority rules for some pupils, (3) restricted opportunities for schools to refuse pupils, (4) local consultation platforms that implement equal educational opportunities on the local level and (5) additional support for schools based on some pupils' characteristics, such as the family income and education level of the parents (Laevens, Van den Branden, & Verlot, 2004). The "Equal Educational Opportunities Policy" changed in 2005, 2006 and 2008 with minor adjustments to the key principals (Laevens, Van den Branden, & Verlot, 2004). However, the implementation of intercultural education in Flanders is still restricted, and often relates to one-off projects. This lack of interest in applying intercultural teaching can partly be explained by the freedom of the schools and teachers, since every school is free to choose if and how they implement intercultural education (Suijs, 2004). When given freedom to choose what to implement in terms of policies, schools still seem to focus on policies that aim to assimilate ethnic minorities to the dominant (language) culture (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000; Verlot & Sierens, 1997). Moreover, teachers in Flanders (almost all of who have a majority ethnic background) still rely on a deficit model in explaining the educational disadvantages of ethnic minorities, and point to pupils' cultural (and particularly language) shortcomings as the main cause of ethnic minority underachievement (Verlot & Sierens, 1997). Furthermore, teachers who took responsibility for these particular courses in school were given a lower status by the teaching staff, and even experienced overt resistance from other members of staff (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000). Finally, Flemish schools are often reluctant to

implement intercultural education and few teachers are trained for intercultural competence (De Wit & Van Petegem, 2000; Verlot & Sierens, 1997).

Methods

Sample

The data used is taken from the Racism and Discrimination in Secondary Schools survey (RaDiSS 2), collected during the school year 2014-2015. A multistage sampling frame was used, in order to ensure sufficient variability and cases in terms of the level of urbanization of the school environment and pupils' ethnicity. First, four large, multi-cultural Flemish districts were selected for sampling (Antwerp, Ghent, Hasselt, and Sint-Niklaas). Second, all the secondary schools (excluding artistic education, due to the small number of pupils enrolled) in these areas were divided into three location categories: city center, suburban area, or rural area. The aim was to select two thirds of the schools from urban areas and one third from suburban and rural areas. Within these districts, a further selection was made of one third of schools with a low proportion of ethnic minority pupils (less than 15%), one third with a medium proportion (between 15% and 49.9%), and one third with a high proportion (between 50% and 100%) (Flemish Educational Department, 2011). In total, 55 schools were contacted, out of which 45 were willing to participate (a response rate of 82%). Of those in the sample, 26 schools were located in a city center, 12 in a suburban area, and 7 in a rural location. In terms of pupils' ethnicity, 14 schools had a low proportion of ethnic minorities, 15 a medium proportion, and 16 a high proportion. As a result,

the participating schools cover the entire range of ethnic minority composition from 0% to 95% (see Table 14). Teachers in Grade 6 (comparable with Grade 12 in the American system) were asked to complete a written questionnaire. They could do this when and where they wanted and could return it free of charge, as we paid for the postage and envelopes with the aim of obtaining a high response rate. In total, 669 out of 1,584 teachers completed the questionnaire, equating to a response rate of 42%. Because we only asked for the name of the school, the anonymity of the teachers was guaranteed. In view of our research questions, we only incorporated schools where at least five teachers completed the questionnaire, which is in line with other research (Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, & Hoy, 2001; Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2009), resulting in a sample of 636 teachers across 40 schools. Pupils in Grade 6 were also asked to complete a written questionnaire. In total, 3,371 out of 4,107 pupils completed the questionnaire, which equates to a response rate of 82%. The only reasons pupils did not participate were because of absence due to illness or because a class was on a field trip, so no bias occurred. Pupils filled out the questionnaire in the presence of a researcher and one or more teachers. In order for the data to be linked to other information, such as academic results provided by the schools, the pupil questionnaires were not anonymous. However, all the pupils were informed that their names would be removed once the database was complete and that teachers were not allowed access to the completed questionnaires, making the final database anonymous and confidential. Because the ethnic prejudice of pupils is taken into account—which includes prejudice against Turks, Moroccans, and Eastern Europeans—

for this study only native pupils (61.9%) were selected, resulting in a final sample of 2,083 Flemish students. Of these, 49.8% were female. With regard to the track, 24.5% were in vocational, 30.8% in technical, and 44.7% in academic education. The mean SES was 54.94 (range 16-90) and the mean age 17.46 (range 15-29).

Variables

Ethnic prejudice. Ethnic prejudice refers to a negative attitude to ethnic outgroups (De Witte, 1999; Quillian, 1995). Because the majority of the ethnic minorities in Flanders come from Morocco, Turkey, and Eastern Europe (e.g. Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and Kosovo), negative attitudes to these three groups were measured separately and then totaled to assess the ethnic prejudice of Flemish pupils. A 5-point Likert scale with 18 items was used, ranging from absolutely disagree (= 1) to completely agree (= 5). Three examples of the items are: “Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans do not contribute to the welfare of Belgium”, “In some areas, the government does more for Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans than for the Belgians who live there”, and “Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans are commonly unreliable” (Quillian, 1995). Missing values were imputed by item correlation substitution: A missing value for one item was replaced by the value of the item correlating most closely to it (Huisman, 2000). The scale was created by taking the mean scores on the 18 items, resulting in possible scores from 1 to 5, with a higher value indicating greater ethnic prejudice. Cronbach’s alpha for the ethnic prejudice scale is .89 (mean (M) = 2.85; SD = .68) (See Table 14).

Multicultural teacher culture. Multicultural teacher culture was measured by a 6-point Likert scale of our own design. It refers to one of the five dimensions identified by Banks (1993) as outlined above, namely the content integration dimension, referring to the extent to which teachers use examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principals, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline (Banks, 1993). Because teachers in Flanders only seem to apply the content integration dimension but not the other dimensions of Banks (Agirdag, Merry, & Van Houtte, 2016), the measure of multicultural education is only based on this dimension. The scale consists of 12 items, ranging from absolutely disagree (= 1) to completely agree (= 5) and inapplicable (= 6). The last category was recoded to 1, because when teachers answered “inapplicable”, it indicates that they did not pay attention to that item during their lessons. Three example items are: “During my lessons at school, I work explicitly on themes about differences between cultures”, “During my lessons at this school, I do not highlight holidays of different religions”, and “During my lessons at school, the many different cultures in our society are discussed”. Missing values were imputed by item correlation substitution (Huisman, 2000). The scale was created by the mean scores on the 12 items, resulting in possible scores from 1 to 5, with a higher score indicating that teachers practice more multicultural teaching. Exploratory factor analysis reveals that there is one underlying dimension. The item loadings range between .463 and .833, and Cronbach’s alpha for the multicultural teaching scale is .87. Because we wanted to examine the role of a multicultural teacher culture, teachers’ individual practices were aggregated

to the school level. As is common practice, this can be achieved by calculating the mean value for each school (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, & Sanders, 1990; Van Houtte, 2004a). We used the index of “mean rater reliability” (Glick, 1985; Shrout & Fleiss, 1979), to ascertain whether the practice of multicultural teaching is indeed shared by the teachers in the same school. This index is based on the intra-class correlation (ICC) in a one-way analysis of variance, which measures the degree of resemblance between micro units belonging to the same macro unit (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). The ICC is calculated by the formula

$$(Between\ Mean\ Square - Within\ Mean\ Square) / Between\ Mean\ Square$$

If this value is greater than .6, then we can state that the practice of multicultural teaching is common to teachers from the same school, and that it is therefore legitimate to speak of a multicultural culture at the school level (see also Van Houtte, 2004a). For the measurement of multicultural teaching, this ICC is .71 ($F = 3.503$, $p < .001$), showing that multicultural teaching is indeed shared by the teachers from the same school. The measurement of the culture of multicultural teaching has a mean of 2.98 ($SD = .31$. See Table 14).

Ethnic school composition. Ethnic composition at the school level is a metric variable, based on the proportion of ethnic minority pupils. The ethnicity of the pupils was assessed primarily by the birthplace of the pupil’s maternal grandmother (OECD, 2008). If this data was not available, their mother’s birthplace was used. In the event that this information was also missing, the country of birth of the pupil was used. As is common practice, and in line with the official Flemish definition of non-native groups,

pupils were considered as being of foreign descent if their maternal grandmother, their mother, or the pupils themselves had a birthplace other than Western European (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003). The average proportion of ethnic minority pupils is .19 ($SD = .19$. See Table 14).

Gender. Our sample is almost equally divided with regard to gender (female = 1), with 49.8% being female (See Table 14).

Socioeconomic status. The SES of origin of the pupils was measured by the profession of their father and mother. The parents' professions were recoded, using the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) (Ganzeboom, De Graaf, & Treiman, 1992), derived from the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). This metric variable has a range from 16 to 90. The highest score out of the two parents was used, and the higher the score, the higher the SES. In our sample, the minimum score is 16 and the maximum 90, with a mean score of 54.94 ($SD = 15.97$. See Table 14).

Track. Pupils were asked to indicate the educational track in which they were enrolled. The possible responses were academic, technical, artistic, and vocational education. Pupils in artistic education were excluded, due to the small number involved. Because previous research indicates that pupils in technical and vocational education are more ethnically prejudiced (De Witte, 1999), two dummy variables were constructed, with pupils in academic track (44.7%) as reference category: the variable "technical education" (30.8%) and the variable "vocational education" (24.5%) (See Table 14).

Intergroup friendships. Pupils were asked how many of their friends were non-natives. The possible answers were: none (= 1), a few (= 2), half (= 3), most (= 4), and all (= 5). We created three dummy variables, with having no non-native friends (12.3%) as the reference category: the variable “a few non-native friends” (73%), the variable “half” (9.1%), and the variable “most or all” (5.6%) (See Table 14).

Pupils' perceptions of multicultural teaching. Each pupil's perceptions of multicultural teaching were measured by a 5-point Likert scale of our own design with 12 items. Three sample items are: “How many of your teachers at school talk together with your class about different cultures?”, “How many of your teachers at school work explicitly on themes about differences between cultures?”, and “How many of your teachers at school discuss the many different cultures in our society?” The possible answers were none of the teachers (= 1), one teacher (= 2), some teachers (= 3), most of the teachers (= 4), and all of the teachers (= 5). Missing values were imputed by item correlation substitution (Huisman, 2000). The scale was created by the mean scores on the 12 items, resulting in possible scores from 1 to 5, with a higher score indicating that pupils evaluate their teachers as practicing more multicultural teaching. Exploratory factor analysis reveals that there is one underlying dimension. The item loadings range between .491 and .767. Cronbach's alpha for the multicultural teaching scale is .87, with a mean score of 2.31 ($SD = .62$). See Table 14).

Table 14. Descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables: Frequencies (%), means, standard deviations (SD), and minimum and maximum values (n = 2,083)

	%	MEAN	SD	MIN.	MAX.
Outcome					
Ethnic prejudice		2.85	.68	1	5
Individual-level					
Gender					
Male	50.2				
Female	49.8				
Socioeconomic status		54.94	15.97	16	90
Track					
Academic education	44.7				
Technical education	30.8				
Vocational education	24.5				
Intergroup friendships					
None	12.3				
A few	73				
Half	9.1				
Most/all	5.6				
Perception of multicultural teaching		2.31	.62	1	5
School-level					
Multicultural teacher culture		2.98	.31	2.32	3.69
Ethnic school composition		.19	.19	.00	.95

Research Design

In view of the fact that we are dealing with a clustered sample of teachers nested within schools, it was most appropriate to use multilevel analysis (MLwiN 2.30). The multicultural teacher culture was added as a school-level feature, and pupils' perceptions of multicultural teaching as an individual-level feature (see also Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012). We controlled for ethnic school composition at the school level and for gender, SES, track, and the number of non-native friends at the individual level. All metric variables were grand mean centered. A random intercept model was used. The first estimated model (Table 16, Model 0) is an intercept-only model; an unconditional model to determine the amount of variance occurring at the individual level and at the school level. In the second model (Table 16, Model 1), multicultural teacher culture was added, in order to test the negative relationship between multicultural teacher culture and Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice (H1). We controlled for ethnic school composition, because as previously mentioned, research shows that the mere presence of outgroup members (Zajonc, 1968; Zebrowitz, White, & Wieneke, 2008), or simply a higher concentration of ethnic minorities (Kalin, 1996), is associated with lower ethnic prejudice. Moreover, we controlled for individual characteristics that recur in research on ethnic prejudice, because men, people with a lower SES, and those with fewer non-native friends appear to be more ethnically prejudiced (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Pettigrew, 1998; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). In addition—and more specifically related to the Flemish educational system—being in vocational education is associated with increased

ethnic prejudice (De Witte, 1999). In the third model (Table 16, Model 2), the perceptions of pupils regarding their teachers' involvement with multicultural teaching were introduced, testing the mediating effect of these perceptions (H2), because these might mediate the association between teachers own assessments of their multicultural educational practices and pupils' ethnically prejudiced attitude (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013).

Results

The bivariate correlations in Table 15 show a significant negative relationship between pupils' ethnic prejudice, and gender ($r = -.093$; $p < .01$), socioeconomic status ($r = -.090$; $p < .01$), intergroup friendships ($r = -.181$; $p < .01$), and their perceptions of multicultural teaching ($r = -.210$; $p < .01$). Female pupils, a higher socioeconomic status, more intergroup friendships, and higher perceptions of multicultural teaching are all associated with lower ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils, with girls overall being less prejudiced than boys. Being in the vocational track is associated with more ethnic prejudice, as track is positively related to pupils' ethnic prejudice ($r = .200$; $p < .01$).

Table 15. Bivariate (Pearson) correlations between dependent and independent variables (n = 2,083)

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Gender	1	-.038	-.051*	-.045*	-.005	-.093**
2. Socioeconomic status		1	-.445**	-.141**	-.009	-.090**
3. Track			1	.216**	.027	.200**
4. Intergroup friendships				1	.133**	-.181**
5. Perception of MCT					1	-.210**
6. Ethnic prejudice						1

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

We started the multilevel regression analysis, presented in Table 16, with an unconditional model (Table 16, Model 0). This model indicates that 15.32% ($\sigma_e^2 = .409$, $\sigma_u^2 = .074$) of the variance in Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice is situated at the school level.

In the next step, multicultural teacher culture was included in order to test the direct relationship between multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice (H1) (Table 16, Model 1). The association is negative and significant at the 10% level ($\gamma^* = -.201$; $SE = .120$; $p < .1$. See Table 16, Model 1), thus the first hypothesis of this study—assuming that a more multicultural teacher culture is negatively related to pupils' ethnic prejudice—is confirmed. The different control variables were also included in this model (Table 16, Model 1). Ethnic school composition is negatively related to pupils' ethnic prejudice ($\gamma^* = -.346$; $SE = .167$; $p < .05$) and gender is also negatively related to ethnic prejudice by Flemish pupils ($\gamma^* = -.097$; $SE = .030$; $p < .01$).

Track is associated with the pupils' level of ethnic prejudice in that pupils in technical tracks ($\gamma^* = .251$; $SE = .047$; $p < .001$) and the vocational track ($\gamma^* = .482$; $SE = .051$; $p < .001$) are more ethnically prejudiced than pupils in academic tracks. Having outgroup friends is negatively related to ethnic prejudice, as pupils with a few ($\gamma^* = -.213$; $SE = .043$; $p < .001$), half ($\gamma^* = -.453$; $SE = .063$; $p < .001$), or most/all ($\gamma^* = -.510$; $SE = .074$; $p < .001$) non-native friends are less ethnically prejudiced than pupils with no outgroup friends.

To test the mediating effect of pupils' perception of multicultural teaching (H2), we used the causal steps approach (Baron & Kenny, 1986; MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007; Mathieu & Taylor, 2007). We examined whether the association between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice was mediated by the perceptions of pupils regarding teachers' involvement with multicultural teaching. The first step is to examine the relationship between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice. As mentioned before, this association is significant and negative ($\gamma^* = -.201$; $SE = .120$; $p < .1$. See Table 16, Model 1). Second, a significant, positive relationship is found between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' perceptions of multicultural teaching ($\gamma^* = .327$; $SE = .078$; $p < .001$. See Table 17, Model 1). Moreover, adding pupils' perceptions of multicultural teaching to the model reduced the association between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice to an insignificant level ($\gamma^* = -.164$; $SE = .114$. See Table 16, Model 2). The association between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice is

mediated by pupils' perceptions of multicultural teaching, confirming the second hypothesis of this study.

Table 16. Ethnic prejudice of native pupils. Results of stepwise multilevel analysis, standard errors between parentheses (n = 2,083, groups = 40)

Parameter	MODEL 0	MODEL 1	MODEL 2
School level			
Multicultural teacher culture		-.201+ (.120)	-.164 (.114)
Ethnic school composition		-.346* (.167)	-.291+ (.160)
Individual level			
Gender (ref: Male)		-.097** (.030)	-.102*** (.030)
Socioeconomic status		-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)
Technical track (ref: Academic track)		.251*** (.047)	.231*** (.046)
Vocational track (ref: Academic track)		.482*** (.051)	.483*** (.050)
A few non-native friends (ref: None)		-.213*** (.043)	-.185*** (.043)
Half non-native friends (ref: None)		-.453*** (.063)	-.414*** (.062)
Most/all non-native friends (ref: None)		-.510*** (.074)	-.470*** (.074)
Perception of multicultural teaching			-.178*** (.022)
Constant	2.824***	2.944***	2.924***
Individual-level variance	.409	.383	.372
School-level variance	.074	.029	.025
Log-likelihood	4,127.383	3,965.019	3,902.847

Note. The centered coefficients are presented, with standard errors shown in parentheses.

+p < .1, *p < .05, **p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 17. Pupils' perception of multicultural teaching. Results of stepwise multilevel analysis, standard errors between parentheses (n = 2,083, groups = 40)

Parameter	MODEL 0	MODEL 1
School level		
Multicultural teacher culture		.327*** (.078)
Constant	2.356***	2.317***
<i>Individual-level variance</i>	.364	.364
<i>School-level variance</i>	.025	.014
<i>Log-likelihood</i>	3,857.449	3,842.644

Note. The centered coefficients are presented, with standard errors shown in parentheses.

*** p < .001

Discussion and conclusions

Worldwide migration is associated with increasingly ethnically diverse societies and schools, and related to this, a developing interest in ethnic minority pupils' experiences of ethnic prejudice from their ethnic majority counterparts. Although the undesirable consequences of such prejudice have been thoroughly researched (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), only a few studies have focused on its determinants. Moreover, these studies have usually restricted their attention to individual-level predictors, neglecting the possible influence of the school or teachers (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). The current study aims to fill this gap by examining the determinants of ethnic prejudice on different levels within the school context. Most of the existing research on multicultural education focuses on the US context, and the association between multicultural teaching and pupils' ethnic

prejudice is rarely examined (for an exception, see Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). Therefore, our study contributes to the existing research on multicultural education by exploring the association between a multicultural teacher culture, pupils' perceptions of teachers' multicultural practices, and the ethnic prejudice of secondary school pupils in Flanders, taking into account ethnic school composition and some sociodemographic characteristics that have been shown to be related to ethnic prejudice. First, we examined the association between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice. Second, we investigated whether pupils' perceptions of teachers' involvement with multicultural teaching mediate the relationship between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice.

The main finding of this study is that a more multicultural teacher culture is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils, confirming our first hypothesis. Although the act of paying attention to ethnic groups, which is involved in forms of multicultural education, involves the risk of increasing ethnic stereotyping, it seems to have the potential to improve interethnic relations (Bigler, 1999; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). However, the association between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice is mediated by pupils' perception of multicultural teaching, confirming the second hypothesis of this study. This is in line with previous research in primary schools, which shows that children's perceptions of teachers' multicultural practices have an impact on their ethnic outgroup attitudes (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). The findings of our study provide some large-scale data support for the importance of creating inclusive school cultures to reduce ethnic

prejudice among ethnic majorities and the importance of teachers' contributions to that. These findings highlight that it is not sufficient to take into account only teachers' own assessments of their amount of multicultural teaching, because pupils' perceptions mediate the association between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' ethnic prejudice. To reduce pupils' ethnic prejudice, they need to recognize that their teachers practice multicultural teaching, because pupils' ethnically prejudiced attitude will only change if they are aware that their teachers use examples and information from a variety of cultures in their subject area.

With regard to the role of ethnic school composition, we find that the mere presence of ethnic minority pupils in school is related to lower levels of ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority pupils, because a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in school is associated with reduced negative outgroup attitudes among Flemish pupils. With regard to pupils' individual characteristics, this study confirms previous findings about ethnic prejudice: Pupils with a greater number of non-native friends are less ethnically prejudiced (Pettigrew, 2008; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008; Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2012), and female pupils are less ethnically prejudiced than their male counterparts (Coenders & Scheepers, 1998; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). In addition, pupils in vocational and technical education are more ethnically prejudiced than those in academic education (De Witte, 1999).

This study has some limitations. First, it uses cross-sectional data, so causality cannot be determined in the relationship between a multicultural teacher culture and pupils' levels of ethnic prejudice. A selection effect is plausible, whereby pupils who are more

ethnically prejudiced are less likely to attend a school with a multicultural teacher culture. However, pupils have little or no choice regarding which school they attend. Second, some issues should be mentioned with regard to our measurements and operationalizations. Because we operationalize multicultural teacher culture by considering school-wide attitudes, we are unable to go into detail with regard to the effects of individual teachers. However, in secondary schools, it is more logical to investigate the role of teacher cultures than that of individual teachers' practices, because pupils engage with a number of different teachers during a school year (Van Houtte & Demanet, 2016). Third, the scale used to measure pupils' ethnic prejudice may be sensitive to socially desirable answers, so a more implicit measurement of ethnic prejudice could be recommended (Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014), because studies show a discrepancy between implicit and explicit prejudice (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994). Lastly, there is only one outgroup included, namely "the" ethnic minority pupils, but research shows that ethnic prejudice may vary depending on the nationality of ethnic minorities, related to the immigration history of a country (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Kalin, 1996). However, studies have also shown that the enhanced liking, resulting from exposure and intergroup contact, can be generalized to greater liking for the entire outgroup, outgroup members in other situations, and even outgroups not involved in the contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Rhodes, Halberstadt, & Brajkovich, 2001).

Notwithstanding the identified limitations, this study opens the door to further research on ethnic prejudice within the school context. Our findings confirm that it is

theoretically important to include macro factors, individual variables, and their interdependence in explaining ethnic prejudice (Bar-Tal, 1997; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2010). This study shows that a substantial part of pupils' outgroup attitudes is attributable to the school level, because the proportion of ethnic minority pupils and the extent of multicultural practices are associated with these attitudes. Other school characteristics, such as ethnic diversity instead of ethnic concentration, may lead to different outcomes (Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013). In addition to the role of the school, this study has examined and confirmed the role of peers. Future studies should consider the combined and interactive influences of school, peers, and family (Marchant, Paulson, & Rothlisberg, 2001), because in addition to school and friends, parents are also influential in children's inter-ethnic attitudes (Munniksma, Flache, Verkuyten, & Veenstra, 2012). This study shows that pupils' perceptions of the multicultural practices of teachers are associated with the pupils' ethnic prejudice. Therefore, it might be interesting to examine how specific school characteristics, such as a participatory and cooperative culture, can positively influence pupils' perceptions, resulting in a better understanding among teachers of pupils' perceptions and expectations. Because Flemish teachers' understanding of multicultural teaching is limited to the content integration dimension (Agirdag, Merry, & Van Houtte, 2016), research in countries other than Belgium, where teachers implement other dimensions of multicultural education, may be interesting for further research on ethnic prejudice. In terms of social policy, one of the first challenges in reducing ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils is to create a more multicultural teacher culture in schools. This can

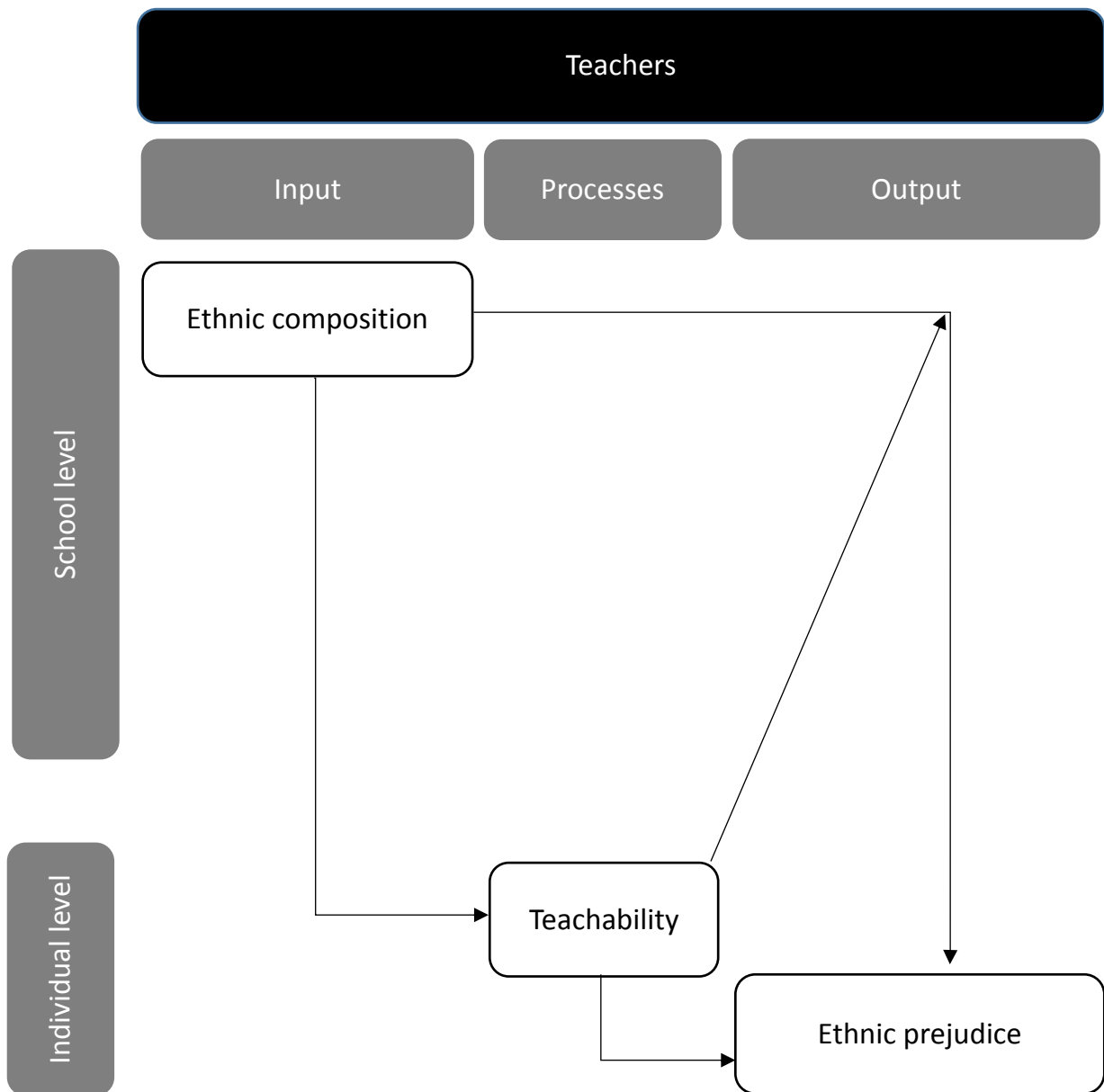
partly be created by reducing the ethnic prejudice of teachers, because teachers' involvement with multicultural teaching is associated with their own level of ethnic prejudice (Agirdag, Merry, & Van Houtte, 2016). Reducing the ethnic prejudice of teachers can partly be realized by educating prospective teachers to reflect on their own prejudices (Gay, 2010; McAllister & Irvine, 2000) and by increasing their knowledge of other cultures (Avery & Walker, 1993; Nieto, 2000). Nevertheless, a multicultural teacher culture in itself is not enough. Pupils' ethnic prejudices will only decrease when they are aware that their teachers practice multicultural teaching. The idea of a "school as community" is a recurrent theme in recent research on effective schools and may be useful in this context (Bryk & Driscoll, 1988). According to this approach, an effective school is characterized by a cohesive faculty culture, participation, cooperative relations, social interactions and strong affective ties between pupils and teachers, shared values, common activities, and an "ethic of caring", including teachers' personal interest in students (Bryk & Driscoll, 1988). In such a school, students are given a certain amount of influence (Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012). When pupils can participate in decision-making and educational processes, and teachers are genuinely interested in their pupils' opinions, teachers will have a better understanding of pupils' perceptions, including perceptions of multicultural practices. Teachers can use the knowledge they acquire through informal interactions with their pupils to anticipate their pupils' perceptions and this can help them to reduce ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils. Finally, by using certain teaching methods, such as cooperative learning, teachers can facilitate the

construction of intergroup friendships among pupils and thus reduce their levels of ethnic prejudice (Cooper, 1999).

*“Change your thoughts
and you change
your world”*

Norman Vincent Peale

6.4. The Ethnic Prejudice of Flemish Teachers: The Role of Ethnic School Composition and of Teachability



Abstract

The aim of this study is to investigate the association between ethnic composition in school and the ethnic prejudice of teachers, controlling for the individual characteristics of teachers and their perceptions of pupils' teachability. Multilevel analyses were carried out on data for 499 Flemish teachers in 44 Flemish (Belgian) secondary schools, collected through an online questionnaire. In this study, ethnic prejudice means a negative attitude to Moroccans, Turks, and Eastern Europeans. A scale was created by taking the mean scores for 18 items, with higher scores indicating greater ethnic prejudice (De Witte, 1999; Quillian, 1995). Teachers with long-term higher education or a university diploma are shown to be less ethnically prejudiced than teachers with a lower level of education. Moreover, teachers who work at a school with a greater number of ethnic minority pupils, and at the same time evaluate their pupils as more teachable, are less ethnically prejudiced. These findings highlight the need for more research into the underlying processes, such as pupils' teachability, that influence the relationship between school characteristics and the ethnic prejudice of teachers. More knowledge about the context-specific factors and processes that mediate and/or moderate this relationship can increase the theoretical understanding of the development of ethnic prejudice. It can also highlight particular social characteristics, which can be the focus of social and organizational policy aimed at reducing ethnic prejudices.

Introduction

From the Second World War onward, Flanders (the Dutch-speaking region of Belgium) has developed into a multi-ethnic society, initially through labor migration processes, followed by migrant family reunification and chain migration processes (Sierens, Van Houtte, Loobuyck, Delrue, & Pelleriaux, 2006; Vanduynslager, Wets, Noppe, & Doyen, 2013). As a result of these immigration and settlement processes, schools in Flanders are now notably ethnically diverse, particularly in urban areas (Brief et al., 2005; Desmedt & Nicaise, 2006). This evolution has coincided with an increasing number of studies focusing on the impact of ethnic diversity in schools. Research shows that the ethnic composition of a school influences teachers' expectations and perceptions of their pupils (Brault, Janosz, & Archambault, 2014; Diamond, Randolph, & Spillane, 2004; Newmann, Rutter, & Smith, 1989). For example, teachers in schools with a substantial proportion of ethnic minorities perceive their pupils as being less teachable (Agirdag, Van Avermaet, & Van Houtte, 2013; Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2011). Furthermore, in this context, teachers show more prejudice toward ethnic minority pupils, because they have worse expectations and perceptions of these students than of their native peers, even after controlling for actual levels of academic achievement (Chang & Demyan, 2007; McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Rubie-Davies, Hattie, & Hamilton, 2006; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Research into ethnic prejudice tends to focus on the victims (e.g., ethnic minority pupils) and the undesirable consequences of ethnic prejudice with regard to motivation, mental health, and self-esteem (e.g., Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert,

2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), neglecting teachers and the determinants of their ethnic prejudice (for an exception, see Agirdag, Loobuyck, & Van Houtte, 2012). The few studies that focus on the variability of ethnic prejudice among teachers tend to restrict their attention to individual-level characteristics, such as age, gender, nationality, socioeconomic status (SES), and level of education (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008), neglecting the influence of school factors and the importance of underlying mechanisms—such as teachers’ expectations and perceptions of their pupils—that might mediate or moderate the level of prejudice.

This study contributes to existing research on ethnic prejudice by examining the association between ethnic composition in school and the ethnic prejudice of teachers, controlling for the individual characteristics of teachers and their perceptions of pupils’ teachability.

Flemish Immigration and the Educational Context

At the beginning of the 1960s, individual laborers from Morocco, Turkey, and subsequently from various Eastern European countries (e.g., Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and Kosovo) migrated to Belgium and were later joined by their families to live and work there (Vanduynslager et al., 2013). In Flanders, the largest ethnic minority groups share a Muslim identity; a religious background that is not particularly welcomed (Agirdag, Merry, & Van Houtte, 2016). Negative attitudes about Islam are common among Flemish teachers (Agirdag, Loobuyck, & Van Houtte, 2012),

and many ethnic minority pupils continue to academically lag behind their Flemish counterparts, even when social class is taken into account (Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2012).

Flanders has a unique educational system. Every school in Flanders is state subsidized, and the Flemish government is fully responsible for the educational policy within its territory. Education is compulsory from the ages of 6 to 18 and most Flemish children also attend nursery school from the age of two and a half onward. After 6 years of primary education, children transfer to secondary education, comprising four main tracks: general secondary or academic education (general education preparing for higher education), technical secondary education (focusing more on technical and practical topics), artistic secondary education (general education combined with active art practice), and vocational secondary education (very practical and job-specific education, with several options offering specialization years). A diploma from secondary education grants unlimited access to all forms of higher education. Higher education outside universities consists of higher education short type (3-year vocational training), higher education long type (a course of at least 4 years), and professional bachelor's programs (practice-oriented education preparing students for specific professions). The courses at university are academic bachelor's programs (education preparing students for studies at master's level) and master's programs (education characterized by the integration of education and research, and a master's dissertation).

Background

Ethnic Prejudice

Ethnic prejudice and ethnocentrism are often treated as similar concepts, because they both refer to certain ideas and attitudes regarding ethnic outgroups or nonnatives (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). According to Sumner (1906), ethnocentrism is a concept with a dual structure, referring to an exaggerated negative attitude to the outgroup, coupled with an overly positive attitude to the ingroup. In the current study, and in line with the dominant trend in research into attitudes to ethnic minorities, we use the term “ethnic prejudice,” referring only to a negative attitude to ethnic outgroups (De Witte, 1999; Quillian, 1995), because in Flanders, no strong relationship has been observed between a positive attitude to the ingroup and a negative attitude to the outgroup (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). Moreover, a negative attitude to the outgroup is thought to be the most problematic component of ethnocentrism (Billiet & De Witte, 1995; Elchardus & Siongers, 2009), because previous research confirms the harmful consequences of negative outgroup attitudes for ethnic minorities (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). As a response to growing ethnic diversity, an increasing number of sociological studies have attempted to explain the variability in ethnic prejudice between members of the dominant groups in Flemish society (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009).

The Ethnic Prejudice of Teachers

Within a school context, ethnic minorities and majorities will have a greater likelihood of interacting when the proportion of ethnic minorities increases (Blau, 1994), and the ethnic composition of the school will determine the opportunities to establish interethnic contact (Fritzsche, 2006; Sierens et al., 2006; Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014). Previous research shows that ethnic school composition influences pupils' ethnic prejudice, as a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils is associated with reduced negative outgroup attitudes among ethnic majority pupils (Bakker et al., 2007; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Because almost all the teachers in Flemish secondary schools belong to the ethnic majority (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014), ethnic prejudice among Flemish teachers is an interesting case to study. However, there has been relatively little research in this field to explain the variability in these teachers' ethnic prejudice.

Existing research shows that the mere presence of outgroup members (Zebrowitz, White, & Wieneke, 2008), or simply a higher concentration of ethnic minorities (Kalin, 1996), is associated with lower ethnic prejudice. This can be partly explained through Zajonc's mere exposure hypothesis (Zajonc, 1968), which suggests that repeated exposure to ethnic minorities results in familiarity, and is associated with more positive attitudes concerning ethnic minorities. However, Allport's intergroup contact theory (1954) argues that four conditions are necessary to make mere exposure effective. According to Allport (1954), more intergroup contact leads to reduced ethnic prejudice, only (a) when different groups expect and perceive equal

status in the situation, (b) if they pursue common goals, (c) if cooperation exists, and (d) if there is support from authoritative figures. Recent research indicates that these are not necessary conditions, but are facilitating conditions (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). Several behavioral, affective, and cognitive factors may mediate the relationship between intergroup contact and ethnic prejudice (for an overview, see Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). For example, change in behavior is often the precursor to change in attitude, positive emotions (such as empathy) aroused by optimal contact can mediate intergroup contact effects, and when new learning corrects negative views of the outgroup, contact should reduce prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998). Because Allport's contact hypothesis (1954) fails to address these underlying processes, Pettigrew (1998, 2008) stresses the need for more research concerning potential mediators and moderators, to specify the association between intergroup contact and ethnic prejudice in more-specific institutional contexts, such as school.

Teachability

In response to Pettigrew's call (Pettigrew, 1998, 2008) for further research, we aim to explore the mediating and/or moderating role of teachability, which refers to the perceptions of teachers about the attributes that characterize teachable pupils, in turn indicating teachers' ideas about the ability of their pupils to meet educational expectations (Kornblau, 1982; Van Houtte, 2002). Because teachers' perceptions, expectations, and evaluations are cognitive processes, influenced by the ethnic

composition of a school, teachability may mediate and/or moderate the relationship between ethnic school composition and ethnic prejudice (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003).

Teachability as a Mediator

Teachers in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils have lower expectations and worse perceptions of ethnic minority pupils than of native students (Chang & Demyan, 2007; McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Rubie-Davies et al., 2006; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Teachers in this situation also evaluate their pupils as being less teachable (Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2011). This can be partly explained by the fact that even before working as a teacher, a person may hold stereotypical beliefs about ethnic minorities. Many higher-education students enter teacher education programs with ingrained attitudes, including the perception that ethnic minorities are threatening (Gay, 2010). The following paragraph explains why teachers' stereotypical beliefs about ethnic minority pupils are likely to not only apply to less-positive evaluations of ethnic minority pupils within the school context, but also to generalized prejudice against ethnic minorities.

Stereotypical beliefs are automatically triggered in the presence of a member of the outgroup (Smith & Branscombe, 1988), and are often seen as a determinant of ethnic prejudice (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996). According to this finding, we can assume that ethnic stereotypical beliefs will be triggered not only in the presence of ethnic minority pupils at school, but also in their presence outside the school

context. Furthermore, these stereotypical beliefs are confirmed and strengthened by prejudiced messages in the mass media (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009; Lopez, Gurin, & Nagda, 1998; Phalet, Baysu, & Van Acker, 2015; Solorzano, 1997), reinforcing the process of illusory correlation. This psychological process refers to overestimation of the frequency of distinct events co-occurring: in this case, the co-occurrence of ethnic minority pupils' presence and teachers' negative perceptions. Teachers linking ethnic minorities with undesirable behavior would lead the former to infer that these events co-occur more frequently than they actually do, causing generalized ethnic prejudice (Hamilton & Gifford, 1976). In summary, teachers' less positive perceptions of ethnic minority pupils—based on negative stereotypical beliefs about them—are generalized to situations beyond the boundaries of the school context, causing general ethnic prejudice. This aligns with Pettigrew's call to pay more attention to the possible negative effects of intergroup contact, and the lack of research into situational generalizations of the effects of intergroup contact (Pettigrew, 1998, 2008). As Allport (1954) states: "Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group."

Teachability as a Moderator

Stereotypical beliefs have often been assumed resistant to change (Pettigrew, 1998; Rothbart & Park, 1986), but research shows that it is possible to change stereotypes,

because they are responsive to new information (Rothbart & Park, 1986). Weber and Crocker (1983) examined stereotype change using three models: The bookkeeping model (in which each instance of stereotype-relevant information is used to modify the stereotype gradually), the conversion model (in which stereotypes change radically in response to dramatic or salient instances), and the subtyping model (in which new structures of stereotypes are developed to accommodate instances not easily assimilated by existing stereotypes). These models emphasize the role of inconsistent evidence in changing stereotypes, and hence ethnic prejudice, because ethnic stereotypes are positively related to ethnic prejudice (Dovidio et al., 1996; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Focusing on the role of disconfirming instances, teachability could be an important factor to consider in the context of schools. If teachers perceive ethnic minority pupils as being more teachable, their stereotypical beliefs about these students are disconfirmed and these unexpected, positive experiences and perceptions could change their ethnic stereotypes and hence their ethnic prejudice. According to Allport's conditions (1954), teachability may be a necessary condition; having a moderating effect on the relationship between intergroup contact and teachers' ethnic prejudice.

The Present Study

In this study, we aim to explore the role of ethnic school composition and of teachability as determinants of Flemish teachers' ethnic prejudice. First, we focus on how a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in a school is associated with ethnic

prejudice among the teachers. In line with the mere exposure hypothesis (Zajonc, 1968), we hypothesize that a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in a school is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice among Flemish teachers (Hypothesis 1). Second, by contrast we examine whether a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in school is associated with higher levels of ethnic prejudice among teachers, because teachers at a school with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils will evaluate their pupils as less teachable, and then generalize these negative perceptions to other situations, causing general ethnic prejudice (Hypothesis 2). Third, we explore whether and how teachability moderates the relationship between ethnic school composition and teachers' ethnic prejudice, based on the assumption that a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in a school is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice among teachers, depending on the extent to which teachers evaluate their pupils as teachable, and thereby disconfirming their negative stereotypes of ethnic minorities (Hypothesis 3).

Method

Sample

The data used is taken from the RaDiSS 1 (Racism and Discrimination in Secondary Schools) survey, collected during the school year 2011–2012. A multistage sampling frame was used, to ensure sufficient variability and cases in terms of the level of urbanization of the school environment and pupils' ethnicity. First, four large, multicultural Flemish districts were selected for sampling (Antwerp, Ghent, Hasselt,

and Sint-Niklaas). Second, all the secondary schools (excluding artistic education, because of the small number of pupils enrolled) in these areas were divided into three location categories: a city center, a suburban area, or a rural area. The aim was to select two-thirds of the schools from urban areas and one-third from suburban or rural areas. Within these districts, a further selection was made of one-third of schools with a low proportion of ethnic minority pupils (less than 15%), one-third with a medium proportion (between 15% and 49.9%), and one-third with a high proportion (between 50% and 100%). In total, 104 schools were contacted, out of which 55 were willing to participate. The response rate of 53% is relatively low, because schools in Flanders often apply a “first come, first served” principle with regard to research participation. Of those in the sample, 33 schools were located in a city center, 15 in a suburban area, and 7 in a rural location. Further, 17 schools had a low proportion of ethnic minorities, 16 a medium proportion, and 22 a high proportion. As a result, the participating schools cover the entire range of ethnic minority composition from 0% to 100% (see Table 18). The teachers and principals in these schools were asked to complete an online questionnaire. All the teachers tutoring Grade 3 were sent a letter containing information about the research project, a link to the online survey, and a code specific to their school. In total, 645 out of 1,613 teachers completed the questionnaire, resulting in a response rate of 40%. As the code was only specific for each school, the anonymity of the teachers was guaranteed (more detailed figures can be found in Table 19). Because Flemish teachers’ ethnic prejudice is the topic of this study, only Flemish teachers (92.3%) were selected, resulting in a sample of 588 teachers.

Of these, 370 were women, 245 had long-term higher education or a university diploma, and 325 were teaching in vocational education, and a mean teacher experience period of 12.4 years (range 1– 40).

Table 18. The actual ethnic school composition and tracks in the participating schools

% Ethnic minority pupils	SCHOOL TYPE	SCHOOLS: FREQUENCY	TEACHERS: FREQUENCY
High (> 50%)	ASO	2	22
	BSO	3	33
	TSO	1	7
	ASO-TSO	1	13
	TSO-BSO	10	133
	ASO-TSO-BSO	4	52
Medium (15% to 49.9%)	ASO	3	19
	BSO	1	8
	BSO-KSO	1	20
	TSO-BSO	8	124
	TSO-BSO-KSO	1	5
	ASO-TSO-BSO	1	19
Low (< 15%)	ASO-TSO-BSO-KSO	1	6
	ASO	10	87
	ASO-BSO	1	0
	TSO-BSO	4	47
Total	ASO-TSO-BSO	3	50
		55	645

Note. ASO General Secondary Education; TSO Technical Secondary Education; KSO Artistic Secondary Education; BSO Vocational Secondary Education.

Variables

Ethnic prejudice. Ethnic prejudice refers to a negative attitude to ethnic outgroups (De Witte, 1999; Quillian, 1995). Because the majority of the ethnic minorities in Flanders come from Morocco, Turkey, and Eastern Europe (e.g., Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and Kosovo), negative attitudes to these three groups were summed to measure Flemish teachers' ethnic prejudice. A 5-point Likert scale with 18 items was used, ranging from 1 = absolutely disagree to 5 = completely agree. Three examples of the items are: "Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans do not contribute to the welfare of Belgium," "In some areas, the government does more for Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans than for the Belgians who live there," and "Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans are commonly unreliable" (Quillian, 1995). The scale has possible scores of 1 to 5, with a higher score indicating greater ethnic prejudice. Cronbach's for the ethnic prejudice scale is .94 ($M = 3.27$, $SD = .57$; see Table 19).

Ethnic school composition. Ethnic composition at the school level is a metric variable, based on the proportion of ethnic minority pupils. The ethnicity of the pupils was assessed primarily by the birthplace of the pupil's maternal grandmother (OECD, 2008). If this data was not available, their mother's birthplace was used. In the event that this was also missing, the birth country of the pupil was used. As is common practice, and in line with the official Flemish definition of nonnative groups, pupils were considered as being of foreign descent if their maternal grandmother, their mother, or the pupils themselves had a birthplace other than Western European

(Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003). The average proportion of ethnic minority pupils is .45 (SD = .32; see Table 19).

Teachability. Pupils' teachability was measured by 31 items from the Teachable Pupil Survey of Kornblau (1982). This scale reflects teachers' perceptions of the attributes of teachable pupils. It encompasses pupil characteristics in terms of school-appropriate behavior (such as "enjoy school work"), cognitive-motivational behavior (such as "insightful, perceptive"), and personal-social behavior (such as "calm"; Kornblau, 1982). The items in this 5-point scale range from 1 = absolutely disagree to 5 = definitely agree. The scale was created by taking the mean scores for the 31 items, resulting in possible scores of 1 to 5, with a higher score meaning that teachers assessed their pupils as more teachable. Cronbach's for the pupils' teachability scale is .95 (M = 3.17, SD = .54; see Table 19).

Gender. Our sample is not equally divided with regard to gender, with 63.1% being female. This is an accurate reflection of the current gender ratio of Flemish teachers in secondary education (Huyge et al., 2003; Matheus, Siongers, & Van den Brande, 2004; see Table 19).

Socioeconomic status. The SES of origin of the teachers was measured by the profession of their father and mother, because the teachers themselves obviously have the same occupation and therefore all have a similar socioeconomic status. The parents' professions were recoded, using the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI; Ganzeboom, De Graaf, & Treiman, 1992), derived from the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). This metric variable has

a range from 16 to 90. The highest score out of the two parents is used to measure the teachers' SES. The higher the score, the higher the SES. In our sample, the minimum score is 23 and the maximum 90, with a mean score of 52.36 ($SD = 15.94$; see Table 19).

Level of education. Teachers were asked what qualifications they held, and multiple answers were possible. The options were general secondary education, technical secondary education, vocational secondary education, higher education short type, higher education long type, university, university teacher training, and certificate of pedagogical competence. Because the responses were unevenly distributed and research shows that years of education affects ethnic prejudice (De Witte, 1999), this variable was recoded into a dichotomous variable with short-term education (general secondary education, technical secondary education, vocational secondary education, and higher education short type) scored as 0 (58.2%) and the other, long-term forms scored as 1 (41.8%; see Table 19).

Teaching experience. Teaching experience was measured by the number of years respondents had been working as a teacher, including the year of the survey. This is a metric variable, ranging between 1 and 40 years. The average for the teachers in our sample is 12 years ($SD = 9.45$; see Table 19).

Tracking. Teachers were asked to indicate the education types in which they taught. Academic, technical, artistic, and vocational education were the possible responses, and multiple answers were possible. Because previous research has indicated that teachers in vocational education are more ethnically prejudiced

(Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014), a dichotomous variable was made with teachers in academic, technical, and artistic education placed in one category, which covers 44.7% of the respondents (code 0). If vocational education was one of the categories stated, code 1 was assigned, which incorporates 55.3% of the teachers (see Table 19).

Table 19. Descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables: Frequencies (%), means, standard deviations (SD), and minimum and maximum values (n = 499)

	%	MEAN	SD	MIN.	MAX.
Outcome					
Ethnic prejudice		3.27	.57	1	5
Individual-level					
Gender (female)	63.1				
Socioeconomic status		52.36	15.94	23	90
Level of education (higher education long type - university)	41.8				
Teacher experience		12.36	9.45	1	40
Track (vocational education)	55.3				
Teachability		3.17	.54	1	5
School-level					
Ethnic school composition		.45	.32	0	1

Research Design

Given that we are dealing with a clustered sample of teachers nested within schools, it was most appropriate to use multilevel analysis (MLwiN 2.30). In view of our research questions, we also only incorporated schools where at least five teachers completed the questionnaire, which is in line with other research (Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2009). For variables measured on a scale, missing values were imputed by item correlation substitution: A missing value for one item was replaced by the value of the item correlating most closely with that item (Huisman, 2000). All metric variables were grand mean centered. A random intercept model was used, because preliminary analyses yielded no significant variance components. However, based on relevant literature, we assumed that the relationship between ethnic school composition and teachers' ethnic prejudice could be moderated by teachability, and therefore, we added a cross-level interaction between ethnic school composition and teachability.

The first estimated model (Table 21, Model 0) is the intercept-only model, an unconditional model to determine the amount of variance occurring at the individual level and at the school level. In the second model (Table 21, Model 1), we controlled for individual characteristics that recur in (predominantly social psychological) research on ethnic prejudice, as men, people with a lower SES, those with a lower level of education, and older people appear to be more ethnically prejudiced (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). In addition, and more specifically related to the Flemish educational system,

teaching in vocational education is associated with increased ethnic prejudice (De Witte, 1999; Elchardus, Kavadias, & Siongers, 1998). In the third model (Table 21, Model 2), ethnic school composition was added, to test the negative relationship between ethnic school composition and Flemish teachers' ethnic prejudice (Hypothesis 1). Teachability was introduced in the fourth model (Table 21, Model 3), testing the mediating effect of teachers' perceptions of the attributes of teachable pupils (Hypothesis 2). In the fifth model (Table 21, Model 4), an interaction term between ethnic school composition and teachability was added, to verify whether the impact of ethnic school composition on teachers' ethnic prejudice differs according to teachability (Hypothesis 3).

Results

The bivariate correlations presented in Table 20 show a significant negative relationship between teachers' ethnic prejudice and their level of education ($r = -.173$, $p < .01$; See Table 20); thus, long-term higher education or a university diploma is associated with less ethnic prejudice. Teachability is negatively related to teachers' ethnic prejudice ($r = -.156$, $p < .01$; See Table 20), so a lower perception of teachers about their pupils in this regard is associated with more ethnic prejudice.

Table 20. Bivariate (Pearson) correlations between dependent and independent variables (n = 499)

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Level of education	1	-.189**	-.054	.212**	.094*	-.173**	-.122**
2. Socioeconomic status		1	-.105*	.086*	.087*	-.028	-.30
3. Gender			1	-.011	.065	-.001	-.50
4. Track				1	.107*	.108*	.377**
5. Teacher experience					1	.076	-.045
6. Ethnic prejudice						1	-.156**
7. Teachability							1

Note. *p < .05, **p < .01

We started the multilevel regression analysis, presented in Table 21, with an unconditional model (Table 21, Model 0). This model indicates that 7.7% ($\sigma_e^2 = .301$, $\sigma_u^2 = .025$) of the variance in Flemish teachers' ethnic prejudice is situated at the school level.

In the next step, the different control variables were added (Table 21, Model 1). Gender, SES, and years of teacher experience are not significant. Level of education is negatively related to ethnic prejudice by Flemish teachers (SE = .053, $p < .01$). On average, the decrease in ethnic prejudice is .15 units smaller for teachers with long-term higher education or a university diploma than for teachers with a diploma of secondary education or short-term higher education. The track in which teachers teach is moderately associated with their level of ethnic prejudice (SE = .06, $p < .1$),

with teaching in vocational secondary education being associated with a .1 unit increase in ethnic prejudice.

In the third model (Table 21, Model 2), ethnic school composition was included to test the direct relationship between ethnic school composition and teachers' ethnic prejudice. The association is not significant, thus the first hypothesis of this study—assuming that a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in school is negatively related to Flemish teachers' ethnic prejudice—is not confirmed.

To test the mediating effect of teachability (Hypothesis 2), we used the causal-steps approach (MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007; Mathieu & Taylor, 2007). First, we examined the relationship between ethnic school composition and teachers' ethnic prejudice, but as already stated above, this association is not significant (Table 21, Model 2). However, we tested the possibility of a mediating effect, because the nonsignificant relationship could be caused by inconsistent mediation (MacKinnon & Fairchild, 2009). Second, a significant relationship between ethnic school composition and teachability is found ($SE = .10$, $p < .001$; see Table 22, Model 2). Next, we examined the relationship between teachability and teachers' ethnic prejudice. The association is significant when both teachability and ethnic school composition are predictors of teachers' ethnic prejudice ($SE = .05$, $p < .001$; see Table 21, Model 3). By controlling for teachability, ethnic school composition becomes significant ($SE = .10$, $p < .01$; see Table 21, Model 3), showing that a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in a school is associated with a .29 unit decrease in Flemish teachers' ethnic prejudice. Although our first hypothesis (Hypothesis 1) is

not supported with regard to the direct relationship between the proportion of ethnic minorities and ethnic prejudice, the hypothesis is supported when controlling for teachability. These findings indicate that teachability suppresses the negative association between ethnic school composition and teachers' ethnic prejudice, because ethnic school composition is negatively related to teachability ($SE = .10$, $p < .001$; see Table 22). Hence, using the causal-steps approach shows that the second hypothesis (Hypothesis 2, assuming a mediation effect of teachability) is not confirmed.

In the final model (Table 21, Model 4), an interaction effect between ethnic school composition and teachability was added to test the moderating effect of teachability on the relationship between ethnic school composition and teachers' ethnic prejudice. In schools with a greater proportion of ethnic minority pupils, teachers tended to evaluate their students as less teachable, which moderates the negative impact ethnic school composition might have on teachers' ethnic prejudice. Teaching at a school with more foreign pupils and at the same time evaluating pupils as being more teachable, is associated with a .32 unit ($SE = .15$, $p < .05$) decrease in teachers' ethnic prejudice. This confirms our third hypothesis: that a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in school is negatively related to Flemish teachers' ethnic prejudice, increasingly so when teachers evaluate their pupils as teachable.

Table 21. Ethnic prejudice of teachers. Results of stepwise multilevel analysis, standard errors between parentheses (n = 499, groups = 44)

Parameter	MODEL 0	MODEL 1	MODEL 2	MODEL 3	MODEL 4
School level					
Ethnic school composition			-.175 (.101)	-.285** (.101)	-.286** (.100)
Ethnic school composition * Teachability					-0.324* (.153)
Individual level					
Gender (<i>ref: male</i>)		.020 (.053)	.019 (.053)	.027 (.052)	.023 (.052)
Socioeconomic status		.000 (.002)	.000 (.002)	.000 (.002)	.000 (.002)
Level of education (<i>ref: secondary/higher education short type</i>)		-.148** (.053)	-.143** (.053)	-.137** (.052)	-.130** (.052)
Years of teaching experience		.004 (.003)	.004 (.003)	.005 (.003)	.005 (.003)
Track (<i>ref: academic or technical track</i>)		.100+ (.056)	.125* (.057)	.071 (.058)	.082 (.058)
Teachability				-.197*** (.052)	-.185*** (.052)
Constant	3.276***	3.278***	3.293***	3.270***	3.298***
Individual-level variance	.301	.295	.295	.289	.286
School-level variance	.025	.017	.014	.011	.010
Log-likelihood	852.110	828.557	825.677	810.849	806.419

Note. The centered coefficients are presented, with standard errors shown in parentheses.

+p < .1, *p < .05, **p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 22. Teachability by teachers. Results of stepwise multilevel analysis, standard errors between parentheses (n = 499, groups = 44)

Parameter	MODEL 0	MODEL 1	MODEL 2
School level			
Ethnic school composition			-.580*** (.099)
Individual level			
Gender (<i>ref: male</i>)		.044 (.043)	.054 (.043)
Socioeconomic status		-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)
Level of education (<i>ref: secondary/higher education short type</i>)		.017 (.044)	.042 (.043)
Years of teaching experience		.000 (.002)	.000 (.002)
Track (<i>ref: academic or technical track</i>)		-.234*** (.049)	-.232*** (.048)
Constant	3.193***	3.277***	3.253***
<i>Individual-level variance</i>	<i>0.207</i>	<i>.205</i>	<i>.205</i>
<i>School-level variance</i>	<i>0.087</i>	<i>.054</i>	<i>.021</i>
<i>Log-likelihood</i>	<i>759.15</i>	<i>731.57</i>	<i>705.90</i>

Note. The centered coefficients are presented, with standard errors shown in parentheses.

*** p < .001

Discussion

The evolution from mono-cultural countries to multi-ethnic societies has coincided with an increasing number of studies focusing on the impact of ethnic diversity. Although ethnic prejudice has been well researched, only a few studies have focused on the determinants of teachers' ethnic prejudice, and these have usually restricted their attention to individual-level predictors (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). Starting from Allport's intergroup contact theory (1954) and taking into account subsequent revisions (Pettigrew, 1998, 2008), this study examines the relationship between ethnic school composition, teachers' perceptions of the teachability of their pupils, and teachers' ethnic prejudice. First, we aimed to examine the association between ethnic school composition and teachers' ethnic prejudice, in line with Zajonc's mere exposure hypothesis (1968), assuming that a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in school is associated with lower levels of teachers' ethnic prejudice. Second, we wanted to explore the role of the underlying processes, mediating or moderating the relationship between ethnic school composition and teachers' ethnic prejudice, in response to Pettigrew's call (Pettigrew, 1998, 2008) for more research into potential mediators and moderators in more-specific institutional contexts. This study confirms one of the most consistent findings in the field of interethnic relations: Higher-educated people are less ethnically prejudiced than their lower-educated counterparts. De Witte (1999) tried to explain the impact of education on ethnic prejudice by means of four groups of processes. The first is the transmission of

information. Education provides knowledge, resulting in a more nuanced worldview and offering insights into the complex society, which increases empathy and the sense of control. Second, education also increases cognitive skills, often seen as the most crucial factor and referring to the capacity to differentiate and process a great deal of information. A third process is the transmission of values, such as justice, solidarity, and charity. Lastly, more education provides more resources, because greater education is associated with a higher position in the labor market, a greater focus on self-determination, and more extensive and varied social networks. All these processes explaining the impact of education on ethnic prejudice, suppose a socialization effect, but there may also be a selection effect, because previous research shows that students in higher education are more tolerant (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009).

The main finding of this study is that taking into account teachability, a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in school is related to lower levels of ethnic prejudice among Flemish teachers, confirming our first hypothesis (Hypothesis 1). The negative relationship between ethnic school composition and teachability (Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2011) suppresses the association between ethnic school composition and teachers' ethnic prejudice. Teachability has a moderating function, confirming our third hypothesis; that Flemish teachers in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils are likely to be less ethnically prejudiced if they evaluate their pupils as more teachable. These findings refute Zajonc's (1968) mere exposure hypothesis and previous empirical findings (Kalin, 1996; Zebrowitz, White, & Wieneke, 2008), as simply the presence of or mere exposure to ethnic

minority pupils is not associated with lower levels of ethnic prejudice among teachers. This is in line with Allport's (1954) findings and the subsequent revisions to his intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998), which suggest that—only under specific conditions—more intergroup contact is related to reduced ethnic prejudice. These findings highlight the need for more research into underlying processes, comparable to teachability, that influence the relationship between school characteristics and the ethnic prejudice of teachers.

Notwithstanding the theoretical relevance of our findings, this study has some limitations. Our research is based on cross-sectional data, so causality cannot be determined in the relationship between ethnic school composition and teachers' ethnic prejudice. A selection effect is plausible, whereby teachers who are more ethnically prejudiced are less likely to seek work in schools with many ethnic minority pupils (Lopez et al., 1998). Repeated longitudinal studies, however, show that the effect of intergroup contact on ethnic prejudice is stronger than the effect of people who are ethnically prejudiced avoiding contact with outgroups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2012). The causality problem may also occur in the relationship between teachability and ethnic prejudice. The ethnic prejudice of teachers may cause lower positive expectations and perceptions of their ethnic minority pupils, in line with their negative stereotypical beliefs (Lopez, Gurin, & Nagda, 1998; Persell, 1981; Solorzano, 1997). However, research shows that stereotypes—that is, biased cognitive associations—are related

to biased observations, confirming and strengthening stereotypical beliefs and resulting in ethnic prejudice (Gay, 2010; Smith & Branscombe, 1988).

Lastly, some issues should be mentioned with regard to our measurements and operationalizations. Given that the scale used to measure teachers' ethnic prejudice may be sensitive to socially desirable answers, a more implicit measure of ethnic prejudice could be recommended (Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014), because studies show a discrepancy between overt and covert discrimination (Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980), and implicit and explicit prejudice (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994). Other measurements of ethnic school composition—such as teachers' perception of the proportion of minority pupils, or using ethnic diversity instead of concentration—may lead to different outcomes (Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013). Finally, there is only one outgroup included, namely “the” ethnic minority pupils. Research shows that ethnic prejudice may vary depending on the nationality of ethnic minorities, related to the immigration history of a country (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Kalin, 1996).

This study opens the door for further research on ethnic prejudice within the school context. In particular, research focusing on the processes and characteristics that moderate and/or mediate the relationship between structural school characteristics and teachers' prejudice, as research shows that it is theoretically important to include individual variables, macro factors, and their interdependence in explaining ethnic prejudice (Bar-Tal, 1997; Stevens & Görgöz, 2010). Previous research indicates that both the socio-economic context of a school and teachability strongly predict teacher trust (Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2015), so teachers' trust may influence the relationship

between structural school characteristics and teachers' ethnic prejudice. Other individual characteristics seem to be associated with ethnic prejudice, such as knowledge, motivation, and an authoritarian personality. Authoritarian individuals tend to judge other groups negatively, applying rigid categories, overgeneralizing, and disregarding individual differences (Bar-Tal, 1997). For this reason, the combination of a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils at school and the authoritarian personality of teachers may be associated with higher levels of ethnic prejudice of the latter. Lastly, social identity may also function as a moderator and/or mediator, because the desire of individuals for positive social identity provides a motivational basis for differentiation between social groups and for ingroup favoritism (Bar-Tal, 1997; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Accordingly, teachers with a stronger desire for a positive social identity at schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils may be more ethnically prejudiced.

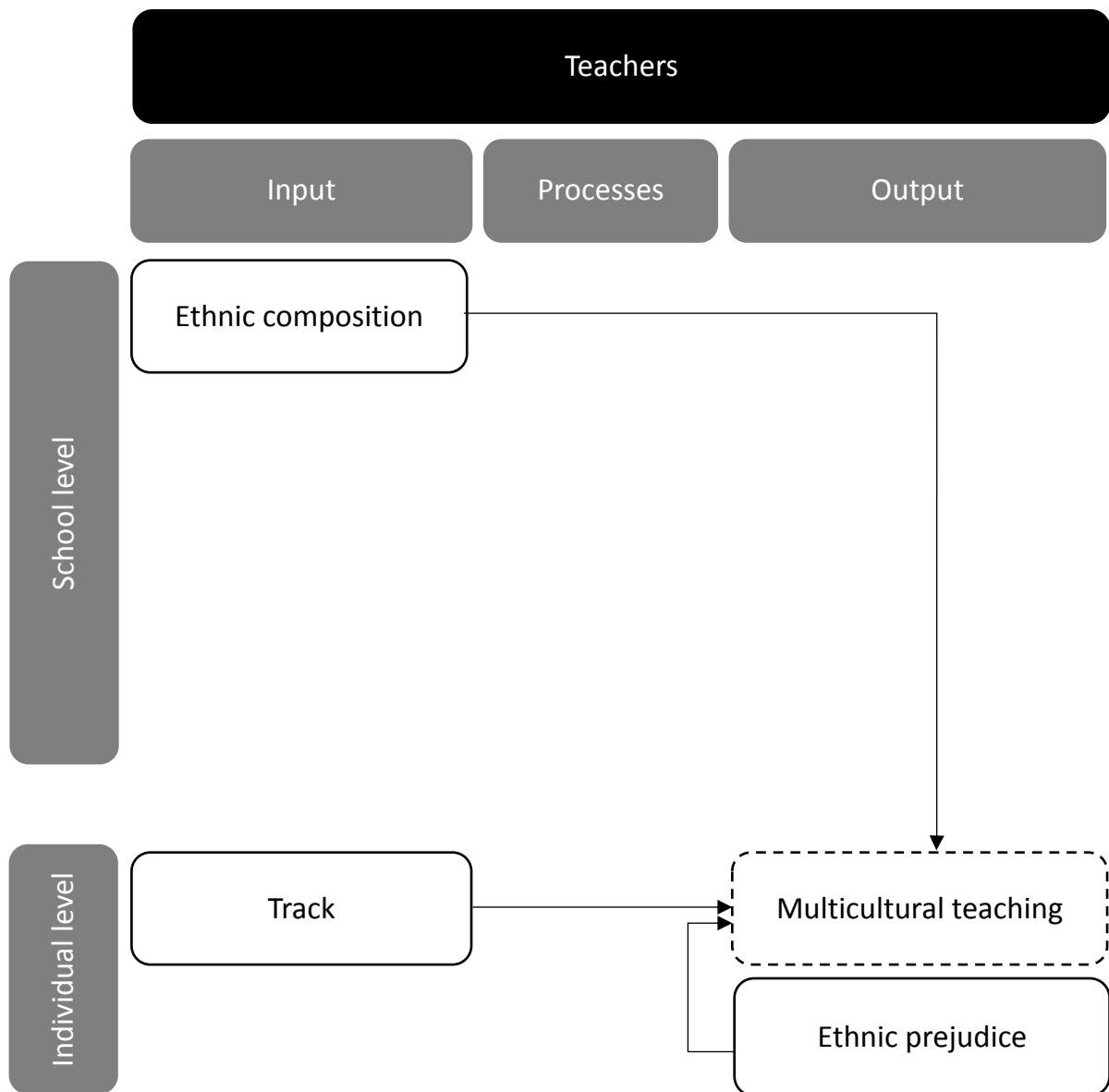
Policymakers frequently assume that interethnic contact is enhanced through enrolment in ethnically mixed schools, but more attention should be given to underlying processes (Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014) such as teachability, as the current study shows that the effect of ethnic school composition on teachers' ethnic prejudice is moderated by teachability. Teachers' expectations and perceptions of ethnic minority pupils are often based on negative ethnic stereotypes, blaming ethnic minority pupils and their families for a pupil's failure (Dovidio et al., 1996; Ford & Grantham, 2003; Persell, 1981). Therefore, a first challenge is to change these negative ethnic stereotypes, and knowledge and information are crucial in this regard.

Although diversity courses have been shown to change teachers' ethnic prejudice (Lopez et al., 1998; Tran, Young, & DiLella, 1994), systematic studies are needed to determine the effects of these courses on reducing ethnic stereotyping (Chang & Demyan, 2007). In addition to better information and knowledge, administrators need to create positive interactions between ethnic minorities and Flemish teachers (Dejaeghere, Hooghe, & Claes, 2012). As well as knowledge and positive interethnic contacts, teachers should also be encouraged to examine and reflect on their beliefs, stereotypes, and expectations during their teacher education (Rubie-Davies et al., 2006). They need to be cognizant of how their beliefs and practices are influenced by their perceptions of pupils' ability tied to ethnicity, and need to work to interrupt the reproductive tendencies these perceptions entail (Rothbart & John, 1985). Policymakers, teachers, and administrators may use this information to monitor the school's social system and intervene in ways that create a more equitable environment, characterized by high teacher expectations and more-positive perceptions of pupils from all ethnic groups (McKown & Weinstein, 2008).

*“Until justice is blind to color,
until education is unaware
of race, until opportunity is
unconcerned with the color
of men's skins,
emancipation will be a
proclamation but not a fact”*

Lyndon B. Johnson

6.5. Multicultural Teaching in Flemish Secondary Schools: The Role of Track, Ethnic School Composition, and Teachers' Ethnic Prejudice



Abstract

In this study, we investigate the association between a school's ethnic composition, the track in which teachers teach, and their level of involvement with multicultural teaching (MCT) in the Flemish context, taking into account the ethnic prejudice of teachers. Multilevel analyses of data from 590 Flemish teachers in 40 Belgian secondary schools suggest that teachers in schools with more ethnic minority pupils, teachers in vocational education, and ethnically unprejudiced teachers implement more MCT. These findings highlight the need for more research into the relationship between school features, characteristics of teachers, and their involvement with MCT.

Introduction

Migration is a worldwide phenomenon that has affected many countries, including Belgium (Sierens et al., 2006; Vanduynslager, Wets, Noppe, & Doyen, 2013). Initially through labor migration and subsequently through migrant family reunification and chain migration processes, Flanders (the Dutch-speaking region of Belgium) has developed into a multicultural society (Brief et al., 2005; Desmedt & Nicaise, 2006) and Flemish schools are notably culturally diverse. In response to increasingly multicultural pupil populations, government institutions in many Western countries have developed various teacher-training initiatives. Typically, these schemes aim to influence preservice teachers' cultural awareness (Marx & Moss, 2011), cross-cultural competence (McAllister & Irvine, 2000), sensitivity concerning diversity (Garmon, 2004), and multicultural attitudes (Wasonga, 2005). Nevertheless, preservice

teachers from the dominant ethnic group still seem to be afraid to teach pupils from different cultural backgrounds and they are not adequately prepared to cope with the increasing diversity among students (Gay, 2010; Spanierman et al., 2010; Wasonga, 2005). As a result, these teachers may be less able to practice multicultural teaching (MCT), that is, using examples from a variety of cultures in their subject area (Banks, 1993). Because previous research has highlighted the positive consequences of MCT on pupils' democratic attitudes (Banks, 2009), intergroup relations (Agirdag, Merry, Van Houtte, 2016; Zirkel, 2008), and educational achievement (Capella-Santana, 2003; Zirkel, 2008), the possible determinants of MCT need to be examined. Existing research suggests that teachers' gender (McAllister & Irvine, 2000; Stanley, 1996), age (Agirdag et al., 2016; McAllister & Irvine, 2000), level of education (Case, Greeley, & Fuchs, 1989; Garmon, 2004; Gay, 2010), socioeconomic status (SES; Stanley, 1996), and ethnicity (Agirdag et al., 2016; Capella-Santana, 2003; Gay, 2010) are related to specific dimensions of MCT, such as multicultural attitudes, multicultural competences, and openness to diversity. Although previous research has examined the association between teachers' sociodemographic background and these dimensions of MCT, the results of these studies are inconsistent. In the current study, we focus on school features and the track in which teachers teach, because from a social policy perspective, these factors are much easier to change than sociodemographic characteristics. Nevertheless, the impact of structural school characteristics on MCT is often ignored in research. Agirdag et al. (2016) shows that in primary education, the ethnic composition of a school is associated with a specific

dimension of MCT, namely, multi-ethnic content integration. We might expect that in secondary education, the ethnic composition of a school will also be related to teachers' involvement with MCT. Teachers in vocational track have more opportunities to interact with ethnic minority pupils (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013; Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009) and this may be related to more positive attitudes to diversity (Gay, 2010) and more tolerance of other cultures (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). Although the track in which teachers teach is associated with their attitudes concerning cultural diversity (Gay, 2010) and their tolerance of other cultures (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009), the effects of track on specific dimensions of MCT have not been studied to date. Moreover, to our knowledge, there is no existing research regarding the processes that mediate the relationship between school structural characteristics, track, and MCT. Because the ethnic composition of a school and the track in which teachers teach might both be associated with the ethnic prejudice of teachers (De Witte, 1999; Elchardus, Kavadias, & Siongers, 1998), we aim to examine whether the association between the ethnic composition of the school, track, and MCT is mediated by ethnic prejudice. Last, most existing research into multicultural education is not focusing on the European context, which indicates the need for further research in different national (and educational) contexts in which ethnic minorities experience educational disadvantage.

This study contributes to existing research by examining the association between the ethnic composition of a school, the track in which teachers teach, and MCT in a sample of Flemish secondary school teachers. In doing this, we take into account the ethnic

prejudice of teachers as a potential mediating characteristic, and various sociodemographic characteristics that have been related to different dimensions of MCT.

Background

Multicultural education and MCT

There is considerable discussion about the meaning and content of multicultural education (MCE) (Levinson, 2009), because the field of multicultural education is a rapidly evolving field. Many different conceptualizations of multicultural education can be found in educational research literature (e.g.: Banks, 1989, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Nieto, 1992). In the current study, the theoretical contributions of James Banks (1989, 1993) are used to interpret Flemish teachers' level of MCT, because Banks's (1993) conceptualization is the most widely used framework in the field of multicultural education (Bigler, 1999; Munroe & Pearson, 2006; Stanley, 1996). Nevertheless, Banks's model may appear to some readers as dated (Agirdag et al., 2016), and Sleeter (1995) argues that it addresses only a limited number of aspects of multicultural education. This may be true in the American context, because multicultural education is much more established and developed (both in practice and in terms of research) within the U.S. educational context. However, this is not the case for Flanders, where multicultural education (ME) was only introduced recently, and in a way that fits well with Banks's conceptualization of ME (Agirdag et al., 2016).

In this section, we first focus on Banks's (1989, 1993) conceptualization of multicultural education, how this conceptualization links with the way in which ME is practiced in Flemish schools and subsequently on the determinants of MCT.

Banks's model of multicultural education

Banks (1993) identifies five dimensions of multicultural education. Content integration refers to the extent to which teachers use examples from a variety of cultures as illustrations in their field. The second dimension, the knowledge construction process, describes how teachers help their pupils to understand that people create knowledge and to recognize how this knowledge construction is influenced by the positions of individuals and groups. Prejudice reduction defines strategies to support pupils in developing more democratic attitudes and values. Equity pedagogy, the fourth dimension, exists when teachers take the initiative to improve the academic achievement of pupils from low-status population groups. The last dimension refers to restructuring the organization and culture of a school, creating an empowering school culture that produces educational equality for pupils from all racial, ethnic, and social class groups.

Banks (1989) further identifies four approaches to multicultural content integration. Like a stage theory, each approach implies an improvement over the previous one. The first is the contribution approach, which is the easiest way to incorporate multicultural content into the curriculum, by adding ethnic role models and discrete cultural artifacts—such as food, holidays, and music—without changing the

mainstream curriculum. The additive approach refers to adding content or themes, such as a book or film, still viewing the ethnic content from a mainstream perspective, because the mainstream curriculum remains unchanged. The transformative approach differs from the previous ones, as this approach changes the fundamental goals and structure of the curriculum, enabling pupils to view issues from different perspectives and extending their understanding of society, through interaction with diverse cultural elements from various groups. The social action approach includes teachers' efforts to empower pupils and educate them for social action and decision-making skills, by reflecting on their beliefs and feelings of ethnic prejudice and discrimination, so that excluded groups can become full participants in the society.

In this article, MCT refers to Banks's conceptualization of content integration, that is, the extent to which teachers use examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area (Banks, 1993), because many teachers' understanding of MCT, in Flemish schools as well as others (Agirdag et al., 2016), is limited to the content integration dimension (Banks, 1993). This means that teachers in Flanders often not do more than adding examples from other cultures to the curriculum. In addition, research shows that content integration is probably the most widely implemented but least studied aspect of multicultural education (Zirkel, 2008).

Ethnic school composition and track

Teachers, most of whom belong to the ethnic majority group (Gay, 2010; Marx & Moss, 2011; Wasonga, 2005), in general have a lack of cross-cultural interaction and personal experience of other cultures, resulting in comparatively low multicultural sensitivity and beliefs (Garmon, 2004; Gay, 2010; Marshall, 1996). Within a school context, teachers will have more opportunities to interact with ethnic minorities when the proportion of ethnic minorities in school increases (Blau, 1994). Because the number of ethnic minorities in school increases, the possibilities of establishing interethnic contacts and having cross-cultural experiences at school also grow (Fritzsche, 2006; Sierens et al., 2006), thereby enhancing teachers' multicultural sensitivity and beliefs (Garmon, 2004; Gay, 2010; Marshall, 1996). Accordingly, the ethnic composition of the school might be related to teachers' involvement with MCT. Moreover, teachers find it easier to talk about other cultures when more pupils from different cultures are present, and talking about ethnic diversity in schools with few or no ethnic minorities still seems to be an obstacle (Agirdag et al., 2016). Furthermore, research shows that MCT and multicultural education are practiced more in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils (Agirdag et al., 2016; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013).

In addition to the ethnic composition of a school, the track in which teachers teach can determine the possibilities of establishing interethnic contacts and of cross-cultural experiences between teachers and ethnic minority pupils, because ethnic minority pupils are overrepresented in vocational education (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013; Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009). Therefore, teachers in this

track will have more opportunities to interact with ethnic minorities, resulting in greater multicultural sensitivity and beliefs (Garmon, 2004; Gay, 2010; Marshall, 1996). Moreover, teachers in the vocational track more frequently use participatory forms of learning, characterized by providing more examples to clarify the subject matter and by interacting much more with pupils compared with teachers in more academic tracks (Grubb, 1991; Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2011). Because ethnic minorities are overrepresented in vocational education and because of the more interactive forms of learning used by teachers in this track, these teachers might have more interethnic contact and cross-cultural experiences, talk more about other cultures in their classroom, and use more examples given by their (ethnic minority) pupils, related to more MCT.

The ethnic prejudice of teachers

Research shows that the mere presence of outgroup members (Zebrowitz, White, & Wieneke, 2008), or simply a higher concentration of ethnic minorities (Kalin, 1996), is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice. Because ethnic minorities are inherently overrepresented in schools with a greater proportion of ethnic minority pupils and in vocational education, teachers in these schools and in this track may have lower ethnic prejudice. This can be partly explained by Zajonc's (1968) "mere exposure" hypothesis, which suggests that repeated exposure to ethnic minorities results in familiarity and is associated with more positive attitudes concerning ethnic minorities. However, Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory argues that four conditions are necessary to

make mere exposure effective. According to Allport, more intergroup contact leads to reduced ethnic prejudice only when (a) the different groups expect and perceive equal status in the situation, (b) the groups pursue common goals, (c) cooperation exists, and (d) there is support from authoritative figures. Moreover, research suggests that a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils at a school is associated with less ethnic prejudice among Flemish teachers only when they evaluate their pupils as teachable (Vervaet, D'hondt, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2016). Nevertheless, recent research indicates that Allport's conditions are facilitating rather than necessary conditions (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). In line with Zajonc's mere exposure hypothesis, Allport's intergroup contact theory, and previous findings, the ethnic composition at school and the track in which teachers teach might be related to their ethnic prejudice. Teachers in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils and teachers in the vocational track are assumed to be more familiar with ethnic minority pupils and to have more intergroup contact, related to reduced ethnic prejudice.

The ethnic prejudice of teachers might also be related to their involvement with MCT, because research shows that a positive relationship exists between teachers' attitudes and their behavior (Gay, 2010; McAllister & Irvine, 2000). Therefore, an ethnically unprejudiced teacher might practice more MCT (Banks, 1993). As Ghosh and Tarrow (1993) state: "The curriculum initiatives in the school system are important, but no amount of curriculum material can make a significant difference if teachers, who present the material, do not have the attitude and commitment to the ideological change implied in equity and justice. (p. 81)". In sum, teaching in schools

with more ethnic minority pupils or in vocational education is assumed to be associated with lower levels of ethnic prejudice among teachers, related to more involvement with MCT.

Teachers' sociodemographic background characteristics

Research shows that women score higher on the scale of multicultural attitudes and competences compared with men (McAllister & Irvine, 2000; Munroe & Pearson, 2006). However, disagreement exists about the influence of age. Although some studies find no relationship between age and multicultural education (Agirdag et al., 2016), other research shows that older people are more tolerant of other cultures (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009), and that young teachers have worse multicultural attitudes (Munroe & Pearson, 2006), and lack knowledge and experience of other cultures (Spanierman et al., 2010; Wasonga, 2005). Similarly, the role of ethnicity is unclear. Compared with the ethnic majority, ethnic minority teachers on the one hand have more multicultural competences (McAllister & Irvine, 2000), practice multi-ethnic education to a greater extent (Agirdag et al., 2016), and talk more openly about cultural diversity (Gay, 2010). On the other hand, ethnic minority teachers may lack knowledge and experience of other (minority) cultures (Capella-Santana, 2003; McAllister & Irvine, 2000). Despite the finding that SES is not associated with MCT and multicultural education (Agirdag et al., 2016; Case et al., 1989), a higher level of education is related to more positive attitudes about racial equality (Case et al., 1989), cultural diversity (Gay, 2010), tolerance of other cultures

(Elchardus & Siongers, 2009), multicultural attitudes (Capella-Santana, 2003), and multicultural sensitivity (Garmon, 2004).

The Current Study

This study explores the association between the ethnic school composition, the track in which teachers teach, and their level of involvement with MCT in the Flemish context, taking into account teachers' degree of ethnic prejudice and various sociodemographic characteristics. First, we focus on how the ethnic composition of a school is associated with MCT among Flemish teachers, assuming that teaching in schools with more ethnic minority pupils is associated with more MCT (Hypothesis 1). Second, we examine the association between the track in which teachers teach and their involvement with MCT, assuming that teachers in vocational track use more examples from a variety of cultures as illustrations in their classes than teachers in more academic tracks do (Hypothesis 2). Last, we explore whether and how teachers' degree of ethnic prejudice mediates the relationship between ethnic school composition, the track in which they teach, and their level of involvement with MCT. We assume that teaching in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils and teaching in vocational education are associated with lower ethnic prejudice among Flemish teachers, related to more involvement with MCT (Hypothesis 3).

Flemish Immigration and the Educational Context

At the beginning of the 1960s, individual laborers from Morocco, Turkey, and subsequently from various Eastern European countries (including Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and Kosovo) migrated to Belgium. They were later joined by their families to live and work in (particularly) the mining, steel, textile, and construction industries (Vanduyndael et al., 2013). In Flanders, the largest, non-European ethnic minority groups share a Muslim identity, a religious background that is not particularly welcomed (Agirdag, Loobuyck, & Van Houtte, 2012). Negative attitudes about Islam are common among Flemish teachers (Agirdag et al., 2012). In addition, many ethnic minority pupils—particularly those of Turkish and Northern African descent and the more recent immigrants from Eastern European countries—continue to lag behind their Flemish counterparts academically, even when social class is taken into account (Agirdag et al., 2012b). Flanders has a unique educational system. Every school in Flanders is state subsidized and the Flemish government is fully responsible for the educational policy within its territory. Education is compulsory from the age of six to eighteen, and most Flemish children also attend nursery school from the age of two and a half onward. After six years of primary education, children transfer to secondary education, comprising four main tracks: (a) general secondary or academic education (preparing for higher education), (b) technical secondary education (focusing more on technical and practical topics, either in preparation for more applied forms of higher education or immediate, skilled employment after secondary education), (c) artistic secondary education (general education combined with active art practice),

and (d) vocational secondary education (more practical and job-specific education, with several options offering specialization years with the aim of entering the employment market after completing secondary education). Tracks are commonly hierarchically classified by level of abstraction and theorizing. Academic education is widely regarded as the most appreciated and demanding track, whereas technical and vocational track are at the bottom of the ladder (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2010). Tracking is a practice of dividing students for instruction according to their supposed capacities for learning. Parents, along with their children, have to choose between educational tracks at a young age. As a result of the way in which the selection and allocation of students into different tracks is organized, differences can be noted in terms of ability, but as well in terms of social background. Higher status tracks do not only contain relatively more students with higher levels of measured ability but also contain relatively more students with a higher social class background and from the dominant ethnic group in society (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013). At the end of each year, the students are given a certificate indicating whether they can continue their current educational path (A certificate) or not (B or C certificate). Being given a B certificate indicates that the student may go on to the next year but needs to join a lower track; a C certificate means that the student has to repeat the year.

Method

Data

The data used are taken from the RaDiSS 2 (Racism and Discrimination in Secondary Schools) survey, the second wave of the longitudinal research project RaDiSS, collected during the school year 2014-2015. A multistage sampling frame was used to ensure sufficient variability and number of cases in terms of pupils' ethnicity and the level of urbanization of the school environment, because the central focus of the research project was the association between ethnic school composition, track, teachers' ethnic prejudice, and MCT in Flemish secondary schools. First, four large, multicultural Flemish districts were selected for sampling (Antwerp, Ghent, Hasselt, and Sint-Niklaas). These four districts were selected because of the high number of inhabitants with a non-Western-European background (Noppe & Lodewijckx, 2013). Second, all the secondary schools (excluding artistic education, due to the small number of pupils enrolled) in these areas were divided into three location categories: city center, suburban area, and rural area. The aim was to select two thirds of the schools from urban areas and one third from suburban or rural areas, because particularly in urban areas in Flanders, schools are notably ethnically diverse (Brief et al., 2005; Desmedt & Nicaise, 2006). Within these districts, a further selection was made of one third of schools with a low proportion of ethnic minority pupils (less than 15%), one third with a medium proportion (between 15% and 49.9%), and one third with a high proportion (between 50% and 100%) to ensure sufficient variability and number of cases in terms of pupils' ethnicity. In total, 55 schools were contacted, out of which 45 were willing to

participate (a response rate of 82%). Of those in the sample, 26 schools were located in a city center, 12 in a sub-urban area, and 7 in a rural location. Furthermore, 14 schools had a low proportion of ethnic minority pupils, 15 a medium proportion, and 16 a high proportion. As a result, the participating schools cover the range of ethnic minority composition from 0% to 95% (see Table 23). Data were collected with students in the sixth grade, the teachers of these students, and the school principal from October until March. For this article, we only used the teacher data. In each school, the teachers in Grade 6 (comparable with Grade 12 in the American system) are free to choose to complete a written questionnaire or not. They could complete the questionnaire when and where they wanted and could return it free of charge, as we paid for the postage and envelopes with the aim of achieving a high response rate. In total 669 out of 1,584 teachers completed the questionnaire, equating to a response rate of 42%. Because we only asked for the name of the school, the anonymity of the teachers was guaranteed. In view of our research questions, we only incorporated schools where at least five teachers completed the questionnaire, which is in line with other research (Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, & Hoy, 2001; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009), resulting in a sample of 636 teachers across 40 schools. Because the ethnic prejudice of teachers is taken into account and only 4.4% of the teachers were of foreign descent, only native teachers (95.6%) were selected for the present analyses, resulting in a sample of 590 teachers. Of these, 378 were women, 333 had a university diploma, and 310 were teaching in vocational education. The mean age of the teachers was 42.74 years (range = 23-65), and the mean SES was 52.76 (range = 16-90).

Variables

MCT. MCT was measured by a 6-point Likert-type scale with 12 items, ranging from absolutely disagree (= 1) to completely agree (= 5) and not applicable (= 6). The last category was recoded into 1, because “not applicable” indicates that teachers did not pay attention to the content of the item. Three sample items are as follows: “During my lessons at this school, I work explicitly on themes about differences between cultures”, “During my lessons at this school, I do not highlight holidays of different religions”, and “During my lessons at this school, the many different cultures in our society are discussed.” Missing values were imputed by item correlation substitution: A missing value for one item was replaced by the value of the item correlating most closely with that item (Huisman, 2000). The scale was created by the mean scores on the 12 items, resulting in possible scores of 1 to 5, with a higher score indicating that teachers practice more MCT. An exploratory factor analysis reveals that there is one underlying dimension. The item loadings range between .463 and .833, and Cronbach’s alpha for the MCT scale is .87 ($M = 3.13$, $SD = .69$; see Table 23).

Ethnic school composition. Ethnic school composition is a metric variable, based on the proportion of ethnic minority pupils. The ethnicity of the pupils was assessed primarily by the birthplace of their maternal grandmother (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2008). If these data were not available, their mother’s birthplace was used. In the event that this was also missing, we used the pupil’s country of birth. As is common practice in research on immigrant youths in Flanders, and in line with the official Flemish definition of nonnative groups, pupils were considered as

being of foreign descent if their maternal grandmother, their mother, or the pupils themselves had a birthplace other than Western European (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003). The average proportion of ethnic minority pupils at school is .36 (SD = .27; see Table 23).

Track. Teachers were asked to indicate the track in which they taught. The categories are academic, technical, artistic, and vocational education, and multiple answers were possible. Because teachers in vocational education are assumed to be less ethnic prejudiced and to practice more MCT, a dichotomous variable was made with teachers in academic, technical, and artistic education placed in one category, which covers 47.3% of the respondents (code 0). If vocational education was one of the categories stated, code 1 was assigned, which incorporates 52.7% of the teachers (see Table 23).

Ethnic prejudice. Ethnic prejudice refers to a negative attitude to ethnic outgroups (De Witte, 1999; Quillian, 1995;). Because the majority of the ethnic minorities in Flanders come from Morocco, Turkey, and Eastern Europe, negative attitudes to these three groups were summed to measure ethnic prejudice among Flemish teachers. A 5-point Likert-type scale with 18 items was used, ranging from absolutely disagree (= 1) to completely agree (= 5). Three examples of the items are as follows: “Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans do not contribute to the welfare of Belgium,” “In some areas, the government does more for Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans than for the Belgians who live there,” and “Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans are commonly unreliable.” Missing values were imputed by item correlation substitution (Huisman, 2000). The scale was created from the mean scores on the 18 items,

resulting in possible scores of 1 to 5, with a higher score indicating greater ethnic prejudice. Cronbach's alpha for the ethnic prejudice scale is .95 ($M = 2.50$, $SD = .70$; see Table 23).

Gender. Our sample is not equally divided with regard to gender (female = 1), with 64.2% being female. However, this is an accurate reflection of the current gender ratio of Flemish teachers in secondary education (Huyge et al., 2003; Matheus, Siongers, & Van den Brande, 2004; see Table 23).

Age. The age of the teachers is a metric variable, with a range between 23 and 65. In our sample, the mean age of teachers is 42.74 ($SD = 10.23$; see Table 23).

Level of education. To measure teachers' level of education, they were asked what qualifications they held, and multiple answers were possible. The options were general secondary education, technical secondary education, vocational secondary education, higher education short type, higher education long type, university, university teacher training, and certificate of pedagogical competence. Because the responses were unevenly distributed and research shows that higher/more education is related to specific dimensions of MCT (Capella-Santana, 2003; Case et al., 1989; Elchardus & Siongers, 2009; Garmon, 2004; Gay, 2010), this variable was recoded into a dichotomous variable with secondary education and more applied forms of higher education (general secondary education, technical secondary education, vocational secondary education, higher education short type, and higher education long type) scored 0 (43.4%), and university (teacher training) scored 1 (56.6%) (see Table 23).

SES. The SES of origin of the teachers was measured by the profession of their father and mother, as the teachers themselves obviously have the same occupation and therefore all have a similar SES. The parents' professions were recoded, using the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI; Ganzeboom, De Graaf, & Treiman, 1992), derived from the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). This metric variable has a range from 16 to 90. The highest score out of the two parents was used, and the higher the score, the higher the SES. In our sample, the minimum score is 16 and the maximum 90, with a mean score of 52.76 (SD = 15.42; see Table 23).

Table 23. Descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables: Frequencies (%), means, standard deviations (SD), and minimum and maximum values (n = 590)

	%	MEAN	SD	MIN.	MAX.
Outcome					
Multicultural teaching		3.13	.69	1	5
Individual-level					
Track (1 = Vocational education)	52.7				
Ethnic prejudice		2.50	.70	1	4
Gender (1 = Female)	64.2				
Age		42.74	10.23	23	65
Level of education (1 = University)	56.6				
Socioeconomic status		52.76	15.42	16	90
School-level					
Ethnic school composition		.36	.27	.00	.95

Research design

Given that we are dealing with a clustered sample of teachers nested within schools, it was most appropriate to use multilevel analysis (MLwiN 2.30 software). All metric variables were grand mean centered. A random intercept model was used.

The first estimated model (Table 25, Model 0) is an intercept-only design; an unconditional model to determine the amount of variance at the individual level and the school level. Ethnic school composition was added in the second model (Table 25, Model 1), to test the first hypothesis—that there is a positive relationship between ethnic composition in school and teachers' involvement with MCT. In the third model (Table 25, Model 2), we added the track in which teachers teach, as the second hypothesis is that teaching in vocational education is associated with more MCT. In the fourth model (Table 25, Model 3), individual characteristics that recur in research on multicultural education and MCT—namely, gender, age, SES, and level of education—were taken into account. The degree of teachers' ethnic prejudice was added in the fifth model (Table 25, Model 4), to test the third hypothesis—that teaching in schools with more ethnic minority pupils and teaching in vocational education are associated with less ethnic prejudice among Flemish teachers, related to more involvement with MCT. To test this mediating effect of ethnic prejudice, we used the causal steps approach (Baron & Kenny, 1986; MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007; Mathieu & Taylor, 2007).

Results

The bivariate correlations show a significant negative relationship between MCT and teachers' age ($r = -.130$, $p < .01$) and their level of ethnic prejudice ($r = -.269$, $p < .01$), and a significant positive relationship between MCT and teachers' gender ($r = .111$, $p < .01$), SES ($r = .082$, $p < .05$), and the track in which they teach ($r = .110$, $p < .01$). Younger, unprejudiced, female teachers, with a higher SES, teaching in vocational education report to practice more MCT than older, prejudiced, male teachers, with a lower SES, teaching in academic or technical education (see Table 24).

Table 24. Bivariate (Pearson) correlations between dependent and independent variables ($n = 590$)

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Gender	1	-.095*	.093*	.089*	.016	-.041	.111**
2. Age		1	-.183**	-.132**	-.145**	.176**	-.130**
3. SES			1	.250**	-.099*	-.069	.082*
4. Level of education				1	-.425**	-.191**	.074
5. Track					1	.094*	.110**
6. Ethnic prejudice						1	-.269**
7. MCT							1

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

We started the multilevel regression analysis, presented in Table 25, with an unconditional model (Table 25, Model 0). This model indicates that 15% ($\sigma_e^2 = .408$, $\sigma_u^2 = .072$) of the variance in MCT is situated at the school level.

In the second model (Table 25, Model 1), ethnic school composition was included to test the relationship between ethnic school composition and MCT. The effect is positive and significant ($\gamma^* = .191$, $SE = .040$, $p < .001$), so our first hypothesis—that a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in school is positively related to MCT—is confirmed. Teachers in schools with more ethnic minority pupils practice more MCT. In the third model (Table 25, Model 2), the track in which teachers teach was included and is significantly associated with MCT ($\gamma^* = .132$, $SE = .058$, $p < .05$), indicating that teachers in vocational education implement more MCT, and confirming our second hypothesis.

In the next step, the different control variables were added (Table 25, Model 3). Gender, age, and SES are not significantly related to MCT. However, the effect of teachers' level of education is significant ($\gamma^* = .126$, $SE = .063$, $p < .05$), confirming that teachers with a university diploma practice more MCT than teachers with a secondary diploma or a diploma in more applied forms of higher education.

To test the mediating effect of ethnic prejudice (for our third hypothesis), we used the causal steps approach (Baron & Kenny, 1986; MacKinnon et al., 2007; Mathieu & Taylor, 2007). First, we examined whether the association between ethnic school composition and MCT is mediated by teachers' degree of ethnic prejudice. The first step was to examine the relationship between ethnic school composition and MCT. As already mentioned, this association is significant ($\gamma^* = .191$, $SE = .040$, $p < .001$; see Table 25, Model 1). Second, no significant relationship between ethnic school composition and ethnic prejudice is found (Table 26, Model 1). Moreover, adding

ethnic prejudice to the model does not change the association between the ethnic composition of a school and MCT (Table 25, Model 4). Therefore, the association between ethnic school composition and MCT is not mediated by the degree of teachers' ethnic prejudice. Second, we examined whether the association between track and MCT is mediated by teachers' degree of ethnic prejudice. Again, the first step was to examine the relationship between track and MCT. As before, this association is significant ($\gamma^* = .132$, $SE = .058$, $p < .05$; see Table 25, Model 2). Second, a significant relationship between track and ethnic prejudice is found ($\gamma^* = .123$, $SE = .061$, $p < .05$; see Table 26, Model 2). Next, we examined the relationship between ethnic prejudice and MCT while controlling for track. This association is also significant ($\gamma^* = -.204$, $SE = .027$, $p < .001$; see Table 25, Model 4). Because the effect of track on MCT does not notably reduce after adding ethnic prejudice to the model, we can conclude that the association between track and MCT is not mediated by teachers' degree of ethnic prejudice. Hence, our third hypothesis—that there is a mediating effect of ethnic prejudice—is not confirmed. The effect of teachers' level of education is no longer significant. The ethnic school composition ($\gamma^* = .173$, $SE = .071$, $p < .001$), the track in which teachers teach ($\gamma^* = .185$, $SE = .060$, $p < .01$), and the ethnic prejudice of teachers ($\gamma^* = -.204$, $SE = .027$, $p < .001$) are all significantly related to teachers' involvement with MCT. Moreover, the effect of track is slightly stronger when ethnic prejudice is added to the model ($\gamma^* = .161$, $SE = .063$, $p < .05$ and $\gamma^* = .185$, $SE = .060$, $p < .05$, respectively; see Table 25, Models 3 and 4).

Table 25. Multicultural teaching: Results of stepwise multilevel analysis, standard errors between parentheses (n = 590, Groups = 40)

Parameter	MODEL 0	MODEL 1	MODEL 2	MODEL 3	MODEL 4
School level					
Ethnic school composition		.191*** (.040)	.177*** (.042)	.179*** (.038)	.173*** (.071)
Individual level					
Track (Ref: Academic, artistic, technical)			.132* (.058)	.161* (.063)	.185** (.060)
Gender (Ref: Male)				.082 (.057)	.102 (.054)
Age				-.045 (.028)	-.009 (.027)
Socioeconomic status				.032 (.028)	.033 (.027)
Level of education (Ref: Sec/higher ed.)				.126* (.063)	.051 (.061)
Ethnic prejudice					-.204*** (.027)
Constant	3.143***	3.139***	3.073***	2.927***	2.948***
<i>Individual-level variance</i>	.408	.409	.403	.398	.369
<i>School-level variance</i>	.072	.033	.037	.026	.014
<i>Log-likelihood</i>	1,191.99	1,174.88	1,162.26	1,155.75	1,101.94

Note. The centered coefficients are presented, with standard errors shown in parentheses.

*p < .05, **p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 26. Ethnic prejudice: Results of stepwise multilevel analysis, standard errors between parentheses (n = 590, Groups = 40)

Parameter	MODEL 0	MODEL 1	MODEL 2
School level			
Ethnic school composition		-.009 (.045)	
Individual level			
Track (Ref: Academic, artistic, technical track)			.123* (.061)
Constant	2.508***	2.508***	2.447***
<i>Individual-level variance</i>	.048	.048	.045
<i>School-level variance</i>	.452	.452	.450
<i>Log-likelihood</i>	1,249.679	1,239.643	1,235.686

Note. The centered coefficients are presented, with standard errors shown in parentheses.

*p < .05, *** p < .001

Discussion

Worldwide migration has resulted in a rise of multicultural societies and increasing cultural diversity, which equally applies to the school context. As a result, multicultural education and MCT have been paid growing attention, to help teachers and pupils adapt to this multicultural school environment. Although the positive consequences of multicultural education and MCT have been well researched, the determinants of MCT have received very little attention. Moreover, existing research in this area is mostly small scale and tends to focus on preservice teachers in the American context (Agirdag et al., 2016). The current study aims to fill this gap by exploring the association between the ethnic composition of a school, the track in which teachers teach, and

their level of involvement with MCT in the Flemish context, taking into account teachers' degree of ethnic prejudice and various sociodemographic characteristics.

The main finding of the current study is that the ethnic school composition, the track in which teachers teach, and their degree of ethnic prejudice are all related to teachers' involvement with MCT. The first hypothesis of this study—that teachers in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils practice more MCT—is confirmed. Teachers in these schools may have a lot more cross-cultural experience and contact with ethnic minority cultures (Fritzsche, 2006; Sierens et al., 2006), resulting in more involvement with MCT. The track in which teachers teach is also related to teachers' involvement with MCT. Teachers in vocational education practice more MCT than teachers in academic or technical education, confirming our second hypothesis. This can partly be explained by the overrepresentation of ethnic minority pupils in vocational education (Boone & Van Houtte, 2013; Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009). Teachers in this track also use more participatory forms of learning (Grubb, 1991; Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2011), associated with more cross-cultural interactions and experiences, resulting in more MCT. Furthermore, teachers in these contexts may use MCT as a “survival strategy,” to control the more multicultural pupil population (Woods, 2000). Our findings are in line with previous research, showing that cross-cultural experience and contact are critical factors in shaping teachers' multicultural sensitivity (Spanierman et al., 2010). A lack of intercultural interaction might also be associated with fear of stereotyping and less positive attitudes toward cultural diversity (Gay, 2010; Wasonga, 2005). Flemish teachers may

find it easier to talk about other cultures when more pupils from different cultures are present (Agirdag et al., 2016). In addition to ethnic school composition and the teaching track, teachers' ethnic prejudice is also associated with their practice of MCT. Ethnically prejudiced teachers are less involved with MCT than unprejudiced teachers are, confirming earlier findings about the congruence between teachers' attitudes and their behavior (Gay, 2010; McAllister & Irvine, 2000). The third hypothesis of this study—that teaching in schools with more ethnic minority pupils and teaching in vocational education are associated with less ethnic prejudice among Flemish teachers, resulting in more involvement with MCT—is not confirmed. The effect of ethnic school composition and the track in which teachers teach is not mediated by the ethnic prejudice of teachers. However, the ethnic school composition, the track in which teachers teach, and the ethnic prejudice of teachers are all directly related to teachers' involvement with MCT.

The findings show that none of the teachers' sociodemographic background characteristics are related to MCT. The finding that teachers' gender is not associated with their level of MCT is in line with previous Flemish research (Agirdag et al., 2016). Existing research (Agirdag et al., 2016; Case et al., 1989) also shows that teachers' age and SES are not related to MCT. Despite findings in previous research that higher education is positively related to attitudes about racial equality (Case et al., 1989), cultural diversity (Gay, 2010), tolerance of other cultures (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009), multicultural attitudes (Capella-Santana, 2003), and multicultural sensitivity (Garmon, 2004), Flemish teachers with a university diploma are not more involved with

MCT than teachers with a diploma from secondary or higher education. In this study, more than 92% of the teachers were higher educated (with higher education or a university diploma). The lack of an association between teachers' level of education and their involvement with MCT might show that for this association, no or only small differences exist between teachers having a higher education and those having a university diploma. The finding that the teachers' sociodemographic background characteristics are not related to their involvement with MCT emphasizes the importance of taking into account other and more relevant determinants, such as ethnic school composition, the track in which teachers teach, and their ethnic prejudice.

Notwithstanding the theoretical relevance of our findings, this study has some limitations. First, it uses cross-sectional data, so causality cannot be determined in the relationship between ethnic school composition, the teaching track, teachers' ethnic prejudice, and their involvement with MCT. A selection effect is plausible, whereby teachers who like to use many examples from a variety of cultures in their subject area will be more likely to work in schools with many ethnic minority pupils or in vocational education. Teachers who apply more MCT in their lessons might also be more open to other cultures and therefore might also be more interested in other cultures and have more intergroup contacts, resulting in less prejudice against ethnic minorities in society. Second, other measurements of ethnic school composition, such as teachers' perception of the size of minority groups in school, or ethnic diversity instead of concentration, might lead to different outcomes (Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013).

Furthermore, ethnic prejudice refers to a negative attitude toward Moroccans, Turks, and Eastern Europeans, but research shows that ethnic prejudice may vary depending on the nationality of ethnic minorities, related to the immigration history of a country (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Kalin, 1996). We assess MCT using information provided by the teachers, which is in line with previous studies (Agirdag et al., 2016; Capella-Santana, 2003; Spanierman et al., 2010; Vervaet et al., 2016). Because teachers can be seen as “insiders” to MCT, it is expected that teachers will provide a better insight into multicultural practices than students will (Hartup, 1996). In addition, research on the validity of self-reported measures suggests that respondents consider the extent to which their responses reflect socially desirable opinions. However, we made sure that teachers understood that the questionnaires were anonymous and that neither their students nor their supervisors would gain insight in their answers. Finally, MCT includes only the content integration dimension, but Banks (1993) emphasizes that this is merely the first dimension. Taking into account other dimensions of multicultural education, such as knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture, might result in other findings. However, previous research shows that Flemish teachers’ understanding and practice of multicultural education and MCT often do not go further than content integration.

This study opens the door for further research, in particular focusing on different determinants of MCT. Future research could take into account specific features of the ethnic composition of Flemish schools, such as the proportion of Muslim pupils, as they

are the largest ethnic minority group in Flanders and are considered problematic because of their attachment to Islam (Agirdag et al., 2016; Phalet, Baysu, & Van Acker, 2015). Therefore, features other than ethnic prejudice, such as Islamophobia (Banks, 2008), may be associated with teachers' involvement with MCT. Teachers' ethnic identities might also be related to MCT, as teachers who are aware of their own culture are more interested in learning about other cultures (Bennett, 2001; McAllister & Irvine, 2000). Additional school characteristics, such as size, sector, and location, might also be associated with teachers' involvement with MCT, because these characteristics are each related to a specific dimension of MCT (Agirdag et al., 2016). Last, although our findings show that teachers are more likely to employ MCT in more ethnically diverse schools and in vocational education, in-depth qualitative case studies could further enhance knowledge about the underlying processes in these settings that explain these relationships. In addition, such research might also focus on pupils' understanding of their teachers' efforts to employ MCT. In other words, it is important to focus not only on what teachers say they do in the classroom but also on how this is interpreted by their pupils.

In terms of social policy, a first challenge in creating a more multicultural school culture is to reduce the ethnic prejudice of teachers, as the attitudes of teachers steer their behavior (Gay, 2010). Previous research shows that individuals can become more multicultural (Bennett, 2001), so teacher training needs to teach prospective teachers to reflect on their own prejudices (Gay, 2010; McAllister & Irvine, 2000) and increase their knowledge of other cultures. This can be done through reading multicultural

literature and creating more opportunities for intergroup contact between ethnic majority teachers and ethnic minorities, for example, by attracting more ethnic minorities into teacher training (Agirdag et al., 2016; Capella-Santana, 2003; Gay, 2010). Existing research shows that these initiatives are associated with less negative outgroup attitudes (Banks, 1993; Marx & Moss, 2011; McAllister & Irvine, 2000); thus, they might also be associated with more MCT. Recently, a considerable number of policy-driven interventions have been carried out to improve multicultural attitudes among teachers (Capella-Santana, 2003; Gorski, 2009; Marx & Moss, 2011), and social scientists have developed a number of scales to measure (preservice) teachers' multicultural attitudes before and after the intervention (Marshall, 1996; Spanierman et al., 2010). However, these schemes have mostly comprised only one course, without evaluating the long-term effects (Wasonga, 2005). Therefore, multicultural education needs to be an integral part or a mandatory course of teacher training and the results of it should be evaluated in a more effective way. Last, a notable finding is that teachers in vocational education and in schools with a greater proportion of ethnic minority pupils are more involved with MCT, indicating that teachers in more academic education and in schools without or with fewer ethnic minority pupils practice less MCT. It is disturbing that teachers in this context may find it less important to pay attention to other cultures. Nevertheless, it confirms previous findings, showing that teachers find it easier to talk about other cultures if they are present at school or in the classroom, because talking about diversity then becomes less of an obstacle (Agirdag et al., 2016). As a further result, pupils in these contexts

are less frequently exposed to other cultures during their lessons. However, for majority pupils, the school environment is often the only place where they can have cross-cultural experiences or intergroup contact (Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009). This finding emphasizes the need for more MCT in tracks and schools with many pupils belonging to the ethnic majority group. Moreover, MCT must be implemented from the beginning to the end of the progress through school for all pupils (Banks, 1993), because outgroup attitudes are already formed in nursery school (Aboud & Doyle, 1996). If we want to prepare (Flemish) teachers and pupils to live in a multicultural society, we need to create more opportunities for ethnic minority and majority pupils and teachers to meet and interact with each other in a respectful way.

Conclusion

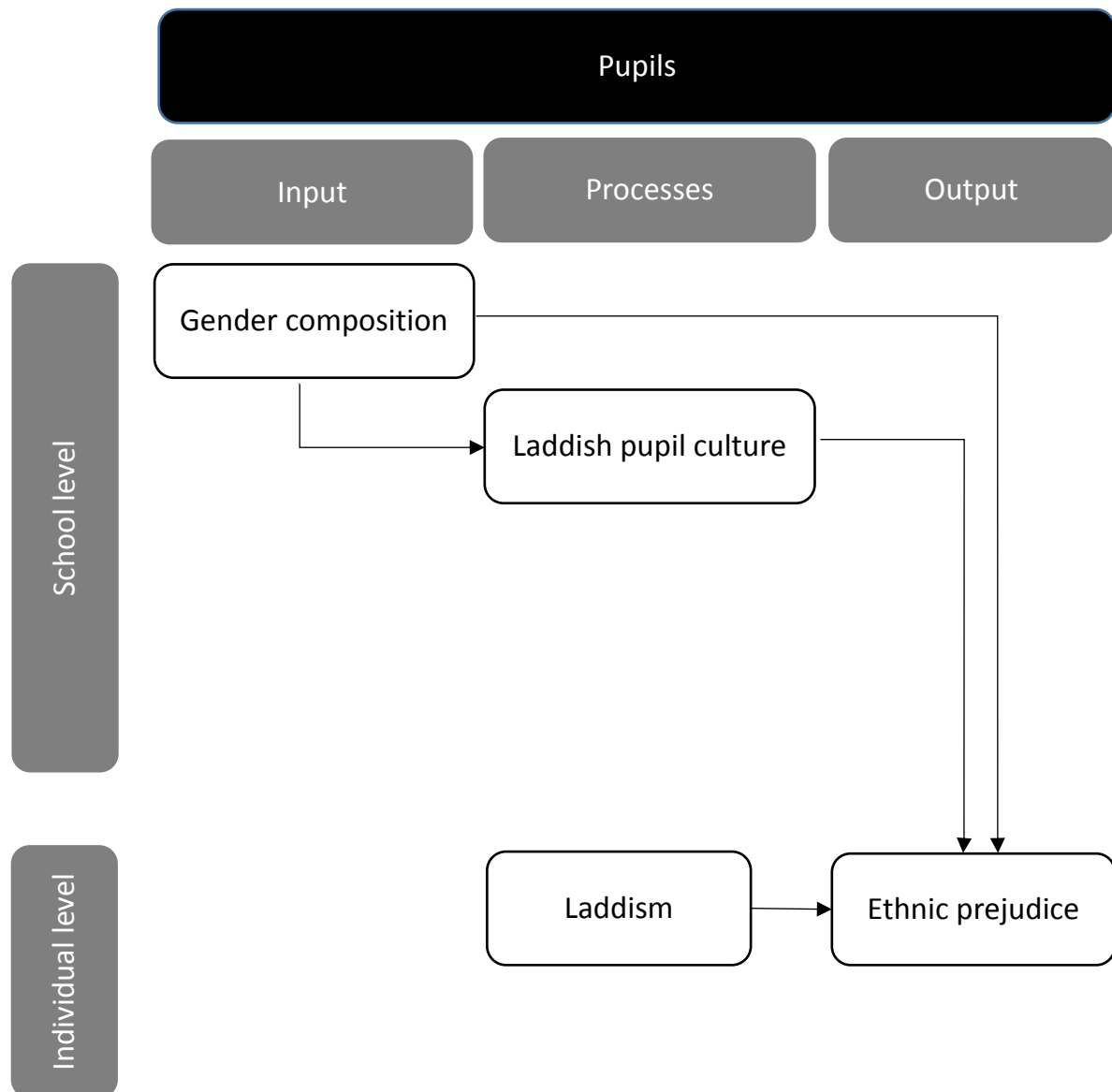
Earlier studies on MCT have focused primarily on the consequences of MCT. Moreover, the results from the few studies focusing on the association between teachers' sociodemographic background and specific dimensions of MCT are inconsistent. These studies are also mostly small scale and tend to focus on preservice teachers in the American context (Agirdag et al., 2016). The current study is unique in exploring the association between the ethnic composition of a school, the track in which teachers teach, and their level of involvement with MCT in the Flemish context, taking into account the ethnic prejudice of teachers and various sociodemographic characteristics. First, we find that teachers in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils practice more MCT. Second, teachers in vocational education practice more MCT than

teachers in academic or technical education. Last, ethnically prejudiced teachers are less involved with MCT than unprejudiced teachers are. This exposes the need for more cross-cultural interaction and experiences between ethnic minority pupils and Flemish teachers.

*“When we are no longer
able to change a situation
we are challenged
to change ourselves”*

Viktor E. Frankl

6.6. The Ethnic Prejudice of Flemish Pupils: The Role of School Gender Composition and Laddish Culture



Abstract

This study examines whether secondary schools' gender composition and levels of laddish attitudes influence the degree of ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils. We hypothesize that in addition to pupil-level predictors of prejudice, the school's gender composition and its laddish culture play roles in pupils' attitudes toward ethnic minorities. We use multilevel analysis with data obtained in 2014-2015 from 2,250 Flemish pupils in 48 secondary schools in Flanders. Both girls' and boys' ethnic prejudice is related to their laddish attitudes. Boys' levels of ethnic prejudice are associated with the gender composition and the laddish culture of their school, while girls' ethnic prejudice is more likely to be influenced by the laddish culture of the school when the proportion of male pupils in the school increases. The findings suggest that in order to reduce ethnic prejudice it might be fruitful to focus on macro-level factors, such as tackling laddish cultures at school.

Introduction

Since the Second World War, Flanders (the Dutch speaking region of Belgium) has developed into a multi-ethnic society. Labour migration, the demise of the Soviet Union, the rise of the EU, migrant family reunification, and chain migration processes (Sierens et al., 2006; Vanduynslager et al., 2013), turned schools in Flanders notably ethnically diverse, particularly in urban areas (Desmedt & Nicaise, 2006). This demographic change has coincided with an increasing interest among scholars in the outgroup attitudes of ethnic majority pupils, including their degree of ethnic prejudice. Research on this topic tends to focus on the targets (typically ethnic minority pupils) and the undesirable consequences of ethnic prejudice for them with regard to their motivation, mental health, achievement, and self-esteem (Sierens et al., 2006; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), but generally ignores the determinants of ethnic prejudice among majority pupils. The few studies that pay attention to the variability of ethnic prejudice among pupils tend to restrict their attention to individual-level characteristics, such as gender, socioeconomic status (SES), age, and level of education (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). To date, research about the influence of school contexts, teachers, and the importance of underlying organisational structures has been notably scarce. Nonetheless, these factors are important because educators and policy makers can manipulate school features more readily than they can change pupils' characteristics (Marcoulides, Heck, & Papanastasiou, 2005; Mickelson, 2014; Mickelson, Bottia, & Lambert, 2013).

Several school characteristics have been identified as important for predicting variations in levels of ethnic prejudice among pupils. The socioeconomic status and ethnic composition of the pupil body have been the focus of much of the published literature. Prior research from the US, South Africa, Israel, Australia, and many Western European societies indicates that ethnic majority pupils who attend schools with socioeconomically and ethnically diverse pupil bodies are less likely to be prejudiced against ethnic minorities (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008; Vervaet, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2018).

In this study we investigate two additional potentially important yet relatively unexplored school characteristics likely to affect pupils' levels of ethnic prejudice: The gender composition of the school and the extent to which the school has a laddish culture. A school's various cultures confer status and shape normative behaviour inside and outside the classroom. These are important contexts for adolescents' social interactions, achievement and other educational outcomes (Harris, 2011; Jackson, 2006; Milner, 2004; Tyson, 2011). Prior research on gender composition's impact on pupils has focused on its relationship to pupils' socio-emotional well-being, achievement attitudes and related behaviours, or to pupil misbehaviour (Datnow & Hubbard, 2002; Demanet et al., 2013; Van Houtte, 2004b; Younger & Warrington, 2006). However, a school's gender composition is also likely to contribute to pupils' ethnic prejudice because females are less likely to express ethnic prejudice than males (Coenders & Scheepers, 1998; Vervaet, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2018; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). When girls gain ascendancy—numerically

speaking—at school, it is plausible that their attitudes will become dominant at school and may influence those of boys as well (cf. Wilson (1959) with respect to socio-economic status). Therefore, we hypothesize that in schools with a greater proportion of female pupils, all pupils are likely to display lower levels of ethnic prejudice.

At the same time, in schools with a higher proportion of boys, we might expect the general culture to be more anti-academic or ‘laddish’. The term ‘lad’ originally referred to a group of white, working-class boys who rejected educational values (Willis, 1977). Later, it became applicable to middle-class boys as well (Francis, 1999). In a ‘laddish’ culture, the image prevails that valuing studying is associated with a feminine role set (Jackson, 2002). As a consequence, boys would be ridiculed if peers observed them working hard at school. Consequently, they feel pressured to conform to these macho images by undervaluing studying in order to remain popular (Jackson, 2003; Warrington, Younger, & Williams, 2000). Prior research on laddish culture suggests the phenomenon goes beyond anti-intellectualism. Laddish culture has been linked to ethnic prejudice, macho values, and misbehaviours designed to undermine the formal educational and socialization goals of the educational system (Francis, 1999; Harvey, 2011; Jackson, 2006; Willis, 1977). In line with these findings, a laddish school culture is likely to increase majority group members’ ethnic prejudice.

Much of the existing research about school-level contributions to ethnic prejudice focuses on the American context. Findings from that extensive corpus of research, in conjunction with the growth of multi-ethnic pupil populations across Western Europe, support our rationale for conducting research on these dynamics in Flanders, where

ethnic minorities experience prejudice and discrimination in education. Because negative outgroup attitudes are harmful for ethnic minorities (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009) and Flemish schools are becoming increasingly diverse, this study aims to explore individual and school-level factors that account for the variability in levels of prejudice among Flemish natives toward ethnic minorities. Specifically, we contribute to existing literatures on the topic by examining the possible influence of a school's gender composition and its overall laddish culture on the ethnic prejudice of Flemish secondary school pupils. After a peak in middle childhood, children's ethnic attitudes display a slight decrease in prejudice until late childhood (8–9 years), while no general developmental tendency is found for adolescence (10 years and older) (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). This relative stability of ethnic attitudes during adolescence, in conjunction with the fact that secondary schools launch adolescents onto their adult status attainment trajectories, suggests that this period of formal education is a theoretically interesting one for examining the association between school level characteristics and a variety of critical outcomes, including pupils' ethnic prejudice.

Background

Ethnic Prejudice

Current levels of ethnic diversity in Flemish schools are the outcome of broader historical, economic, and political forces associated with globalization, the breakup of the Soviet Union, and their geopolitical consequences. In Flanders today, the largest ethnic minority groups share a Muslim identity, a religious background that is often

stigmatized, stereotyped, and not particularly welcomed by a large proportion of the Flemish population. Flemish teachers often have negative attitudes about, in particular, Islam and Muslims, a diverse population whose many ethnic differences are overshadowed by their shared religious identity (Agirdag, Loobuyck, & Van Houtte, 2012; Juchtmans & Nicaise, 2013). For a complex set of reasons, many ethnic minority pupils lag academically behind their Flemish counterparts (Agirdag, Loobuyck, & Van Houtte, 2012), complicating the ethnic majority's perceptions of the relationship between immigration, ethnic minority status, and education.

The social conditions for ethnocentrism and ethnic prejudice can exist in stratified ethnically diverse societies like Flanders. Ethnic prejudice and ethnocentrism both refer to certain ideas and attitudes regarding ethnic outgroups (Elchardus & Siongers 2009). Sumner (1906) describes ethnocentrism as a concept with a dual structure, including an overly negative attitude toward an outgroup together with an exaggerated positive attitude about the ingroup. Research confirms the harmful consequences, including school outcomes, of negative attitudes toward outgroup for its members (Sierens et al., 2006; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Accordingly, the negative component of ethnocentrism is considered the most problematic (Billiet & De Witte, 1995; Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). However, while ethnic prejudice exists among members of the majority population in Flanders, no strong relationship has been observed between a positive ingroup attitude and a negative outgroup attitude (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009). Therefore, in the current study, we use the term "ethnic prejudice" referring only to a negative attitude to ethnic outgroups, in line with the

dominant trend in research into ethnic prejudice (De Witte, 1999). Nevertheless, we expect Flemish pupils to express varying levels of ethnic prejudice toward ethnic minorities.

School Gender Composition

There is ample research that the gender context of schools is an important influence on the attitudes, behaviour, and academic performance of the pupils who attend them (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013; Kimmel, 2010; Mickelson, 2003; Van Houtte, 2004b). However, the research record about the effects of coeducational or single sex schools is contradictory and inconclusive (Lee & Bryk, 1996; Riordan, 1990). Still, Van Houtte (2004) reported that because of the gender-specific nature of study cultures, the greater presence of females in a school positively influences the school's overall study culture, which in turn, has a beneficial influence on males' achievement. Other research showed that pupils are less likely to misbehave in schools that have proportionally more female pupils and concluded that the numerically dominant group at school appeared to affect all students' study attitudes at school (Demanet et al., 2013). In her conception of group socialisation theory, Harris (1995) proposes that attitudes and behaviour held by the majority of the peer group spread to the rest of the group. Yet, at the same time boys are often found to dominate the classroom and monopolize the teachers' time (Warrington & Younger, 2000). Since the 1970s, it has been demonstrated repeatedly that in a coeducational setting teachers interact more

often with the boys, giving them more attention in general, both positive and negative (e.g., Francis, 2000; Warrington et al., 2000; Consuegra, Engels, & Willegems, 2016). Nevertheless, because adolescent females tend to be less ethnically prejudiced than their male counterparts (Coenders & Scheepers, 1998; Vervaet, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2018; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008), schools whose pupil bodies have larger proportions of women can be expected to be more likely to lean toward ethnic inclusiveness or anti-racist norms. This stronger ethnic prejudice in men, might be related to the fact that they also show to be more authoritarian (Fiske, 2000) and score higher on the social dominance orientation scale (Levy, Rosenthal, & Herrera-Alcazar, 2010), two personality traits that are related to prejudice. Authoritarians view outgroups as threatening and inferior, resulting in ethnic prejudice (De Witte, 1999; Fiske, 2000). People high in social dominance orientation wish their ingroup to dominate and be superior to outgroups. They tend to hold negative attitudes toward a variety of groups that pursue social equality, such as ethnic minorities (Whitley Jr., 1999). Such claims of superiority, or a kind of ‘ingroup’ favoritism, seem to be an important part of certain masculinity performances, and are usually directed against women and men deviating from what is defined as ‘acceptable’ masculinity (Sheriff, 2007). This can be easily understood, since masculinity is a relational construct, which only exists in contrast to femininity: Being ‘insufficiently’ masculine equals being ‘too feminine’ (Connell, 1995; Jackson & Dempster, 2009; Phipps, 2016). This subordination of others as part of hegemonic masculinity—that is a high status, dominant form of masculinity—stretches to racial and ethnic minorities too

(Connell, 1995). As Connell (1995: 80) puts it: “In a white-supremacist context, black masculinities play symbolic roles for white gender construction”.

Thus, we expect that females will be less ethnically prejudiced than males, and that, consequently, Flemish youth attending schools with higher proportions of females in the pupil body will exhibit lower levels of ethnic prejudice, net of other predictors—and vice versa.

Laddism and Laddish Pupil Culture

In Willis's classic ethnography, *Learning to Labour* (1977) readers are introduced to the lads: White working class male secondary pupils whose anti-academic culture represents their resistance to capitalist labour force reproduction through formal schooling, a system labelling them as failures. Willis (1977) describes the lads' counter-school culture as imbued with anti-academic, sexist, and racist attitudes and riddled with misbehaviours that include smoking, drinking, fighting, challenging school authority, devaluing mental labour, eschewing studying, and sabotaging teaching and learning in their classrooms. In school environments, especially in secondary education, an ‘uncool to work’ discourse is central to laddish constructions of masculinity (Jackson & Dempster, 2009; Phipps, 2016). As academic hard work is perceived as feminine, it needs to be avoided to remain popular (Jackson, 2002, 2003; Warrington et al., 2000). As masculinity is established in opposition to femininity (Connell, 1995), rejecting school can be seen as a way of rejecting femininity, and a signifier of masculinity (Lyng, 2009). Willis (1977) showed how this repudiation of what

is considered as feminine behaviour at school goes hand in hand with enacting a sense of superiority, not only towards girls by overt sexism, but also towards ethnic minority groups by overt racism. Since Willis (1977), a number of studies have confirmed that pupils' anti-school attitudes are related to racism or ethnic prejudice (Connolly, 1994; Goodey, 1997; Tillner, 2000). Therefore, we expect that to the extent that anti-school or laddish attitudes are held by pupils, the strength of the laddish attitudes will relate to their ethnic prejudice: The stronger the laddish attitudes, the higher the respondent's levels of ethnic prejudice.

While young women are more likely to conform to their family and school's behavioural norms than are adolescent males (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013; Mickelson, 1989, 2003), laddish anti-academic attitudes and accompanying misbehaviours in and out of school are not confined to contemporary adolescent males. In fact, several scholars have introduced the term "ladettes" to describe young women whose attitudes and behaviours challenge and undermine formal school and/or gender norms (Francis, 1999; Jackson, 2006; Jackson & Tinkler, 2007). Of course, this school rejection by girls can hardly be understood as rejecting femininity and performing masculinity. Girls' school rejection is more likely to be seen as a self-worth protection strategy in response to a school system based on competitive and hierarchical sorting of individuals (Jackson, 2002, 2006; Lyng, 2009). As scholars have described them, contemporary ladettes' attitudes and misbehaviours are resonant of Willis' lads as well as historical accounts of "troublesome" behaviours among young women

(Jackson & Tinkler, 2007). Nonetheless, we expect that Flemish males' will have stronger laddish attitudes than their female peers.

A given school can be characterized by several competing peer cultures representing different dimensions of pupils' realities at the school, including the track in which they study or their peer group's location in the school's status hierarchy (Milner, 2004). Prior research in Flanders (e.g., Van Houtte, 2004a; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2010; Vervaet, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2018) has shown that apart from and in relationship to individual pupil factors and school organizational features, secondary schools' culture can contribute to a host of academic and non-academic outcomes. Depending upon a school's curricular track and demographic composition, one dimension of Flemish secondary schools may be a laddish culture of varying strengths and distributions among pupils enrolled in the school. Thus, in addition to examining potential effects of individual pupils' laddish attitudes on their ethnic prejudice, we also investigate whether an overall laddish pupil culture operates as an additional school-level factor in shaping ethnic majority pupils' levels of ethnic prejudice. Specifically, we expect that Flemish youth attending schools with a more laddish pupil culture will exhibit higher levels of prejudice. More laddish cultures can be expected in schools with a numerical majority of boys, spreading to all pupils, boys and girls alike (cf. *supra*). Moreover, boys seem to attach more importance to their public image and how they are seen by the group, while girls consider interpersonal, intimate relationships more important (Davies, 1984; Francis, 1999; Warrington et al., 2000). Because boys' sensitivity to their image makes them more susceptible to peer pressure

(Vantieghem & Van Houtte, 2015) and to the prevailing culture (Van Houtte, 2004b), we expect the school's laddish pupil culture to have a stronger influence on boys' levels of ethnic prejudice than it has on girls' levels.

In sum, we hypothesize that pupils' ethnic prejudice is associated with the gender composition of the school and that this relation might be explained by the more laddish culture in schools with a higher proportion of boys. We expect a more laddish culture to be associated with higher levels of ethnic prejudice. Moreover, we expect this impact to be stronger for boys than for girls.

School Ethnic Composition, Tracking and Pupils' Individual Characteristics

Previous research shows that the ethnic composition of a school is related to pupils' ethnic prejudice, given that a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils in school is associated with reduced negative outgroup attitudes among ethnic majority pupils (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011; Vervaet, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2018). Decades of research about Contact Theory support Allport's theory (1954), suggesting that more intergroup contact is related to reduced ethnic prejudice. Zajonc's (1968) mere exposure hypothesis suggests that repeated exposure of majority members to ethnic minorities results in greater familiarity, which fosters more positive attitudes toward outgroup members. The mere presence of outgroup members (Tropp & Prenovost, 2008; Zebrowitz, White, & Wieneke, 2008), or simply a higher concentration of ethnic minorities in a social environment (Kalin, 1996), can reduce ethnic prejudice among majority group members.

Flemish secondary pupils are tracked into general (academic), arts, technical, and vocational curricular tracks. Pupils in vocational tracks appear to be more ethnically prejudiced than pupils from more academic education (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009; Vervaet, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2018). However, based on Allport's' Contact Theory (1954), we would expect that pupils in vocational track are less prejudiced, since ethnic minorities are overrepresented in vocational track. But because most of four Contact Theory's prior conditions are violated in Flemish vocational education, the Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Campbell, 1965), which relates prejudice to competition between groups over scarce resources, seems more appropriate to explain the stronger prevalence of ethnic prejudice in these lower status tracks in Flanders (Van Praag et al., 2015). It is also true that individuals with a lower educational level feel more threatened by ethnic minorities because both groups tend to compete for the same jobs (Quillian, 1995; Scheepers et al., 2002).

Prior research suggests there are several individual-level characteristics related to pupils' ethnic prejudice. People with higher incomes and levels of education (Coenders & Scheepers, 1998), and those who are friends with people from outgroup backgrounds are less prejudice toward ethnic minorities (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers 2004; Vervaet, Van Houtte, & Stevens, 2018; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008).

Methods

Data and Sample

This study used data taken from the Racism and Discrimination in Secondary Schools survey (RaDiSS 2) collected during the 2014-2015 school year. Pupils in their final year of secondary school (Grade 6) were asked to complete a written questionnaire in the presence of a researcher and one or more teachers. In order for the data to be linked to other information, such as academic performance provided by the schools, the pupil questionnaires were not anonymous. However, all the pupils were assured that their names would be removed once the database was complete and that teachers or school staff would not be allowed access to the completed questionnaires, making the final database confidential.

We used a multistage sampling frame in order to ensure sufficient variability among cases in terms of the level of urbanization of the school environment and pupils' ethnicity. First, we selected four large, multi-cultural Flemish districts for sampling (Antwerp, Ghent, Hasselt, and Sint-Niklaas). Second, we divided all the secondary schools in these areas into three locational categories: City center, suburban area, or rural area. The aim was to select two thirds of the schools from urban areas and one third from suburban and rural areas. Within these districts, we then selected one third of schools with a low proportion of ethnic minority pupils (less than 15 percent), one third with a medium proportion (between 15% and 49.9%), and one third with a high proportion (between 50% and 100%) (Flemish Educational Department, 2011). In total, we contacted 55 schools, out of which 45 were willing to participate,

a response rate of 82%. This high response rate is due to the fact that this was a follow-up research, so actually we re-contacted schools that participated already in research two years before. Of those in the sample, 26 schools were located in a city center, 12 in a suburban area, and 7 in a rural location. Fourteen schools had a low proportion of ethnic minorities, 15 a medium proportion, and 16 a high proportion. As a result, the participating schools cover the entire range of ethnic minority composition from 0% to 95% (see Table 27). In total, 3,371 out of a possible 4,107 pupils completed the questionnaire, a response rate of 82%. There was no selection bias in the sample because the only reasons pupils did not participate were absence due to illness or because their class was on a field trip. Because this study investigates predictors of ethnic majority pupils' prejudice against ethnic minority youth, only Flemish respondents were included in the final analytic sample of 2,250 pupils (66.8% of the 3,371 who completed the questionnaires).

Variables

Ethnic prejudice refers to a negative attitude toward ethnic outgroups (Quillian, 1995; De Witte, 1999). Because the majority of the ethnic minorities in Flanders come from Morocco, Turkey, and Eastern Europe (e.g., Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and Kosovo), negative attitudes toward these three groups were measured separately and then totalled across all groups to assess the overall level of ethnic prejudice among each Flemish pupil. Pupils responded to eighteen items assessing their attitudes toward an ethnic group using a 5-point Likert scale that ranged from absolutely disagree (= 1) to

completely agree (= 5). Two examples of the items are: “Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans do not contribute to the welfare of Belgium” and “Moroccans/Turks/Eastern Europeans are commonly unreliable” (De Witte, 1999). Missing values were imputed by item correlation substitution: A missing value for one item was replaced by the value of the item correlating most closely to it (Huisman, 2000). The scale was created by taking the mean scores for the 18 items, resulting in possible scores ranged from 1 to 5, with a higher value indicating greater ethnic prejudice. Cronbach’s alpha for the ethnic prejudice scale is .89 ($n = 2,250$; $M = 2.84$; $SD = .69$) (See Table 27).

Schools’ *gender composition* is a metric variable based on the proportion of females enrolled in the school. We obtained the percentage of females in each school by dividing the absolute number of female respondents in a school by the total number of respondents. The proportion of females in the schools ranged from 0 percent to 92 percent. The mean gender composition was .50 ($SD = .23$).

While *laddish pupil culture* has several dimensions, our operationalisation of it starts from individual’s anti-academic attitudes, since in secondary education anti-schoolishness is at the core of laddism (Jackson & Dempster, 2009; Phipps, 2016). The survey assessed respondents’ attitudes toward academic achievement, a theoretically foundational aspect of laddish culture. These respondents’ individual laddish academic attitudes (see description below) were aggregated to the school level. To accomplish this, we employed a common practice for aggregating individual attitudes to the school level. First, we used the index of “mean rater reliability” (Glick, 1985; Shrout & Fleiss,

1979), to ascertain whether anti-academic attitudes are shared by the pupils attending the same school. This index is based on the intra-class correlation (ICC) obtained by a one-way analysis of variance, which measures the degree of resemblance between micro units belonging to the same macro unit (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). The ICC is calculated by the formula

$$(Between\ Mean\ Square - Within\ Mean\ Square) / Between\ Mean\ Square$$

If the obtained value is greater than .60, we can state that laddish, anti-academic attitudes are shared by pupils from the same school, and that it is therefore legitimate to speak of a laddish pupil culture at the school level (see also Van Houtte, 2004a). We found an ICC of .72 ($F = 3.526$, $p < .001$), indicating that anti-academic attitudes are shared by pupils from the same school. We then calculated for each school the mean value of the attitude among individuals attending the same school (Van Houtte, 2004a; Hofstede et al., 1990). For the entire sample, laddish pupil culture has a mean of 1.85 ($SD = .15$. See Table 27). While the mean gives us an indication of the nature of the culture—more or less laddish—the standard deviation tells us how much agreement there is among the pupils in a particular school. The smaller the standard deviation, the more consensus there is among the pupils, and the stronger the culture is. A larger standard deviation indicates less coherence or more fragmentation. In this sample, we find a correlation of $r = .432$ ($p < .01$) between the degree of laddishness (mean) and the fragmentation (standard deviation), meaning that the more laddish a culture is, the less coherent or less strong it is.

The sample is almost equally divided regarding *gender* (female = 1), with 50.3 percent female respondents (Table 27).

The measure of *laddish attitudes* is based on respondents' self-assessment of nine attitudes toward academic achievement, that illustrate devaluing of public displays of academic achievement, like: "It's okay to get good results, as long as you don't work hard for it" and "I would not voluntarily answer a question in class because other pupils would then think I'm smart." Possible scores on each item ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with a higher value indicating stronger levels of laddish attitudes. The scale was created by taking the mean scores on the nine items, resulting in possible scores from 1 to 5, with a higher value indicating stronger laddish attitudes. Cronbach's alpha for the laddism academic attitude scale is .82 ($M = 1.85$; $SD = .55$, Table 27).

Pupils identified the occupations of their fathers and mothers, which served as indicators of their socioeconomic status (SES). The parents' occupations were coded using the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) (Ganzeboom, De Graaf, & Treiman, 1992), an index derived from the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). The highest ISEI score of both parents was selected as the indicator of the pupil's SES. The higher the ISEI score, the higher the SES. The lowest SES score is 16 and the highest is 90, with a mean score of 55.06 ($SD = 15.95$, Table 27).

Pupils were asked to indicate the educational track in which they were enrolled. The possible responses were academic, arts, technical, and vocational education. Pupils in

arts education were excluded due to their small numbers. We assigned ordinal codes to tracks consistent with their perceived rigor in order to permit descriptive statistical analyses (Table 27). We also created two dummy track variables, “Technical track” (31.7% of the sample) and “Vocational track” (23.6%). The Academic track (44.7%) served as the reference category for both of the track dummy variables (Table 27).

Pupils were asked how many of their friends were ethnic minorities: None (= 1), a few (= 2), half (= 3), most (= 4), and all (= 5). We created three dummy variables from the answers “a few non-native friends” (73.3 percent), the answer “half” (9.1%), and the answer “most or all” (5.8%), with “no ethnic minority friends” (11.7%) as the reference category (Table 27).

Ethnic minority composition at the school level is based on the proportion of total enrolled respondents who have an ethnic minority background. The ethnicity of the pupils was assessed primarily based upon the birthplace of the pupil’s maternal grandmother (OECD, 2008). As is common practice, and in line with the official Flemish definition of non-native groups, pupils were considered to be ethnic minorities if their maternal grandmother, their mother, or the pupils themselves had a birthplace other than Western European (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003). If these data were not available, mother’s birthplace was used. In the event that this information was also missing, the country of birth of the pupil was used. The average proportion of ethnic minority pupils in the sample of schools is .19 ($SD = .19$, Table 27).

Table 27. Descriptive statistics for dependent and independent variables: Frequencies (%), means, standard deviations (SD), and minimum and maximum values (n = 2,250)

	%	MEAN	SD	MIN.	MAX.
Outcome					
Ethnic prejudice		2.84	.69	1	5
Individual-level					
Gender					
Male	49.7				
Female	50.3				
Socioeconomic status		55.06	15.95	16	90
Track					
Academic education	44.7				
Technical education	31.7				
Vocational education	23.6				
Intergroup friendships					
None	11.7				
A few	73.3				
Half	9.1				
Most/all	5.8				
Laddish academic attitudes		1.85	.55	1	5
School-level					
Ethnic minority composition		.19	.19	.00	.95
Gender composition		.50	.23	.00	.92
Laddish pupil culture		1.85	.15	1	2

Analytic Procedures

To examine the possible influence of a school's gender composition and laddish pupil culture on Flemish pupils' propensity to hold prejudiced attitudes toward ethnic minorities, we started by analyzing the bivariate correlations at the school and the

pupil level, followed by stepwise multilevel regression analyses. Our two-level multilevel approach is appropriate given that we are dealing with a clustered sample of pupils nested within schools (MLwiN, 2.32, 2015). All metric variables were grand mean centered. In a first step we tested the association between schools' gender composition and pupils' ethnic prejudice, controlling for the school's ethnic composition, pupil's track level, and various sociodemographic characteristics that in prior research have been shown to predict an individual's level of ethnic prejudice. In the second model we added the school's laddish culture controlled for the pupil's laddish attitudes to ascertain the association between laddish culture and ethnic prejudice, and to examine whether laddish culture explains an eventual association between gender composition and ethnic prejudice. In the third model we added a cross-level interaction between gender and laddish culture to test whether laddish culture influences boys and girls differentially. Following this reasoning, in a last model we added an interaction between gender composition and laddish culture. If laddish culture has a different impact on boys and girls, then it might also be the case that its impact differs according to the gender composition of the school, with a stronger impact in schools with higher proportions of boys.

Results

The zero-order correlations among ethnic prejudice and pupil-level characteristics are in the expected direction, showing that males ($r = .089$; $p < .01$), those in non-academic tracks ($r = .226$; $p < .01$), and pupils with stronger laddish/anti-academic attitudes

($r = .177$; $p < .01$) have higher levels of prejudice. Flemish youth from a higher socioeconomic status ($r = -.104$; $p < .01$) and those with more intergroup friendships ($r = -.161$; $p < .01$) express lower levels of ethnic prejudice (See Table 28).

As anticipated, there is a significant, negative correlation ($r = -.415$; $p < .05$) between school gender composition and its laddish pupil culture: The more girls enrolled in a school the less laddish is its pupil culture (See Table 29).

Table 28. Bivariate (Pearson) correlations between dependent and independent variables ($n = 2,006$)

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Gender	1	.036	.050*	.04	.089**	.105**
2. Socioeconomic status		1	-.453**	-.142**	-.104**	-.017
3. Track			1	.225**	.226**	.01
4. Intergroup friendships				1	-.161**	-.026
5. Ethnic prejudice					1	.177**
6. Laddish attitudes						1

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 29. Bivariate (Pearson) correlations between dependent and independent variables ($n = 48$)

Measure	1	2	3
1. Gender composition	1	-.049*	-.415***
2. Ethnic school composition		1	-.120**
3. Laddish pupil culture			1

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The null model revealed that 20.47% ($p < .001$) of the variance in ethnic prejudice is situated between schools. The first model in the multilevel analysis showed that, as expected, a greater proportion female pupils in a school is negatively associated with ethnic prejudice (Table 30, Model 1). However, this association appeared as only borderline significant. When taking into account laddish culture and laddish attitudes in the second model, the impact of gender composition turns non-significant, whereas laddish pupil culture in itself is not significantly associated with ethnic prejudice. Having laddish attitudes showed a significant, positive association with ethnic prejudice: Pupils displaying more laddish attitudes are also likely to manifest more ethnic prejudice (Table 30, Model 2).

The cross-level interaction between gender and laddish culture added in the third model confirmed the expectation that laddish culture has more impact on boys than it has on girls. Even more, given the non-significance of the main effect of laddish culture, we can say that while laddish culture is not significantly associated with girls' ethnic prejudice, it does influence boys' levels of ethnic prejudice significantly. The interaction at the school level between gender composition and laddish culture appeared non-significant. Next to the significant, positive association between laddish attitudes and ethnic prejudice, and the significant interaction between gender and laddish culture, the final model revealed a significant negative effect of ethnic school composition—the more ethnic minorities at school, the less ethnic prejudice found among Flemish pupils. Furthermore, we found a significant positive effect of gender—boys are more prejudiced than girls—of being enrolled in a technical or vocational track versus an

academic track, and significantly lower levels of prejudice among pupils with a few, half or most friends from an ethnic minority compared to those with no friends with an ethnic minority background (Table 30, Model 4).

Table 30. Ethnic prejudice of native pupils. Results of stepwise multilevel analysis, standard errors between parentheses (n = 2,250, groups = 48)

Parameter	MODEL 1	MODEL 2	MODEL 3	MODEL 4
School level				
Gender composition	-.275+ (.142)	-.194 (.151)	-.172 (.146)	-.173 (.146)
Ethnic composition	-.377* (.150)	-.372* (.146)	-.341* (.143)	-.315* (.144)
Laddish culture		.122 (.215)	-.354 (.238)	-.380 (.238)
Gender composition* Laddish culture				-1.103 (.712)
Individual level				
Gender (<i>ref: Girl</i>)	.074* (.029)	.058* (.029)	.068* (.029)	.066* (.029)
Gender * Laddish culture			.863*** (.202)	.768*** (.211)
Socioeconomic status	-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)
Technical track (<i>ref: Academic track</i>)	.263*** (.047)	.283*** (.047)	.279*** (.047)	.270*** (.047)
Vocational track (<i>ref: Academic track</i>)	.512*** (.052)	.499*** (.051)	.487*** (.051)	.473*** (.052)
A few non-native friends (<i>ref: None</i>)	-.230*** (.042)	-.224*** (.042)	-.229*** (.042)	-.228*** (.042)
Half non-native friends (<i>ref: None</i>)	-.462*** (.061)	-.461*** (.060)	-.469*** (.060)	-.467*** (.060)
Most/all non-native friends (<i>ref: None</i>)	-.474*** (.071)	-.464*** (.071)	-.471*** (.070)	-.467*** (.070)
Laddish attitudes		.177*** (.025)	.177*** (.025)	.178*** (.025)
Constant	2.814*** (.060)	2.819*** (.059)	2.806*** (.058)	2.791*** (.059)
Individual-level variance	.380 (.011)	.372 (.011)	.369 (.011)	.369 (.011)

Note. The centered coefficients are presented, with standard errors shown in parentheses.

+p < .1, *p < .05, **p < .01, *** p < .001

To unravel the cross-level interaction and grasp the differences between girls and boys, we conducted separate analyses by gender (Table 31). The analysis for boys revealed a significant, negative association between gender composition and boys' ethnic prejudice, which held when controlling for laddish culture and laddish attitudes. Boys display lower levels of ethnic prejudice in schools with more girls enrolled. The analysis confirmed a (borderline) significant and positive association between laddish culture and boys' ethnic prejudice. As for girls, no significant association was found between gender composition nor laddish culture and ethnic prejudice. However, the interaction between gender composition and laddish culture proved to be significant, indicating a lower impact of laddish culture the greater the proportion of girls in a school. Stated otherwise, the more boys there are in school, the stronger the influence of laddish culture is for girls.

The remaining results were similar for boys and girls: Higher levels of ethnic prejudice in schools with lower proportions of ethnic minority pupils, and among youth who are enrolled in a technical or vocational track versus an academic track, and if they indicate none of their friends are from an ethnic minority background. Boys and girls with stronger laddish attitudes display higher levels of ethnic prejudice (Table 31).

Table 31. School gender composition, laddish culture and ethnic prejudice for boys and girls. Results multilevel analyses.

Parameter	BOYS	GIRLS
School level		
Gender composition	-.412* (.168)	.191 (.208)
Ethnic composition	-.387* (.175)	-.343* (.167)
Laddish culture	.479+ (.253)	-.191 (.251)
Gender composition*	.095	-2.187*
Laddish culture	(.864)	(.980)
Individual level		
Socioeconomic status	-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)
Technical track (ref: Academic track)	.228*** (.069)	.288*** (.059)
Vocational track (ref: Academic track)	.423*** (.080)	.526*** (.062)
A few non-native friends (ref: None)	-.274*** (.068)	-.227*** (.051)
Half non-native friends (ref: None)	-.542*** (.090)	-.405*** (.081)
Most/all non-native friends (ref: None)	-.462*** (.110)	-.498*** (.091)
Laddish attitudes	.237*** (.035)	.108** (.034)
Constant	2.983*** (.083)	2.760*** (.064)
Individual-level variance	.396 (.017)	.326 (.014)

Note. The centered coefficients are presented, with standard errors shown in parentheses.

+p < .1, *p < .05, **p < .01, *** p < .001

Discussion

Worldwide migration has resulted in increasing ethnic diverse societies. As a result, outgroup attitudes of the majority group against ethnic minorities received growing attention. Although ethnic prejudice has been well researched, only a few studies have focused on the determinants of ethnic prejudice, and these have usually restricted their attention to individual-level predictors (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008). The current study is unique in exploring the association between school gender composition, laddish culture, levels of laddish attitudes and ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils. First, we aimed to examine the association between gender composition and ethnic prejudice. Second, we wanted to explore the role of a laddish pupil culture and laddish attitudes, and their interaction with gender.

This study shows that in general a greater proportion of female pupils in a school is negatively associated with ethnic prejudice, but this association disappears when taking into account the laddish culture of the school and pupils' laddish attitudes. In line with previous studies demonstrating that pupils' laddish attitudes are related to racist attitudes and behaviour (e.g., Connolly, 1994; Willis, 1977), we find for boys as well as girls, that higher levels of anti-academic, that is laddish attitudes, coincide with higher levels of ethnic prejudice, and boys manifest more laddish attitudes than do girls. However, only boys' ethnic prejudice is associated with their school's laddish culture: The more laddish the pupil culture is, the more ethnic prejudiced boys tend to be, irrespective of their own laddish attitudes. This finding is in line with previous

findings that boys seem to attach more importance to their public image (Davies, 1984; Francis, 1999; Warrington et al., 2000), which makes them more susceptible to the prevailing culture (Van Houtte, 2004b), in this case the laddish school culture. As for girls, laddish school culture influences their ethnic prejudice only in schools with higher proportions of boys, which might indicate that the greater the presence of boys, the greater the pressure for girls to comply with the prevailing laddish culture—at least with respect to ethnic prejudice. It might be interesting for future research to investigate whether this also holds for other, more academic, attitudes. The fact that especially boys' anti-academic attitudes relate to ethnic prejudice and that boys are more prone to laddish culture, could lead one to see these components of laddism primarily as means of performing masculinity. However, it should be noted that girls are not immune from laddism either (see also Jackson, 2006). Girls' anti-academic attitudes and ethnic prejudice also coincide, and under certain circumstances—namely in the presence of a greater proportion of boys—girls seem influenced by laddish culture, too. Future research should also try to take into account the coherence or strength of the culture. In present research a higher extent of laddishness coincides with less coherence, meaning that more laddish cultures are less strong. It might be expected that the impact of laddish culture depends upon the strength of it. It could be interesting too to identify extreme outliers within a school who presumably dominate peers.

Our findings not only highlight the need for more research including macro factors, individual variables, and their interdependence in explaining ethnic prejudice

(Bar-Tal, 1997; Stevens & Görgöz, 2010), they also suggest to look beyond rather obvious features, like schools' ethnic composition. This study shows that, in order to increase the theoretical understanding of the development of ethnic prejudice, it is important to take into account less likely features such as gender composition or laddish culture. Findings also point to the need for investigating possible differential associations, for example along gender lines. Present findings not only suggest that boys and girls respond differently to school features like gender composition or laddish culture, but also that the context might determine to which extent boys and girls develop ethnic prejudices. So, on average boys might display higher levels of ethnic prejudice than do girls, but among boys differences can be found according to the context they are in.

Hence, this study also adds to gender research. Recently scholars have paid more attention to how gender differences might be nuanced by disaggregating gender gaps along race, social class, levels of assessment and so on—the issue of intersectionality (Gorard, Rees, & Salisbury, 2001; Morris, 2012). However, remarkably little research deals with the context in which boys and girls form their attitudes and behaviour, such as the school (Legewie & DiPrete, 2012; Van Houtte, 2017). More research is needed to understand why boys' ethnic prejudice is influenced by the gender composition of the school independently from the laddish culture and their laddish attitudes while girls' is not.

This study has some limitations. First, it uses cross-sectional data, so causality cannot be determined in the relationship between gender composition, a laddish pupil culture

and pupils' levels of ethnic prejudice. Flemish education involves family choice of secondary schools, thus introducing the possibility of a selection effect at the level of the school. Pupils who are more ethnic prejudiced may be more likely to select schools with a specific composition or culture. Longitudinal research that allows an examination of how ethnic prejudice evolves during the course of secondary education could shed a light on this. Furthermore, ethnic prejudice refers to a negative attitude towards Moroccans, Turks, and Eastern Europeans, but research shows that ethnic prejudice may vary depending on the specific nationality of ethnic minorities, and is related to the immigration history of the ethnic group (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Kalin, 1996). Studies show a discrepancy between overt and covert discrimination (Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980) and implicit and explicit prejudice (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994). Given that the scale we used to measure pupils' ethnic prejudice may be sensitive to socially desirable answers, a more implicit measure of ethnic prejudice could be more reliable (Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014). Finally, this study only takes the attitudinal component of laddism into account. We look at anti-academic attitudes and ethnic prejudice but not other dimensions, such as laddish behaviour. Further research could explore other (behavioural) components of laddism such as defiance of educators, violence, or sexism.

Reducing ethnic prejudice is high on the current reform agenda of policy makers. Research about the influence of school contexts is pivotal in this light because educators and policy makers can manipulate school features more readily than they can alter pupils' characteristics (Marcoulides, Heck, & Papanastasiou, 2005;

Mickelson, 2014; Mickelson et al., 2013). Certainly, the results of present study suggest that it might be fruitful to focus on macro-level factors, such as tackling laddish cultures at school in order to reduce ethnic prejudice, rather than on individual behaviours. In doing so, other adverse dimensions of laddish culture, such as anti-academic attitudes, are likely to be addressed at the same time. Laddish attitudes, behaviours and cultures cannot be understood independently from gaining social status, being popular and cool (cf. Jackson, 2006; Willis, 1977), and to undermine them, it is important to develop a good understanding of what laddish culture entails and, above all, what are its origins and in which contexts laddish cultures flourish. By doing so, this study contributes to the broader project of understanding the contributions of school organizational features to variations in ethnic prejudice among adolescents.

7. General conclusion and discussion

As a result of worldwide migration and increasing diversity, it is particularly timely and important to make progress toward understanding and reducing ethnic prejudice. The development of Western countries—and particularly large, urban areas—into multi-ethnic societies has resulted in an increasing number of ethnically diverse schools (Brief et al., 2005; Desmedt & Nicaise, 2006), and studies focusing on ethnic prejudice. However, research in this area tends to focus on the undesirable consequences for minorities of experiencing ethnic prejudice (Sierens et al., 2006; Timmerman, Hermans, & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Experiencing ethnic prejudice is related to having increased problems with externalizing behavior, depression, and substance abuse (Bynum, Burton, & Best, 2007; Gibbons et al., 2004; Sellers et al., 2006). It negatively affects the psychological functioning and mental health of children and adults (Karlson & Nazroo, 2002; Murry et al., 2001). The experience of ethnic prejudice can cause stress (Pearlin, 1989), which may also result in reduced well-being (Ayyash-Abdo & Sánchez-Ruiz, 2012), and poorer health (Karlson & Nazroo, 2002). Ethnic minorities' achievements can also decrease, because they have to expend energy on managing stress related to their ethnicity (Samdal, Wold, & Bronis, 1999). They may internalize the prejudiced attitudes of majorities toward them, causing worse socio-emotional functioning (Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). More recently, within the context of terrorism and radicalization, research has shown that ethnic minority youths can react to ethnic prejudice through involvement in antisocial activities, such as becoming radicalized (Bhui, Warfa, & Jones,

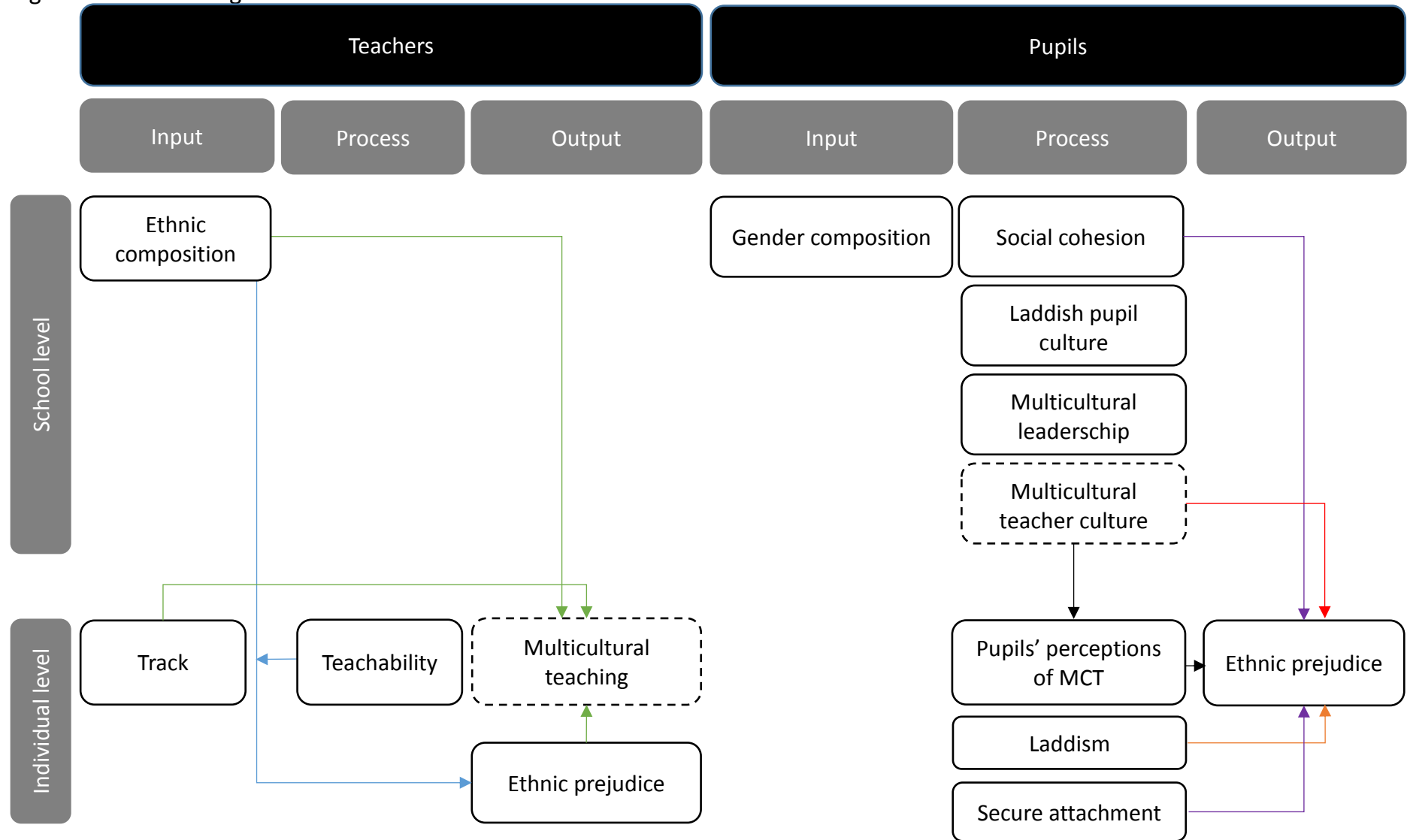
2014; Brondolo et al., 2009). This range of negative consequences emphasizes the need for research into the determinants of ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority pupils. By examining the determinants of ethnic prejudice, the aim is to approach this topic more positively. “Integration” is seen as an interactive process, in which both minorities and majorities need to take their responsibility (Loobuyck & Jacobs, 2009). In contrast to deficit thinking—that is, blaming ethnic minorities and their communities as being the cause of their social disadvantages—majorities can take their responsibility with regard to the integration of minorities, by for example reducing their own ethnic prejudice.

According to this more positive approach, it is important to examine the determinants that are transmutable, instead of focusing on individual-level predictors (Coenders, Lubbers, & Scheepers, 2004; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2008), which are hard to change. This is why a sociological approach to ethnic prejudice is crucial, taking into consideration the role of the social context, social relationships, social interaction, and culture.

The school context is relevant for research into ethnic prejudice, because ethnic prejudice exists at schools, and the school can influence majority pupils’ ethnic prejudice. Schools are formal organizations, where not only formal, but also informal socialization takes place through different agents, such as school leaders, teachers, and peers (Clycq, 2006; Pandit, 2009; Vranken & Henderickx, 1997). Because the school is often the only place where ethnic majority pupils can develop respect for ethnic minorities (Luciak, 2006), teachers and schools play an even greater role in the

socialization of children when a society becomes more diverse (Giroux & Penna, 1979; Parsons, 1959; Smelser & Halpern, 1978). Therefore, the school is a relevant context for examining ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority adolescents.

Figure 4. Main findings of this dissertation



Note. Only the supported hypotheses are shown: Chapter 6.1, Chapter 6.2, Chapter 6.3, Chapter 6.4, Chapter 6.5, Chapter 6.6

7.1. Main findings

Secure attachment and majority pupils' ethnic prejudice

Every individual wants to be accepted by the members of the (normative) reference group (Kemper, 1968; Shibutani, 1955; Van Houtte, 2004b); that is, people, collectivities, or groups, that set norms and values to explicitly guide the individual. Individuals will take up these norms and values when they feel a secure attachment to these significant others—such as parents, teachers, and peers—who socialize them and thus may influence their (prejudiced) attitudes.

Therefore, taking into consideration Bowlby's (1969) attachment theory, in the first chapter, the role of the individual feeling of attachment to some of the most important agents of socialization for adolescents is examined: parents, peers, teachers and the school more generally. Moreover, social cohesion—that is, a shared sense of belonging to school among pupils within the same school—is taken into account. It is found that the individual feeling of being securely attached is associated with lower levels of ethnic prejudice: Flemish pupils who feel supported by their parents, teachers and/or school, are less ethnically prejudiced. This is in line with previous findings, suggesting that the feeling of secure attachment is related to tolerance, openness, empathy and other outcomes related to ethnic prejudice (Mikulines & Shaver, 2001, 2005). Moreover, social cohesion is related to lower levels of ethnic prejudice among Flemish students. The evidence leads to the conclusion that schools, teachers, and peers play a role in influencing ethnic majority pupils' prejudice (Chapter 6.1).

This dissertation contributes to existing research into (the determinants of) ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority pupils, because it combines psychological, social psychological, and sociological theories and concepts—such as secure attachment, intergroup contact, and track allocation—instead of focusing on one discipline. Only a few studies on the determinants of ethnic prejudice examine the influence of contextual characteristics on the degree of ethnic prejudice among ethnic majorities. Moreover, contexts in which children have direct contact, such as school, are often neglected.

This dissertation also contributes to School Effects Research (SER), by investigating factors within schools that might affect the (learning) outcomes of students (Reynolds et al., 2014; Lipsitz & West, 2006; Sellström & Bremberg, 2006). In studying the importance of schools, the aim is to investigate the previously unexplored aspects of the schooling process and examine this context in greater detail (Luyten, Visscher, & Witziers, 2005). Within the school context, the central focus is on the school culture and the social system, both sub-dimensions of the broad term "school climate" (Hoy, 1990; Tagiuri, 1968). Focusing on these sub-dimensions will result in more specific findings and more concrete policy implications (Van Houtte, 2005; Van Houtte & Van Maele, 2011), and social relations and belief systems in school (Hoy, 1990; Van Houtte, 2005) are easier to change compared with the environment and the ecology of a school (Van Houtte, 2005). The need for SER to have an increased focus on non-academic output results, in this case ethnic prejudice, is still very great (Reynolds et al., 2014). Because the experience of ethnic prejudice may be related to

minority pupils' achievements (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2002; Hermans, 2004; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008), more typical approaches to SER may be inspired by the findings.

Building on the finding that secure attachment to school and teachers is related to ethnic prejudice among majority pupils, it is studied in greater detail why schools and teachers are important and how they influence ethnic prejudice among majority pupils. As a response to the critics of a first wave of SER studies, attention is paid to the underlying process variables (such as leadership and teachers' characteristics), between-school features (such as ethnic composition), and ethnic prejudice among majority pupils.

School leadership, teachers, peers, and majority pupils' ethnic prejudice

Both school leaders and teachers can influence majority pupils' degree of ethnic prejudice, through the school policy or their pedagogical practices. However, it is found that in the Flemish context, multicultural leadership is not related to majority pupils' ethnic prejudice or to teachers' multicultural practices, although teachers' multicultural practices seem to be associated with Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice. Flemish pupils seem to be less ethnically prejudiced when teachers use more examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures in their subject area (Chapter 6.2). This is in line with previous findings, showing that multicultural education improves democratic attitudes (Banks, 2009), intergroup relations, and outgroup attitudes among majority pupils (Agirdag, Merry, & Van Houtte, 2016; Stephan & Vogt, 2004; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Zirkel, 2008). To the best of our knowledge, the association

between multicultural teaching (MCT) and ethnic prejudice among majority pupils has rarely been examined in previous research (for an exception, see Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). To date, MCT has mainly been implemented in schools with a large proportion of ethnic minority pupils, whereas the findings in this dissertation show that MCT is also important in schools with a large proportion of ethnic majority pupils, because MCT can reduce their degree of ethnic prejudice (Leman, 2002).

A more multicultural teacher culture in schools is associated with reduced ethnic prejudice among Flemish pupils, and this association is mediated by pupils' perceptions of multicultural teaching (Chapter 6.3). This finding shows that it is not what teachers claim they do in terms of multicultural teaching, but pupils' perceptions of what their teachers do in practice that matters to the greatest extent with regard to reducing prejudice among pupils. Most of the existing SER focuses on objective input or output variables, such as school composition and grades. However, it is found that data concerning different school actors needs to be taken into account, as the assessments of teachers and pupils concerning particular classroom practices, such as MCT, may differ. It is an innovative finding that multicultural teaching is both directly (Chapter 6.2) and indirectly (through pupils' perceptions of the multicultural practices of their teachers: Chapter 6.3) related to Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice. To the best of our knowledge, the only previous research that includes both pupils' and teachers' assessments of MCT was carried out in primary education and at the classroom level (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). Taking into consideration data for both pupils and teachers in studying the influence of MCT is unique (Van Houtte, 2011).

In addition to socialization through MCT, majority teachers might implicitly transmit their (prejudiced) attitudes to their majority pupils. Therefore, the determinants of teachers' ethnic prejudice are examined. Research into the effects of school features on teachers' outcomes in the tradition of SER is scarce. The student composition of a school, including ethnic composition, has rarely been related to teachers' attitudes and beliefs (Van Houtte, 2011). However, the ethnic background of students might influence teachers' perceptions and judgments of their pupils, and accordingly the way teachers interact with them (Stevens, 2005). Moreover, examining teachers' prejudiced attitudes is innovative, because the focus of research has only recently shifted from the unidirectional emphasis on correlates of teachers' behavior and students' achievement, to a focus on the beliefs and attitudes of teachers (Fang, 1996). It is found that Flemish teachers in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils are only likely to be less ethnically prejudiced if they evaluate their pupils as more teachable. This is in contrast with Zajonc's Mere Exposure Hypothesis (1968), and can in part be explained by the fact that teachers and pupils do not fulfill Allport's (1954) conditions for optimal intergroup contact, and friendship between minority pupils and teachers rarely occurs (Pettigrew, 1998). With regard to ethnic prejudice among majority teachers, teachability may be a necessary condition; having a moderating effect on the relationship between intergroup contact and majority teachers' ethnic prejudice. When teachers evaluate their pupils as more teachable—meaning that teachers have more positive ideas about the ability of their pupils to meet educational expectations (Kornblau, 1982; Van Houtte, 2002)—teachers and

pupils may in some ways pursue common goals, such as to succeed at the end of the school year, and may cooperate to achieve these goals. At the same time, the findings here contrast with both Allport's (1954) assumptions about the relationship between antipathy, stereotypes, and prejudice, and cognitive theories: all of which assume that stereotypes automatically result in prejudice. The findings may indicate that stereotypes can be changed by positive intergroup contacts between majority teachers and minority pupils. These positive intergroup contacts may result in more positive evaluations and expectations from teachers toward minorities, and thus reduce majority teachers' ethnic prejudice. Moreover, the research might inspire SER, because it emphasizes the importance of including underlying processes, such as teachability. The ethnic school composition would not be related to ethnic prejudice if teachability was not included. The combination of (social) psychological and sociological determinants emphasizes the complex character of ethnic prejudice and the relevance of interdisciplinary research (Chapter 6.4).

The next step was to examine whether the degree of teachers' ethnic prejudice is related to their teaching practices, more specifically, the extent of their multicultural teaching (MCT). Previous research has examined the association between teachers' beliefs and practices, but the findings are inconsistent (Fang, 1996). According to the consistency hypothesis, teachers' personal beliefs, such as their beliefs about education and teaching, affect their behavior in the classroom (Mangano & Allen, 1986). By contrast, the inconsistency hypothesis states that teachers' beliefs are influenced by contextual factors, and therefore teachers' beliefs and behavior may be

inconsistent (Konopak, Wilson, & Readence, 1993). Other research shows that there is some consistency between teachers' beliefs and practices, but that the relationship is not strong overall (Duffy & Anderson, 1984). However, this refers mostly to educational beliefs, for example teachers' beliefs about writing or mathematics (Stipek et al, 2001). It is found that ethnically prejudiced teachers implement less MCT. This confirms the consistency hypothesis regarding teachers' beliefs and practices (Fang, 1996), and is in line with previous research showing that teachers' beliefs and perceptions of minority students influence their pedagogical practices in the classroom (Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999). Therefore, influencing teachers' (prejudiced) beliefs may be essential in order to change their (multicultural) pedagogical practices (Stipek et al, 2001). These findings contribute to SER, because both the formal and the informal character of socialization are confirmed. Majority pupils' ethnic prejudice is influenced in a formal way through MCT. Informally, teachers' ethnically prejudiced attitudes or beliefs may be transferred through their multicultural practices in the classroom. With regard to other determinants of MCT, it is found that teachers in schools with a greater proportion of ethnic minority pupils and teachers in vocational education implement more MCT. Teachers in such schools and tracks will have more opportunities to interact with ethnic minorities and will have more cross-cultural experiences, resulting in greater multicultural sensitivity and beliefs (Garmon, 2004; Gay, 2010; Marshall, 1996), and thus will implement more MCT. The associations between track and MCT, and between school composition and MCT are not found to be mediated by teachers' degree of ethnic prejudice. This can in part be explained by the findings in Chapter 6.4, showing

that ethnic school composition is only related to teachers' ethnic prejudice when teachability is taken into account. Furthermore, teachers in vocational tracks pay more attention to conformism and discipline, which may be related to higher instead of lower degrees of ethnic prejudice (De Witte, 1999) (Chapter 6.5).

Because the majority of studies into ethnic prejudice take into account relatively obvious school features, such as ethnic composition, the aim of the last chapter is to show that less obvious school characteristics, such as gender composition, are also important to consider with regard to majority pupils' ethnic prejudice. Moreover, the role of peers is included, by considering the importance of certain pupil cultures in school. It is examined whether the gender composition of schools, the extent to which the school has a "laddish" culture, and pupils' levels of laddish attitudes, all influence the level of ethnic prejudice among majority pupils. The findings are that pupils displaying more laddish attitudes are likely to manifest more ethnic prejudice. Moreover, boys' levels of ethnic prejudice are associated with the gender composition and the laddish culture of their school, while girls' ethnic prejudice is more likely to be influenced by the laddish culture of the school when the proportion of male pupils in the school is higher. These findings emphasize the need for and relevance of including other, less apparently logical, school features, such as gender composition. Other structural or compositional school features may be related to other specific school cultures, which may affect diverse groups of pupils in different ways (Chapter 6.6).

In sum, these findings show the importance of the school context in examining ethnic prejudice among majority pupils. Because the focus is on the school context, the role

of different school and socialization actors—such as school leaders, teachers, and peers—can be analyzed. Teachers and peers influence majority pupils’ ethnic prejudice, both in a formal and informal way. Particular pupil and teacher cultures (such as a laddish pupil culture and multicultural teacher culture) and teachers’ beliefs (such as their degree of ethnic prejudice) seem to be related to ethnic prejudice among majority pupils. Therefore, it can be concluded that with regard to pupils’ ethnic prejudice, the school constitutes an important context of socialization, with teachers and peers as relevant socialization agents. The findings confirm the influence of (normative) reference groups on pupils, which is also true when individuals do not belong to that group (Merton & Kitt, 1950), such as teachers and non-native peers.

7.2. Limitations and directions for further research

Notwithstanding the theoretical relevance of the findings, this dissertation has some limitations, leading to suggestions for further research into ethnic prejudice.

Socialization in schools

The main focus of this dissertation is on the process of socialization occurring in the school context. The role of parents is only briefly mentioned in the article focusing on secure attachment and ethnic prejudice (Chapter 6.1). However, parents can be ethnically prejudiced and might transfer their prejudiced attitudes to their children. When pupils feel a stronger attachment to their parents, and their parents are ethnically prejudiced, pupils’ ethnic prejudices may be higher than they would be if

their parents were not prejudiced. Not only the connection as such, but also the strength of the connection, and the content of what is socialized—in this case ethnic prejudices—may be relevant to consider in further research.

In addition to parents and school, the importance of tertiary socialization with regard to ethnic prejudice among majority pupils need to be recognized, including the role of (social) media and political parties, as previous research confirms the role of these socialization agents regarding ethnic prejudice (Bar-Tal, 1997; Cambré, De Witte, & Billiet, 2001; Hooghe & De Vroome, 2015; Phalet, Baysu, & Van Acker, 2015). Far-right political parties and sensation-seeking media may influence the whole population, not only individuals already holding negative outgroup attitudes, by providing a discourse stressing ingroup threat, and may therefore be more harmful than generally assumed (Meeus et al., 2009). Moreover, the success and power of political parties may be important regarding the future of multiculturalism (Bousetta & Jacobs, 2006; Jacobs, 2004). Because of the importance of media and the power of political parties regarding ethnic prejudice among majority pupils, further research could investigate this association in greater detail.

In this dissertation, the focus is on socialization in the school context, because focusing on one specific context can result in more detailed findings and policy implications. Even when focusing on the school context, ethnic prejudice seems to be a somewhat complex phenomenon, since determinants on different levels within the school context and underlying processes seem to be important. It is found that both (social) psychological and sociological determinants—such as the feeling of secure attachment,

intergroup contact, and structural school composition features—are related to majority pupils’ ethnic prejudice. Therefore, interdisciplinary research on ethnic prejudice is necessary.

Further research could examine the association between other composition features, such as the composition of teachers, combined with other individual characteristics, such as authoritarian beliefs and social dominance. Males seem to be more authoritarian (Fiske, 2000), and individuals with more authoritarian beliefs seem to be more ethnically prejudiced (De Witte, 1999; Elchardus & Siongers, 2003; Fiske, 2000; Van Hiel, 2016). As a result, the gender composition of teachers may be related to a certain degree of (shared) authoritarian beliefs in school, resulting in “authoritarian teacher cultures,” which could increase the ethnic prejudice of majority pupils.

Data

The studies are all based on cross-sectional data, so causality cannot be determined in the relationship between the different school features and pupils’ ethnic prejudice. However, the absence of a longitudinal design is somewhat mitigated by working with students in the sixth year of secondary education, since it can be assumed that their (outgroup) attitudes have already been stabilized (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Whitebread, 2011). Nevertheless, it is possible that more-prejudiced pupils will be less likely to go to schools that are characterized by social cohesion, or those in which teachers pay more attention to other cultures. Similarly, ethnically prejudiced majority teachers may be less likely to work in a school with many minority pupils, and ethnically

prejudiced majority pupils may have fewer non-native friends. Longitudinal research could create clarity regarding these cross-sectional relationships.

The data used in this dissertation was collected in secondary schools in Flanders. Within these Flemish schools, a multistage sampling frame was used in order to ensure sufficient variability and cases in terms of the level of urbanization of the school environment and pupils' ethnicity. Therefore, the results should not be generalized to Flanders or Belgium as a whole. Further research could select a representative sample of schools in Flanders or Belgium. However, the latter will be a challenge for different reasons. First, the different linguistic communities and regions have different educational practices, organization of education, and educational policies (Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014). Second, data collected in the official "students' file" in the French community in the Walloon region and Brussels (FWB) does not mention ethnicity or even nationality, and only includes socioeconomic characteristics. This can in part be explained because in FWB, the socioeconomic background is the most determining factor in explaining educational achievement. Third, FWB is more reluctant to use ethnicity concepts, because ethnicity issues are more politically taboo compared with Flanders (Van Praag, Verhoeven, Stevens, & Van Houtte, forthcoming). However, these differences suggest that distinct discourses on ethnicity in different communities might be reflected in school practices and policies, which is important to consider for further research examining ethnicity-related issues in other contexts.

Measurements

In terms of operationalization, a number of choices limit the scope of the analyses. Ethnicity in this dissertation is measured by the country of birth of the respondents. Pupils are considered as “ethnic minorities” if their maternal grandmother, mother, or the pupil him or herself had a birthplace other than Western European (Timmerman, Vanderwaeren, & Crul, 2003). However, according to ethnicity theories, ethnicity can also include other aspects, such as religion, history, and language. According to Wimmer (2013), ethnic majorities use markers of differentiation, such as race, language, culture, religion, or nationality—depending on the specific context and situation—to distinguish between ethnic majorities and minorities. More specific measurements other than general ethnic prejudice, such as Islamophobia, may be relevant to examine, since Muslim pupils are the largest ethnic minority group in Flanders and are considered problematic because of their attachment to Islam (Agirdag et al., 2016; Phalet, Baysu, & Van Acker, 2015). The use of too comprehensive and/or insufficiently valid measurements of ethnicity may in part explain the existence of contrasting findings on the association between positive ingroup and negative outgroup attitudes among Flemish majorities. Although some research shows that a positive attitude to the ingroup is not related to a negative attitude to the outgroup (Elchardus & Siongers, 2009), other studies find that the two attitudes are related (Meeus et al., 2009).

Because the negative component of ethnocentrism is thought to be the most problematic component (Aboud, 1988; Billiet & De Witte, 1995; Elchardus & Siongers,

2009), the focus in this dissertation is on the negative attitude among ethnic majorities to “the” ethnic minority pupils, including Turks, Moroccans, and East Europeans. However, ethnic prejudice can vary depending on the nationality of ethnic minorities, related to the immigration history of a country (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Kalin, 1996), ethnic minorities’ living conditions, generations, and social and ethnic capital (Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014). In the research here, Turks, Moroccans, and East Europeans are taken together, because (1) this is in line with previous research measuring the attitudes among majorities toward “migrants” in general (Billiet et al., 2017); (2) outgroup attitudes toward one ethnic minority can be generalized to the entire outgroup, outgroup members in other situations, and even outgroups not involved in the contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Rhodes, Halberstadt, & Brajkovich, 2001); and (3) the dissertation focuses on the determinants of ethnic prejudice among majority pupils toward minorities, irrespective of the variability in ethnicity of the minorities involved. Further research could compare ethnic prejudice toward specific outgroups by using more large-scale datasets, so that ethnic minority groups can be refined. In a multicultural society such as Flanders, it may also be relevant to study the ethnic prejudice of minorities toward ethnic majorities, or reciprocal ethnic prejudice; that is, prejudice among different minorities (Van Hiel, 2016).

The scale used to measure ethnic prejudice may be sensitive to socially desirable answers, since the items explicitly refer to prejudiced attitudes. Therefore, further research could use a more implicit measurement of ethnic prejudice (Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014), such as the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee, &

Schwartz, 1998). Studies show a discrepancy between implicit and explicit prejudice, since they may not be consistent (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994), they may influence behavior in different ways, and they commonly diverge for socially sensitive issues (Dovidio & Fazio, 1992; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Explicit outgroup attitudes predict more deliberative behavior compared with implicit prejudice, which predicts more spontaneous, nonverbal behavior (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Therefore, further research could combine and compare the outcomes of both implicit and explicit prejudice. However, in Flanders—as in many other European countries—pervasive public prejudice against minorities still occurs (Baysu & Phalet, 2012), emphasizing the relevance of investigating explicit attitudes. In addition, qualitative measurements of prejudice could add value by providing a deeper insight into the subjective interpretation of intergroup attitudes and prejudices (Zick, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008). Despite the added value of using qualitative methods, quantitative research is relevant in measuring ethnic prejudice, by providing insights into broad patterns of the determinants of ethnic prejudice among a large group of ethnic majority pupils.

In this dissertation, ethnic school composition refers to the proportion of ethnic minorities in a school. Other measurements of ethnic school composition, such as diversity, might lead to different outcomes (Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013). Research shows that natives who are confronted with a diverse group of immigrants in school develop better relationships with their teachers (Demanet, Agirdag, & Van Houtte, 2011). In line with these findings, majority pupils in more diverse schools may feel a

more secure attachment to their teachers, and may thus be less ethnically prejudiced, since it is found that secure attachment is negatively related to majority pupils' ethnic prejudice. In both low and high diversity groups, social relations are created between group members, not organized along ethnic lines (Meeusen et al., 2017), which may result in intergroup friendship and thus less ethnic prejudice among majorities. On the other hand, according to the constrict theory, ethnic diversity lowers both the quantity and quality of interpersonal contacts, reducing both ingroup and outgroup solidarity (Demanet, Agirdag, & Van Houtte, 2012), which may result in more ethnic prejudice. However, ethnic diversity is not related to majorities' intergroup friendships (Demanet, Agirdag, & Van Houtte, 2012). This is already one reason why ethnic concentration instead of heterogeneity or diversity is used in this dissertation. The focus here is on ethnic prejudice among majority pupils toward ethnic minorities in general. Previous research confirms the relevance of examining the proportion of ethnic minorities related to ethnic prejudice, since simply a higher concentration of ethnic minorities seems to be associated with lower ethnic prejudice (Kalin, 1996), MCT is practiced more in schools with many ethnic minority pupils (Agirdag et al., 2016; Leman, 2002; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013), and teachers in schools with a higher proportion of minority pupils evaluate their pupils as being less teachable (Van Maele & Van Houtte, 2011). Because, among other things, the association between MCT, teachability, and majority pupils' ethnic prejudice, is examined, it could be relevant to include the concentration. Lastly, the freedom in terms of school choice results in ethnic segregation, ensuring that there are few diverse schools in Flanders (Agirdag, Loobuyck, & Van Houtte, 2011).

Despite the relevance of including the proportion of ethnic minorities in a school related to ethnic prejudice, I recognize the importance of considering less objective and more (context) specific school characteristics. The perceptions of pupils and teachers concerning the number of ethnic minorities and their concentration may be relevant to take into account, since the perceived size of the immigrant group seems to have a stronger impact on negative outgroup attitudes than the actual presence of ethnic minority groups (Hooghe & De Vroome, 2015). Since teachers often have negative attitudes to Islam (Agirdag, Loobuyck, & Van Houtte, 2012; Juchtmans & Nicaise, 2013), and Muslims are the largest ethnic minority group in Flanders (Agirdag et al., 2016; Phaet, Baysu, & Van Acker, 2015), future research could take into account more (context) specific measurements of the school composition, such as the proportion of Muslim pupils.

Multicultural leadership is measured by means of a self-created index and is based on the answers of principals themselves. Multicultural leadership refers to the degree to which school principals claim that multicultural issues are present in the policy of their school. However, it is important to realize that what school principals claim is formulated in school policies might not reflect what the school policy actually includes and what a school does in practice. Therefore, researchers could analyze the policy of different schools, to compare them and examine to what extent they are multicultural (e.g. Céleste, 2016). Studies focusing on the impact of leadership or policy on pupils or teachers could include the perceptions of pupils and teachers of school leadership and

principals by asking them about the content of the school policy and their experience and interpretation of the policy and leadership.

The index used to measure multicultural leadership is based on Hermans' (2004) application of Ogbu and Simons' (1998) theory of minority academic achievement to the situation of the largest minority groups in Flanders; that is, Moroccans (Hermans, 2004; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). The items used refer to debates and issues specific to Flanders, such as the headscarves debate and the political discussion on giving non-native pupils the opportunity to speak their own language at school. However, wearing headscarves is also a subject of discussion in countries such as the Netherlands, France, and Turkey. Moreover, the items refer to Islam in general, without specifying ethnic minority groups. Depending on the context in which the multicultural leadership index is used, research could use other items, adapted to the specific context. Further research could test this (adapted) scale in other contexts.

With regard to the scale used to measure multicultural teaching, some weaknesses should also be mentioned. MCT is assessed using information provided by the teachers themselves. As a result, the scale used to measure MCT may be sensitive to socially desirable answers. Therefore, it was ensured that teachers understood that the questionnaires were anonymous and that neither their students nor their supervisors would have access to the data. Moreover, it is expected that teachers will provide a better insight into multicultural practices than students will, because teachers can be seen as "insiders" concerning MCT (Hartup, 1996), and this is in line with previous studies (Agirdag et al., 2016; Capella-Santana, 2003; Spanierman et al., 2010).

According to the critical race theory (CRT), the perceptions of the minorities themselves need to be taken into account (Jennings & Marvin, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). This dissertation focuses only on ethnic majority pupils, but to address the need to include perceptions, it also takes into account pupils' perceptions of the multicultural practices of their teachers. Further research could include ethnic minorities' perceptions of MCT and examine how these perceptions are related to ethnic minorities' outcomes.

Conceptualization of multiculturalism and multicultural teaching

I would like to explain my approach to multiculturalism and multicultural teaching in greater detail, because it is central to this dissertation and innovative in the Flemish context.

The theoretical contributions of James Banks (1989, 1993) are used here to interpret Flemish teachers' level of MCT, because Banks' (1993) conceptualization is the most widely used framework in the field of multicultural education (Bigler, 1999; Munroe & Pearson, 2006; Stanley, 1996). Banks' (2009) original conceptualization of multicultural refers to more than ethnicity, and is, for example, also based on gender and social class. The term "multicultural" in this dissertation is restricted to ethnicity, with the aim of formulating concrete policy implications, and because research on (determinants of) ethnic majority pupils' prejudice within the school context is scarce.

Banks' model may appear to some as dated and limited (Agirdag et al., 2016; Sleeter, 1995). This may be true for America, because multicultural education is much

more established and developed (both in practice and in terms of research) within the U.S. educational context. However, this is not the case for Flanders, where multicultural education was only introduced recently. Banks' (1989, 1993) remarkably lucid conceptualization of multicultural education appears meaningful in the context of Flanders, because it offers a good representation of the way in which Flemish teachers understand and thus might implement multicultural teaching in school (Agirdag, Merry, & Van Houtte, 2016). This is why the focus here is only on the content integration dimension of Banks' (1993) conceptualization of multicultural education, referring to the extent to which teachers use examples from a variety of cultures as illustrations in their discipline. I do this because many teachers' understanding of MCT in Flemish schools (Agirdag et al., 2016; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) is limited to the content integration dimension (Banks, 1993), meaning that Flemish teachers often restrict their involvement with MCT to adding examples from other cultures to the curriculum. In addition, research shows that content integration is probably the most widely implemented but least studied aspect of multicultural education (Zirkel, 2008). The critical race theory and pedagogy emphasize the importance of social action—another approach to multicultural content integration according to Banks (1989)—including teachers' efforts to empower pupils and educate them with regard to social action and decision-making skills. Taking into account other dimensions of multicultural education, such as knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture, might be relevant in contexts where MCT is more integrated. The findings in this dissertation emphasize the relevance of

using this single dimension of MCT in the Flemish context, and might inspire further research into MCT to develop new, more context specific, and valid scales. Therefore, more research into the content and degree of MCT related to specific contexts is needed. In carrying out research in other contexts, it is important to realize that the interpretation and understanding of “cultures” and “multiculturalism” in different countries can vary according to the migration history and policy (Bousetta & Jacobs, 2006; Jacobs, 2004). For example, multiculturalism in Britain is aimed at racial equality, France is opposed to multicultural principles, and Canada officially adopted a policy of multiculturalism and emphasizes the social importance of immigration (Bousetta & Jacobs, 2006). However, the scale used to grasp MCT here includes items referring to “culture” in general, without specifying these cultures. Therefore, further research could examine whether this scale can be used in other (inter)national contexts, examining the effect of MCT. Cross-national research could compare differences in interpreting the meaning of culture and multiculturalism between countries, but this is not the focus of this dissertation.

With regard to MCT, Flanders is an important context, because Flanders is only in the initial phase of practicing MCT. By examining the implementation of MCT from the beginning, research on this topic can contribute to its practical implementation. Evaluating the effects of MCT on majority pupils’ ethnic prejudice in Flanders, it can be concluded that MCT is important and needs to be practiced more, since it may result in decreased ethnic prejudice among majority pupils. Flemish schools and teachers in particular, have a high degree of autonomy in implementing the attainment targets or

MCT and can, as a result, ignore particular expectations stipulated in school policies (Bank et al., 2005; Mortier & Verhoeven, 1982). Further research in different national (and educational) contexts, where for example teachers may have less autonomy to decide what they teach, might produce other results. In other contexts, such as the UK or America—where relatively more aspects of teaching and evaluation are controlled by national education policy and central governments (Maguire & Dillon, 2007)—teachers' practices may be less or not at all influenced by school policy compared with Flanders. When teachers have less autonomy to implement MCT, it is possible that school leaders and the school policy have more influence on their multicultural practices and on majority pupils' ethnic prejudice, reducing teacher's impact on ethnic prejudice among their majority pupils.

In line with international research on the consequences of MCT (Banks, 2009; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013; Zirkel, 2008), a positive effect of MCT on reducing ethnic majority pupils' ethnic prejudice is found: majority pupils' ethnic prejudice decreases when (pupils perceive that) teachers practice more MCT. Previous research shows that multiculturalism can also strengthen stereotypes and prejudices, by focusing on differences between ethnicities or cultures (Berry & Kalin, 1995). It is important to realize that as well as the benefits of multicultural teaching in reducing ethnic prejudice among majority pupils, there are also hazards related to it, such as the risk of stigmatization and stereotyping through focusing too much on differences (Berry & Kalin, 1995). The expression "there are two sides to every coin" can also be applied to MCT. On the one hand, MCT can be accompanied by the reduction of ethnic prejudices,

aimed at eliminating inequalities in education. On the other hand, other cultures and diversity still receive proportionally low attention in the curriculum (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). According to CRT, the little attention paid to other cultures can be a conscious strategy of majority groups to maintain existing inequalities and to emphasize the importance of assimilation in current societies (Jennings & Lynn, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Therefore, CRT does not commend the colorblindness approach. Colorblindness proposes that cultural differences do not matter and should not be considered, and is associated with greater racial attitude bias (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Richeson, & Nussbaum, 2004). The focus in this dissertation is on the multiculturalism approach, proposing that group differences need to be acknowledged, considered, and celebrated, because this yields more positive outcomes for intergroup relations (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Richeson, & Nussbaum, 2004) compared with the colorblindness approach. The focus on the negative aspects of cultural diversity is a common problem today (Bousetta & Jacobs, 2006; Siebers, 2004), and is one of the reasons why researchers state that multiculturalism is in crisis (Jacobs, 2004). The survival of multiculturalism will in part depend on the success and power of political parties, in that the chance of survival for multiculturalism will decrease as far-right parties get more votes (Bousetta & Jacobs, 2006; Jacobs, 2004). That is why multiculturalism is approached more positively in this dissertation.

Further research on MCT could focus on other—positive or negative—effects of MCT, both for ethnic minority and majority pupils, but also for teachers. For example, MCT

might influence minorities' feelings of being recognized at school, because their cultures are discussed in the classroom. This could enhance their feeling of attachment to school. At the same time, the greater attention paid to their cultures might enhance the feeling that their minority culture differs from the majority one. MCT may also increase teachers' self-confidence to work in a more multicultural school context.

This dissertation focuses on the determinants and consequences of MCT, but does not indicate how MCT could be implemented concretely, since the items constructing the instrument are relatively general and broad statements concerning paying attention to other cultures. Further (qualitative) research could examine how teachers can integrate MCT more in their curriculum, in what ways MCT could effectively lead to more or less prejudice reduction, how pupils and teachers can reflect together on the concrete interpretation of MCT, and how teachers can ensure that their involvement with MCT is also seen as such by majority pupils. In this way, MCT may have even more positive consequences for every pupil and teacher. For example, teachers' actual involvement with MCT measured by observations in the classroom may differ from questioning the teachers themselves (e.g. Hurrell, 1995).

7.3. Policy implications

According to the "schools as caring communities" perspective, an effective school is characterized by a cohesive faculty culture, participation, cooperative relations, social interactions, strong affective ties between pupils and teachers, shared values, common activities, and an "ethic of caring," including teachers' taking an interest in the success

of their students (Bryk & Driscoll, 1988). I agree with the belief that secondary schools need to be reformed into communities of caring and support for young people (Hargreaves, Earl, & Ryan, 1996). Because we want to react to the worldwide increase of multicultural school contexts, we introduce the idea of “schools as multicultural, caring communities,” aimed at creating caring school communities for every pupil, regardless of their ethnicity, religion, or culture. Reducing ethnic prejudice among majority pupils and teachers is the first important step in creating schools functioning this way, as the experience of ethnic prejudice is detrimental to the well-being of minorities (Timmerman, Hermans & Hoornaert, 2002; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003). Moreover, in such schools, multiculturalism needs to be an integral part of school life, integrated in teachers’ classroom practices, as well as in school leadership and policy. Based on the findings detailed in this dissertation, focusing on the association between multicultural school leadership, multicultural teaching, and ethnic prejudice, several policy implications aimed at creating schools as multicultural, caring communities can be suggested.

This dissertation shows the importance of the individual feeling of secure attachment and social cohesion in school with regard to ethnic majority pupils’ degree of ethnic prejudice. Therefore, the first important implication with regard to reducing ethnic prejudice among majority pupils is that schools need to strive to be a place where pupils experience attachment to their teachers and school. One of the most important aims of the school from a community perspective is fulfilling pupils’ basic needs, such as their needs for belonging and emotional and physical safety (Battistich et al., 1997;

Ma, 2003; Schaps, 2003). According to this perspective, this can be partly realized through active participation by the pupils, by giving them the opportunity to influence decisions within the school context, by encouraging collaboration and cooperation, and by stimulating positive interpersonal contacts and relations between pupils and their teachers (Baker et al., 1997; Battistich & Hom, 1997; Osterman, 2000; Schaps, 2003). When pupils' basic needs for belonging are fulfilled, they will feel more securely attached to their teachers and school. Moreover, the above initiatives may result in shared values of secure attachment among pupils, and thus more social cohesion within schools. However, the more diverse the population, the more difficult it can be to establish a sense of community and social cohesion, and increasing diversity entails risks of polarization and social conflict (Baker et al., 1997; Battistich et al., 1997).

To develop "schools as multicultural, caring communities," multiculturalism needs to become an integral part of the school context. This dissertation emphasizes the importance of MCT in reducing ethnic prejudice among majority pupils. Many teachers are uncertain about working on diversity, and their practices of MCT are restricted to adding examples from other cultures to the curriculum (Agirdag et al., 2016; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). This can in part be explained by the finding that teachers lack the experience, materials, and sufficient preparation to practice MCT (Gay, 2010; Spanierman et al., 2010; Wasonga, 2005). Therefore, several policy suggestions are formulated to better prepare pre-service teachers during their training to practice MCT. First, multicultural education needs to be an integral part of (or a mandatory course in) teacher training and the results of it should be evaluated in a more effective

way, since many interventions comprise only one course and the long-term effects are not assessed (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Wasonga, 2005). The short-term effects of these single “multicultural courses” are somewhat negative: while some studies find little effect on pre-service teachers’ feelings or discomfort with ethnic minority students (Larke, 1990), others find that after following such a course, pre-service teachers learned more stereotypes than they had before (Barry & Lechner, 1995). This also suggests that further research could focus on what and how things are taught to pre-service teachers. Moreover, the solution might not be found in pre-packaged multicultural material, because then, teacher trainers will teach diversity through a Eurocentric lens, with colorblind and white ideologies (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). To conclude, pre-service teachers need to be prepared to teach diverse students through multicultural courses that are comprehensive, long term, and integrated across their curriculum (Garmon, 2005; Picower, 2009).

Because this dissertation shows that teachers’ ethnic prejudice is negatively related to their implementation of MCT, these prejudices need to be tackled to increase the extent of teachers’ MCT. They need to learn more about other cultures, since this knowledge seems to be associated with reduced ethnic prejudice (De Witte, 1999). Moreover, during their education, teachers need to reflect on their own prejudices (Rubie-Davies et al., 2006), and to act as reflective practitioners (Urban et al., 2011), reducing their prejudiced attitudes, which may result in more MCT. Teachers filter what they learn through their existing beliefs. However, reflection on classroom experiences has been shown to be effective in changing teachers’ beliefs

(Stipek et al., 2001). This is in line with the claim of the critical race theory (CRT) for more race-consciousness among teachers; that is, a person's awareness of his/her race, history, privileges or lack thereof, ideologies, and how these might interact with or maintain racial hierarchies (Picower, 2009). According to the CRT, teachers need to recognize: (1) the presence of systemic racism in the classroom and broader society, (2) the influence of race and racist assumptions on students and on teaching practice, (3) that systemic racism can be countered through their teaching (Ladson-Billings, 2000). Often, when "white teachers" are asked to focus on their own skin color, "whites" see themselves as raceless (Dyer, 1997). Therefore, pre-service teachers need to think critically about their own ethnicity and their prejudices toward ethnic minorities (Garmon, 2004). This can in part be accomplished through a critically engaged dialogue among teacher educators and their pre-service teachers; sharing life stories, expressing differences, and deconstructing prejudiced misconceptions (Picower, 2009). Moreover, role-playing, brainstorming, and debates on prejudice, white privilege, multiculturalism and colorblindness may help teachers to reflect on and reduce their ethnic prejudices (Knight, 2013).

A notable finding is that the great majority of (pre-service) teachers belong to the ethnic majority group (Gay, 2010; Marx & Moss, 2011; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2014; Wasonga, 2005). Conversely, pupils' demographics continue to become more ethnically diverse. Therefore, there is a need for more non-native (pre-service) teachers (Agirdag et al., 2016; Capella-Santana, 2003; Gay, 2010). There are not enough ethnic minority (pre-service) teachers to integrate diverse perspectives into

teacher training, and teacher education programs might fail to recruit ethnic minorities. Consequently, it is necessary for teacher training programs to acknowledge structural issues that may be contributing causes, and to try to find new methods to attract a more diverse trainee population (Garmon, 2005; Picower, 2009). Moreover, it is important that teachers in training are given opportunities to have positive intergroup contacts during their education and internship. Therefore, pre-service teachers need to be placed within diverse teaching contexts to learn to teach in multicultural classrooms; similar to where they are likely to end up teaching (Denis, 2014). The presence of ethnic minority students in teacher training programs and positive intergroup contacts during their training and internship will increase pre-service teachers' opportunities to have positive intergroup contact, and thereby, their degree of ethnic prejudice can be reduced (Lopez et al., 1998; Tran, Young, & DiLella, 1994). Lastly, teacher trainers can also provide mentorship to ensure that new teachers integrate multiculturalism in a critical way, rather than defaulting back to the colorblind enactment of multicultural teaching (Denis, 2014).

In addition to teachers in training, it is important to help teachers in practice and try to guide existing, multicultural schools to develop into the direction of schools as multicultural, caring communities. Recent projects, include "Multicultural Schools" (www.multicultural-schools.eu), which is a collaboration between six partners from Poland, Italy, Belgium, Greece, and Spain, that have merged their collective experience and specific skills in the field of multicultural education to provide valuable support for teachers dealing with the different cultures and languages within their classrooms, and

which may be very useful for teachers in practice. In this dissertation, it is found that the association between teachers' implementation of MCT and pupils' ethnic prejudice is mediated through pupils' perceptions of MCT. This finding suggests an emphasis on the importance of mutual respect and understanding among teachers and pupils in general. By making time for dialogue and discussion in the classroom, pupils and teachers can learn to know and enhance each other's perceptions, which might also result in a better appreciation of others and enhance prosocial behavior (Baker et al., 1997; Battistich et al., 1997; Osterman, 2000; Schaps, 2003). When teachers and pupils understand each other's feelings and perceptions about MCT, schools will probably evolve faster and more efficiently into multicultural, caring communities. With regard to MCT, it is important to take into account the workload of teachers. Burnout is a common phenomenon among teachers, often related to an increasing workload (Farber, 1991). Therefore, the above initiatives, such as the focus on MCT, should not only be the responsibility of the teachers and might not require much extra effort from them. If teachers are better prepared to practice MCT in an effective way, this will automatically require less effort on their behalf. Furthermore, there is a need for more MCT in all tracks and schools, because to date, MCT has been practiced more in schools with many ethnic minority pupils (Agirdag et al., 2016; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). In schools and tracks with many pupils belonging to the ethnic majority group, talking about culture and diversity seems to be uncomfortable (Agirdag et al., 2016). Nevertheless, for ethnic majorities the school environment is often the only place

where they can have cross-cultural experiences or intergroup contact (Battistich et al., 1997; Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009).

This dissertation shows the association between teachers' evaluations of their pupils as teachable and their degree of ethnic prejudice. Teachers in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils are only likely to be less ethnically prejudiced if they evaluate their pupils as more teachable. In line with these findings, critical race theorists argue that the hidden structures within the school context that maintain ethnic inequalities (Lynn, 1999; Tate, 1997) must be recognized, such as teachers' negative experiences and evaluations of their minority pupils. Therefore, schools need to strive for more positive, interpersonal contacts and relationships between pupils and their teachers, and for collaboration and cooperation, because this might help to increase teachers' evaluations of their pupils. When teachers have positive, interpersonal contacts and experiences with ethnic minority pupils, their stereotypes, expectations, and evaluations may become more positive, because they are confronted with counter-stereotypical information (Pettigrew, 1998), which may result in less ethnic prejudice and more MCT. Moreover, the positive, interpersonal contacts and relationships between pupils and their teachers will increase teachers' sensitivity to the social environment in which they work, and to the cultural backgrounds of their students (Aveling, 2006). When different ethnicities are present in the classroom, teachers can stimulate interethnic friendships, for example by using specific methods such as cooperative learning (Cooper, 1999). Encouraging interethnic contacts and friendships might not only reduce ethnic prejudice among majority pupils, it has

another advantage. Research shows that knowing that a member of one's own group has a close relationship with a member of an outgroup can lead to more positive attitudes toward that outgroup (Cameron & Rutland 2006).

To develop “schools as multicultural, caring communities,” multiculturalism needs to become an integral part of the school context. Therefore, not only teachers, but also school leaders need to respond to multicultural school contexts, for example by adapting the school policy. This dissertation shows that multicultural leadership—that is, the degree to which school principals claim that multicultural issues are present in the policy of their school—has no effect on pupils’ ethnic prejudice, or on teachers’ multicultural practices. By giving pupils the autonomy and the opportunities to participate in decision making, school leaders could better understand the nature of ethnic prejudice, and be better prepared to deal with ethnic prejudice and cope with a more multicultural school environment (Aveling, 2007; Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010). The participation of pupils—and also parents, teachers, and school leaders—in decision making is the essential feature of “distributed leadership”; that is, leadership shared by multiple individuals at different levels inside and outside the organization (Lashway, 1995; Leithwood et al., 2004; Ryan, 2006; Riehl, 2000). It may result in shared values and increase the possibility of a successful, substantiated multicultural school policy. Moreover, when school policies are developed together with both minority and majority pupils, parents, and teachers, school leaders will meet less resistance to enacting social justice (Theoharis, 2007), and the “distance” between school leaders and students can decrease (Sylva, 1994). Schools as multicultural, caring

communities could enhance pupils' and teachers' attachment to schools and as a result, they may adopt the values that a school promotes, in this case, multicultural values and values of justice, respect, acceptance, and concern for others (Baker et al., 1997; Battistich et al., 1997). The call to include parents might be a first step to develop broader reciprocal community-institution partnerships (Picower, 2009), in which community members need to be given the opportunity to participate. By doing this, schools as multicultural, caring communities will at the same time function as caring schools for the multicultural community.

To develop schools in this way, it might be relevant not only to focus on teachers, school leaders, school policy, and the broader community, but also on processes within the school, such as laddish cultures, since it is noted that pupils displaying more laddish attitudes are likely to manifest more ethnic prejudice. If pupils see their school as a caring community, laddish or anti-academic attitudes, and thus cultures, may decrease, since previous research shows that schools working as caring communities often result in students having positive attitudes toward school, liking school, and displaying less absence and disruptive behavior, and a higher commitment and motivation toward school (Baker et al., 1997; Battistich & Hom, 1997; Battistich et al., 1997; Osterman, 2000; Schaps, 2003). However, laddish cultures are also related to popularity, status, and masculinity (Jackson, 2003, 2006); processes that are hard to change.

Policymakers moreover need to think about some structural school features, such as ethnic composition. To reduce majority pupils' ethnic prejudice, it seems to be

important to create an ethnic mix at school, increasing the opportunities for intergroup contact (Blau, 1994; Fritzsche, 2006; Van Praag, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2014). The relationship between students' interethnic contacts and their ethnic attitudes can of course be bidirectional: pupils may be more inclined to engage in positive relationships with ethnic minorities when they have a positive attitude toward this group. However, the empirical support for the causal link from contact to attitudes is more strong and consistent than vice versa (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). Unfortunately, it is apparent that the freedom of education in Flanders is accompanied by segregation (Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2012), which makes it hard for policymakers to control the ethnic composition of a school. In addition to the ethnic school composition, the system of tracking reduces pupils' opportunities for intergroup contact, since tracking is related to socio-ethnic segregation (Levy, Rosenthal, Herrera-Alcazar, 2010; Van Praag et al., 2015).

To conclude, schools need to help students to develop the abilities needed by citizens in a democracy, because school is perhaps the only remaining social institution that reaches members of all the diverse groups represented in society (Battistich et al., 1997). Policymakers, school leaders, and teachers could use the findings and suggestions here to create more multicultural communities, aimed at reducing pupils' ethnic prejudice and creating schools as caring communities for every pupil in the multicultural context.

Despite the many suggestions above to create more schools as caring, multicultural communities, I appreciate that these will not be easy to implement for several reasons.

First, the above policy implications will not lead to the desired outcomes in all schools, because of local variability (Luyten, Visscher, & Witziers, 2005). Different teachers, pupils, school principals, and school features and cultures will be related to other interpretations and realizations of the above initiatives. Second, there is some evidence that schooling affects children differently at different ages (Sylva, 1994). In line with these findings, schools as caring, multicultural communities need to be created in elementary education, because younger children already make a distinction between humans based on physical characteristics, such as skin color (Levy, Rosenthal, & Herrera-Alcazar, 2009). Third, the focus here is mainly on the unidirectional influence of school features, school principals, and teachers on pupils. However, it is important to realize that pupils and teachers bring their own values and norms into school—which also may be ethnically prejudiced—creating certain pupil and teacher cultures. Therefore, it is important to recognize that the influence of teachers and students is mutual. Fourth, more recent versions of ethnic prejudice, called “subtle” racism (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995), may be more difficult to investigate and reduce. Nevertheless, new measurement techniques have been developed to capture more subtle expressions of ethnic prejudice, such as The Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Moreover, ethnic majorities are not always aware of their own prejudices and rarely see acts of prejudice, while minority people experience it all the time (Delgado, 1988). According to Banks (1993), creating an empowering school culture and producing educational equality for pupils from any racial, ethnic, and social-class group is the last of the five dimensions of multicultural

education. To date, many teachers' understanding of multicultural teaching in Flemish schools, as well as in other contexts (Agirdag, Merry, & Van Houtte, 2016), is limited to the content integration dimension (Banks, 1993). Lastly, creating caring, multicultural communities will be a major challenge, because it not only requires a transformation of ideology, but also different roles and practices of teachers, school leaders, and pupils.

Worldwide migration is related to increasing diversity, resulting in the existence of multi-ethnic countries and societies, such as Belgium. This growing diversity calls for specific migration and integration policies, which aim to realize the optimal coexistence of many different cultures. Despite these policies, ethnic prejudice among majorities toward minorities is still widespread in Western countries. Many studies confirm the negative consequences of ethnic prejudice for ethnic minorities, such as more psychological distress, increased levels of depression, and reduced psychological well-being. Trying to reduce these negative consequences and enhancing intergroup relations requires a research agenda that focuses on the determinants of ethnic prejudice. Existing research focuses on the individual, psychological, and relational determinants of ethnic prejudice, such as gender, educational level, personality traits, cognitive processes, threat, conflict, and intergroup contact, but generally neglects the role of social context. Although some studies focus on country characteristics, or features of specific neighborhoods, there is relatively little research into the role of school contexts in developing ethnic prejudice. However, the school constitutes a theoretically important context in studying ethnic prejudice, as children spend a substantial amount of their time at school. Ethnic prejudice occurs in schools, and teachers and school principals can be considered as important agents of socialization, who could in theory tackle ethnic prejudice among their pupils. Moreover, school features can be changed more easily compared with individual or family characteristics, which makes this context more susceptible to policy intervention.

Therefore, this dissertation focuses on the determinants of ethnic prejudice among majority pupils toward ethnic minorities. Within the school context, it is examined how various input features and process characteristics relate to the degree of ethnic majority pupils' ethnic prejudice.

The positive experience of social relations within school appears to be important with regard to pupils' ethnic prejudice. Related to this, it is found that Flemish pupils who feel an attachment and connection to their parents, teachers, and school are less ethnically prejudiced. Moreover, social cohesion—that is, a shared sense of belonging among pupils within the same school—is related to lower levels of ethnic prejudice among Flemish students.

In addition to feelings of secure attachment and connectedness, the role of the school policy formulated by school leaders and the multicultural pedagogical practices of majority teachers are examined.

School leaders can help to tackle ethnic prejudice in their schools and can reduce ethnic prejudice among ethnic majority students by implementing multicultural school policies. However, it is found that multicultural leadership is not associated with majority pupils' level of ethnic prejudice, or with teachers' multicultural practices. Nevertheless, teachers' multicultural practices seem to be associated with Flemish pupils' ethnic prejudice: when teachers use more examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures in their subject area, pupils seem to be less ethnically prejudiced. However, the association between a multicultural teacher culture in school and pupils' ethnic prejudice is mediated by pupils' perceptions of multicultural

teaching. In other words, multicultural teaching only seems to reduce the ethnic prejudice of pupils when these pupils realize that their teachers are practicing multicultural teaching.

Teachers not only explicitly teach knowledge and multicultural capacities, they may also implicitly transmit certain values and attitudes. Therefore, the determinants of majority teachers' ethnic prejudice are examined, together with how their degree of ethnic prejudice is related to their multicultural pedagogical practices. Flemish teachers in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority pupils are only likely to be less ethnically prejudiced if they evaluate their pupils as more teachable. Moreover, ethnically prejudiced teachers implement less multicultural teaching. These findings confirm the association between teachers' prejudiced attitude and their degree of multicultural teaching, and emphasize the need to focus on process variables, such as teachers' perceptions of their pupils as teachable, in understanding the development of ethnic prejudice.

Furthermore, this dissertation highlights the importance of considering school features that are less commonly linked to ethnic prejudice, such as the gender composition and "laddish" pupil cultures at school. It is found that an increase in laddish attitudes is associated with an increase in ethnic prejudice among pupils. Moreover, boys' levels of ethnic prejudice are associated with the gender composition and the laddish culture of their school, while girls' ethnic prejudice is more likely to be influenced by the laddish culture of the school when the proportion of male pupils in the school increases. These findings emphasize the importance of including macro factors,

individual variables and their interdependence, and underlying processes when studying pupils' ethnic prejudice in school contexts.

The above findings are not only theoretically relevant, but they also point to certain policy implications. In general, for schools to reduce ethnic prejudice, they need to function as multicultural, caring communities for every pupil, regardless of their ethnicity, religion, or culture. Moreover, multiculturalism needs to be integrated in teachers' classroom practices, and also in school leadership and policy.

Pupils need to feel that they have a strong connection to their teachers and school. Therefore, the active participation of pupils, by giving them the possibility to influence decisions within the school context, encouraging collaboration and cooperation, and stimulating positive, interpersonal contacts and relationships between pupils and their teachers seems crucial.

Multicultural teaching appears to be important in reducing ethnic prejudice among majority pupils. However, many ethnic majority teachers' practices of multicultural teaching are restricted to adding examples from other cultures to the curriculum, and they are uncertain about how to work with diversity. Therefore, teachers need to be better prepared to cope with the increasingly diverse classrooms and to practice multicultural teaching. First, multicultural courses that are comprehensive, long term, and integrated across the curriculum may better prepare (preservice) teachers to tutor in diverse classrooms. Second, teachers' ethnic prejudices need to be dealt with, since this dissertation shows that teachers' ethnic prejudice is negatively related to their implementation of multicultural teaching. Therefore, teachers need to have more

intergroup contact during their training and internship, learn more about other cultures, and become critical of their own stereotypes and privileges in order to reduce their degree of ethnic prejudice and, as a result, increase their involvement with multicultural teaching.

In addition to teachers in training, professional teachers in existing, multicultural schools need to be guided to learn how to develop schools as multicultural, caring communities. First, pupils' perceptions of multicultural teaching can be improved by making time for dialogue and discussion in the classroom. Mutual respect among teachers and pupils may facilitate the evolution of schools into multicultural, caring communities. Second, when teachers are confronted with counter-stereotypical information through positive, interpersonal contacts and experiences with ethnic minority pupils, their stereotypes, expectations, and evaluations may become more positive, which could result in less ethnic prejudice and more multicultural teaching.

To develop schools as multicultural, caring communities, not only teachers, but also school leaders need to be better prepared and to understand the nature of ethnic prejudice, in order to cope with their multicultural school contexts. When school policies are developed together with minority and majority pupils, parents, and teachers, school leaders will meet less resistance to enacting social justice. Collaboration and participation may also decrease the distance between school leaders and their pupils. In addition to the role of teachers and school leaders, it might be relevant to focus on processes within the school, such as laddish cultures. Lastly, it

seems to be important to create an ethnic mix at school, increasing the possibilities for intergroup contact, and thereby trying to reduce majority pupils' ethnic prejudice.

With this dissertation, I hope to stimulate researchers, social policymakers, and educational practitioners alike, to make multiculturalism a core element of the development of caring school communities. In such communities, pupils, teachers, and principals feel at ease in a diverse society, bound together by shared values of mutual respect and understanding.

Nederlandstalige samenvatting

Wereldwijde migratie met toenemende diversiteit, resulteert in multi-etnische landen en samenlevingen, waaronder België. Door deze toegenomen diversiteit is er nood aan een specifiek migratie- en integratiebeleid, dat tot doel heeft een optimaal samenleven van verschillende culturen te realiseren. Ondanks deze verschillende beleidsinitiatieven zijn etnische vooroordelen bij etnische meerderheden over minderheden een wijdverspreid fenomeen in Westerse landen. Vele studies bevestigen de negatieve gevolgen van etnische vooroordelen voor etnische minderheden, zoals meer psychologische stress, depressie en een lager psychologisch welbevinden. Om deze negatieve gevolgen te reduceren, en interetnische contacten te verbeteren, is er nood aan meer onderzoek naar de determinanten van etnische vooroordelen.

Bestaand onderzoek focust overwegend op individuele, psychologische en relationele determinanten van etnische vooroordelen, zoals geslacht, opleidingsniveau, persoonlijkheidskenmerken, cognitieve processen, bedreiging, conflict en interetnisch contact, maar negeert de rol van sociale context. Hoewel sommige studies landenkenmerken of kenmerken van specifieke buurten mee opnemen, is er relatief weinig onderzoek naar de rol van schoolcontexten bij het ontwikkelen van etnische vooroordelen. De school vormt echter een theoretisch belangrijke context bij het bestuderen van etnische vooroordelen, aangezien kinderen en jongeren het grootste deel van hun tijd op school doorbrengen, etnische vooroordelen voorkomen op scholen, en leerkrachten en schoolhoofden beschouwd kunnen worden als belangrijke

agenten van socialisatie, die in theorie etnische vooroordelen onder hun leerlingen kunnen aanpakken. Bovendien kunnen schoolkenmerken gemakkelijker worden veranderd in vergelijking met individuele of gezinskenmerken, waardoor deze context vatbaarder wordt voor beleidsinterventies. Daarom richt dit proefschrift zich op de determinanten van etnische vooroordelen bij meerderheidsleerlingen ten opzichte van etnische minderheden. Binnen de schoolcontext onderzoeken we hoe verschillende input- en proceskenmerken zich verhouden tot etnische vooroordelen bij etnische meerderheidsleerlingen.

De positieve ervaring van sociale relaties op school bleek belangrijk te zijn met betrekking tot de etnische vooroordelen van leerlingen. Hieraan gerelateerd vonden wij dat Vlaamse leerlingen die zich veilig gehecht en verbonden voelen met hun ouders, leerkrachten en school minder etnisch bevooroordeeld zijn. Bovendien hangt sociale cohesie, dat is een gedeeld gevoel van schoolbetrokkenheid onder leerlingen binnen dezelfde school, samen met minder etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse leerlingen.

Naast het gevoel van veilige hechting en verbondenheid, werd ook de rol van het schoolbeleid, zoals geformuleerd door schoolleiders, onderzocht. Bovendien gingen we de rol van multiculturele pedagogische praktijken (= multicultureel onderwijs) van leerkrachten, die tot de etnische meerderheid behoren, na.

Schoolleiders zijn verantwoordelijk voor het aanpakken van etnische vooroordelen in hun school en kunnen etnische vooroordelen bij meerderheidsleerlingen verminderen door een multicultureel schoolbeleid te implementeren. We hebben echter vastgesteld dat multicultureel leiderschap niet geassocieerd is met etnische

vooroordelen bij meerderheidsleerlingen, noch met de multiculturele praktijken van leerkrachten. Desalniettemin lijken de multiculturele praktijken van leerkrachten geassocieerd te zijn met etnische vooroordelen bij Vlaamse leerlingen: wanneer leerkrachten meer voorbeelden, gegevens en informatie uit verschillende culturen in hun les gebruiken, blijken Vlaamse leerlingen minder etnisch bevooroordeeld. De associatie tussen een multiculturele leerkrachtencultuur op school en de etnische vooroordelen bij leerlingen wordt gemedieerd door de percepties van leerlingen over multicultureel onderwijs. Met andere woorden, multicultureel onderwijs lijkt alleen de mate waarin meerderheidsleerlingen etnisch bevooroordeeld zijn te verminderen, wanneer deze leerlingen zich realiseren dat hun leerkrachten multicultureel onderwijs geven.

Leerkrachten onderwijzen niet alleen expliciet kennis en multiculturele vaardigheden, ze kunnen ook impliciet bepaalde waarden en attitudes overbrengen. Daarom worden determinanten van etnische vooroordelen van leerkrachten onderzocht en gaan we na hoe hun etnische vooroordelen gerelateerd zijn aan hun multiculturele pedagogische praktijken. Vlaamse leerkrachten op scholen met een hoger percentage minderheidsleerlingen lijken minder etnisch bevooroordeeld te zijn, wanneer ze hun leerlingen als “teachable” (onderwijsbaar) beschouwen. Bovendien implementeren etnisch bevooroordeelde leerkrachten minder multicultureel onderwijs. Deze bevindingen bevestigen de positieve associatie tussen de etnisch bevooroordeelde houding van leerkrachten en hun multiculturele pedagogische praktijken. Bovendien benadrukken deze resultaten de noodzaak om procesvariabelen, zoals percepties van

leerkrachten over de onderwijsbaarheid van hun leerlingen, mee in rekening te brengen om de ontwikkeling van etnische vooroordelen te begrijpen.

Verder benadrukt dit proefschrift het belang van het mee opnemen van schoolkenmerken die minder vaak geassocieerd worden met etnische vooroordelen, zoals de geslachtssamenstelling van de school, en de leerlingencultuur, specifiek de aanwezigheid van een “laddish” cultuur. We vinden dat een toename in “laddish attitudes” geassocieerd is met meer etnische vooroordelen bij leerlingen. Bovendien zijn etnische vooroordelen bij jongens geassocieerd met de geslachtssamenstelling en de “laddish culture” van hun school, terwijl etnische vooroordelen bij meisjes worden beïnvloed door de “laddish culture” van de school wanneer er meer jongens zijn op school. Deze bevindingen benadrukken het belang van het opnemen van macro-factoren, individuele variabelen, hun onderlinge afhankelijkheid en onderliggende processen bij het bestuderen van de etnische vooroordelen van meerderheidsleerlingen in schoolcontexten.

De bovenstaande bevindingen zijn niet alleen theoretisch relevant, maar leiden ook tot een aantal beleidsimplicaties. In het algemeen moeten scholen, om etnische vooroordelen te verminderen, functioneren als multiculturele, zorgzame gemeenschappen, gericht op het creëren van zorgzame schoolgemeenschappen voor elke leerling, ongeacht hun etniciteit, religie of cultuur. Bovendien moet multiculturalisme geïntegreerd worden in de lespraktijken van leerkrachten, maar ook in het schoolleiderschap en -beleid.

Leerlingen moeten het gevoel hebben dat ze veilig gehecht zijn aan hun leerkrachten en school. Daarom is actieve deelname van de leerlingen op school, door hen de mogelijkheid te bieden om beslissingen binnen de schoolcontext te beïnvloeden, cruciaal. Daarnaast moeten samenwerking en positieve, interpersoonlijke contacten en relaties tussen leerlingen en hun leerkrachten aangemoedigd en gestimuleerd worden.

Multicultureel onderwijs lijkt belangrijk te zijn om etnische vooroordelen bij meerderheidsleerlingen te verminderen. Veel leerkrachten die tot de etnische meerderheid behoren, beperken zich echter tot het toevoegen van voorbeelden uit andere culturen aan het curriculum en zijn erg onzeker om te werken rond diversiteit. Daarom moeten leerkrachten beter voorbereid worden om te leren omgaan met de steeds meer diverse leerlingenpopulatie en om multicultureel onderwijs uit te oefenen. Ten eerste kunnen multiculturele cursussen, die veelomvattend, langdurig en geïntegreerd zijn in het hele curriculum, leerkrachten (in opleiding) beter voorbereiden om les te geven in diverse klasomgevingen. Ten tweede moeten de etnische vooroordelen bij leerkrachten worden aangepakt, aangezien dit proefschrift aantoont dat de etnische vooroordelen van leerkrachten negatief gerelateerd zijn aan hun implementatie van multicultureel onderwijs. Daarom moeten leerkrachten meer mogelijkheden krijgen tot interetnisch contact tijdens hun opleiding en stage, meer leren over andere culturen, en leren kritisch worden over hun eigen stereotypen en privileges om hun mate van etnische vooroordelen te verminderen, wat kan resulteren in meer multicultureel onderwijs.

Naast leerkrachten in opleiding, moeten leerkrachten in bestaande, multiculturele scholen begeleid worden om te leren hoe scholen als multiculturele, zorgzame gemeenschappen kunnen worden ontwikkeld. Ten eerste kunnen de percepties van leerlingen over multicultureel onderwijs positief beïnvloed worden door tijd te maken voor dialoog en discussie in de klas. Wederzijds respect tussen leerkrachten en leerlingen kan de ontwikkeling van scholen in multiculturele, zorgzame gemeenschappen bovendien vergemakkelijken. Ten tweede, wanneer leerkrachten geconfronteerd worden met contra-stereotiepe informatie door positieve, interpersoonlijke contacten en ervaringen met minderheidsleerlingen, kunnen hun stereotypen, verwachtingen en evaluaties positiever worden, wat kan resulteren in minder etnische vooroordelen en dus meer multicultureel onderwijs.

Om scholen als multiculturele, zorgzame gemeenschappen te ontwikkelen, moeten niet alleen leerkrachten, maar ook schoolleiders beter voorbereid worden en de oorsprong van etnische vooroordelen begrijpen, om met de multiculturele schoolomgeving om te gaan. Wanneer het schoolbeleid samen met zowel minderheids- als meerderheidsleerlingen, ouders en leerkrachten wordt ontwikkeld, zullen schoolleiders minder weerstand ondervinden wanneer ze sociale rechtvaardigheid willen bereiken. Samenwerking en inspraak kunnen ook de afstand tussen schoolleiders en hun leerlingen verkleinen. Naast de rol van leerkrachten en schoolleiders, kan het relevant zijn om aandacht te besteden aan processen binnen de school, zoals “laddish” leerlingenculturen op school. Ten slotte lijkt het belangrijk om een etnische mix op school te creëren wanneer men etnische vooroordelen bij

meerderheidsleerlingen wil reduceren. De aanwezigheid van zowel minderheids- als meerderheidsleerlingen vergroot namelijk de kans op interetnische contacten.

Met dit proefschrift hoop ik onderzoekers, beleidsmakers en mensen uit de onderwijspraktijk te stimuleren om multiculturalisme centraal te stellen in de ontwikkeling van zorgzame schoolgemeenschappen. In dergelijke schoolgemeenschappen voelen leerlingen, leerkrachten en directeurs zich op hun gemak in een diverse samenleving, verbonden door gedeelde waarden van wederzijds respect en begrip.

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Appendixes

Appendix A. Measurements

Ethnicity

Ben jij **in België geboren**?

- ☐ a. **Ja**, ik ben in België geboren
- ☐ b. **Nee**, ik ben niet in België geboren → In **welk land** ben je geboren?.....

→ Hoe oud was je toen je in België aankwam?

.. jaar

Wat is het **geboorteland** van volgende **personen**?

	Geboorteland (bijvoorbeeld: Turkije, België, Ghana, Frankrijk ...)
Je moeder	
Je vader	
De moeder van je moeder	
De moeder van je vader	

Ethnic prejudice

Geef uw **persoonlijke mening** over elk van de onderstaande stellingen.

		Helemaal niet akkoord	Niet akkoord	Onbes list	Akkoord	Volledig akkoord
a.	Oost-Europeanen zijn over het algemeen onbetrouwbaar.	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Oost-Europeanen dragen bij tot de welvaart van België.	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Oost-Europeanen komen in België profiteren van de sociale zekerheid.	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Oost-Europeanen zijn een gevaar voor de tewerkstelling van de Belgen.	1	2	3	4	5
e.	In sommige buurten doet de overheid meer voor de Oost-Europeanen dan voor de Belgen die er wonen.	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Oost-Europeanen zijn een bedreiging voor onze cultuur en gebruiken.	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Marokkanen zijn over het algemeen onbetrouwbaar.	1	2	3	4	5
h.	Marokkanen dragen bij tot de welvaart van België.	1	2	3	4	5
i.	Marokkanen komen in België profiteren van de sociale zekerheid.	1	2	3	4	5
j.	Marokkanen zijn een gevaar voor de tewerkstelling van de Belgen.	1	2	3	4	5
k.	In sommige buurten doet de overheid meer voor de Marokkanen dan voor de Belgen die er wonen.	1	2	3	4	5
l.	Marokkanen zijn een bedreiging voor onze cultuur en gebruiken.	1	2	3	4	5
m.	Turken zijn over het algemeen onbetrouwbaar.	1	2	3	4	5
n.	Turken dragen bij tot de welvaart van België.	1	2	3	4	5
o.	Turken komen in België profiteren van de sociale zekerheid.	1	2	3	4	5
p.	Turken zijn een gevaar voor de tewerkstelling van de Belgen.	1	2	3	4	5
q.	In sommige buurten doet de overheid meer voor de Turken dan voor de Belgen die er wonen.	1	2	3	4	5
r.	Turken zijn een bedreiging voor onze cultuur en gebruiken.	1	2	3	4	5

		Helemaal niet akkoord	Niet akkoord	Onbe- slust	Akkoord	Volledig akkoord
s.	Walen zijn over het algemeen onbetrouwbaar.	1	2	3	4	5
t.	Walen werken mee aan de rijkdom van België.	1	2	3	4	5
u.	Walen profiteren van de sociale zekerheid/uitkeringen in België.	1	2	3	4	5
v.	Walen nemen het werk af van de Vlamingen.	1	2	3	4	5
w.	Soms doet de federale overheid te veel voor de Walen en te weinig voor de Vlamingen.	1	2	3	4	5
x.	Walen zijn een bedreiging voor de Vlaamse cultuur en gebruiken.	1	2	3	4	5

Secure attachment to school

Ben je **akkoord met volgende uitspraken?** (Omcirkel voor elke uitspraak 1 getal.)

		Helemaal niet akkoord	Niet akkoord	Tussenin	Akkoord	Helemaal akkoord
a.	Ik voel me echt deel van deze school.	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Mensen als ik worden hier moeilijk aanvaard.	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Mijn mening wordt door de medeleerlingen ernstig genomen.	1	2	3	4	5
i.	Soms heb ik het gevoel dat ik hier niet pas.	1	2	3	4	5
l.	Iedereen op school is vriendelijk tegen mij.	1	2	3	4	5
o.	Ik neem deel aan verschillende activiteiten op deze school.	1	2	3	4	5
r.	Ik voel me anders dan de meeste leerlingen hier.	1	2	3	4	5
s.	Ik kan echt mezelf zijn op deze school.	1	2	3	4	5
v.	Ik wou dat ik op een andere school zat.	1	2	3	4	5
x.	De andere leerlingen aanvaarden me zoals ik ben.	1	2	3	4	5
z.	Ik ben trots op deze school te zitten.	1	2	3	4	5

Secure attachment to teachers

Ben je **akkoord met volgende uitspraken?** (Omcirkel voor elke uitspraak 1 getal.)

	Helemaal niet akkoord	Niet akkoord	Tussenin	Akkoord	Helemaal akkoord
b. Wanneer ik ergens goed in ben, wordt dit hier ook opgemerkt.	1	2	3	4	5
g. De meeste leerkrachten zijn geïnteresseerd in mij.	1	2	3	4	5
j. Er is zeker één volwassene op school waarmee ik kan praten als ik een probleem heb.	1	2	3	4	5
m. De leerkrachten op deze school zijn niet geïnteresseerd in mensen zoals ik.	1	2	3	4	5
q. Ik word met evenveel respect behandeld als andere leerlingen.	1	2	3	4	5
u. De mensen op school weten dat ik goed werk kan leveren.	1	2	3	4	5
bb. De leerkrachten respecteren mij.	1	2	3	4	5

Secure attachment to parents

Kloppen volgende uitspraken over **jouw ouders?** (Omcirkel voor elke uitspraak 1 getal.)

	Nooit	Meestal niet	Soms	Meestal wel	Altijd
k. Mijn ouders aanvaarden mij zoals ik ben.	1	2	3	4	5
l. Mijn ouders hebben vertrouwen in mij.	1	2	3	4	5
m. Mijn ouders zien alleen mijn fouten.	1	2	3	4	5
n. Als ik iets wil vertellen, doen mijn ouders alsof ze mij niet horen.	1	2	3	4	5
o. Ik heb het gevoel dat mijn ouders heel weinig om mij geven.	1	2	3	4	5
p. Mijn ouders durven mij belachelijk maken in het bijzijn van andere mensen.	1	2	3	4	5
q. Mijn ouders geven mij het gevoel dat ik niets goed kan doen.	1	2	3	4	5

Multicultural leadership

Elke school legt andere **accenten in haar beleid**.

	Ja	In bepaalde mate	Nee
a. Heeft u een duidelijk uitgewerkt antiracisme beleid op school?	1	2	3
b. Staan er in het schoolreglement duidelijke afspraken over (sancties bij) racistische opmerkingen?	1	2	3
c. Worden handboeken gescreend door de school op vooroordelen en stereotypen?	1	2	3
d. Is er op school een toegankelijke contactpersoon waar leerlingen terecht kunnen met vragen, opmerkingen of klachten over racisme?	1	2	3
e. Organiseert de school projectwerk rond racisme? (vb. projectweek, het bezoeken van een tentoonstelling, gastsprekers ...)	1	2	3
f. Is er een duidelijk uitgewerkt antiracisme beleid voor de leerkrachten? (vb. de mogelijkheid tot het volgen van bijscholingen, sancties op het vertellen van racistische moppen ...)	1	2	3
g. Worden er halal schoolmaaltijden voorzien?	1	2	3
h. Worden er op school islamlessen georganiseerd?	1	2	3
i. Mogen anderstalige leerlingen onderling een andere taal dan het Nederlands spreken op de speelplaats?	1	2	3
J. Mogen anderstalige leerlingen onderling een andere taal dan het Nederlands spreken in de klas?	1	2	3
k. Wordt er op school aandacht geschonken aan islamitische feestdagen?	1	2	3
l. Mogen meisjes een hoofddoek dragen?	1	2	3

Multicultural teaching

Geef aan in welke mate u **als leerkracht van deze school** akkoord bent met volgende uitspraken.

Tijdens mijn lessen op deze school ...	Helemaal niet akkoord	Niet akkoord	Onbe- slust	Akkoord	Volledig akkoord	N.V.T.
a. merk je aan de inrichting van mijn klas dat ik rond verschillen tussen culturen werk.	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. werk ik uitdrukkelijk rond thema's over verschillen tussen culturen.	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. heb ik geen aandacht voor feestdagen uit verschillende godsdiensten.	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. denk ik na met mijn leerlingen over verschillende culturen.	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. schenk ik weinig aandacht aan verschillen tussen mensen van een andere afkomst.	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. laat ik niet toe de leerlingen vanuit hun cultuur kritiek te geven op het lesmateriaal.	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. gebruik ik geen voorbeelden uit andere culturen.	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. zet ik leerlingen aan tot actie om op te komen voor gelijkheid op school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
i. komen verschillen tussen mensen die buiten België geboren zijn niet aan bod.	1	2	3	4	5	6
j. worden de vele culturen die aanwezig zijn in onze samenleving besproken.	1	2	3	4	5	6
k. organiseer ik nooit acties tegen racisme samen met mijn leerlingen.	1	2	3	4	5	6
l. bespreek ik niet-Westerse personen die belangrijk zijn (geweest).	1	2	3	4	5	6

Pupils' perceptions of MCT

Hoeveel van jouw leerkrachten op deze school ...	Geen enkele leerkracht	1 leerkracht	Enkele leerkrachten	De meeste leerkrachten	Alle leerkrachten
a. richten hun klas in rond culturele thema's? (vb. eten, feesten ...)	1	2	3	4	5
b. werken uitdrukkelijk rond thema's over verschillen tussen culturen?	1	2	3	4	5
c. hebben aandacht voor feestdagen uit verschillende godsdiensten?	1	2	3	4	5
d. denken met jullie klas na over verschillende culturen?	1	2	3	4	5
e. schenken aandacht aan verschillen tussen mensen die niet in België geboren zijn?	1	2	3	4	5
f. laten je vanuit jouw cultuur kritiek geven op het lesmateriaal?	1	2	3	4	5
g. gebruiken tijdens hun les voorbeelden uit andere culturen?	1	2	3	4	5
h. zetten je aan tot actie om op te komen voor gelijkheid op school?	1	2	3	4	5
i. laten verschillen tussen mensen die buiten België geboren zijn aan bod komen tijdens hun les?	1	2	3	4	5
j. bespreken de vele culturen die aanwezig zijn in onze samenleving?	1	2	3	4	5
k. organiseren acties tegen racisme samen met je klas?	1	2	3	4	5
l. bespreken niet-Westerse personen die belangrijk zijn (geweest)?	1	2	3	4	5

Teachability

Ik vind dat **op deze school mijn leerlingen** over het algemeen ...

		Helemaal niet akkoord	Niet akkoord	Onbe- slist	Akkoord	Volledig akkoord
a.	aangenaam zijn in de omgang.	1	2	3	4	5
b.	zich goed kunnen concentreren.	1	2	3	4	5
c.	zelfvertrouwen hebben.	1	2	3	4	5
d.	vriendelijk zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
e.	veel verbeelding hebben.	1	2	3	4	5
f.	rustig zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
g.	sociaal goed aangepast zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
h.	taken op tijd afmaken.	1	2	3	4	5
i.	emotioneel stabiel zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
j.	sterk verbaal bekwaam zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
k.	van schoolwerk houden.	1	2	3	4	5
l.	slim zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
m.	veel inzicht hebben.	1	2	3	4	5
n.	richtlijnen goed navolgen.	1	2	3	4	5
o.	rekening houden met anderen.	1	2	3	4	5
p.	goed meewerken.	1	2	3	4	5
q.	ondernemend zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
r.	logisch/rationeel denken.	1	2	3	4	5
s.	leergierig zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
t.	extravert zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
u.	graag deelnemen aan lesactiviteiten.	1	2	3	4	5
v.	opgewekt zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
w.	intelligent zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
x.	ernstig zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
y.	enthousiast zijn in de les.	1	2	3	4	5
z.	zich kunnen inleven in anderen.	1	2	3	4	5
aa.	eerlijk zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
bb.	een goed gevoel voor humor hebben.	1	2	3	4	5
cc.	bereiken wat op basis van hun leeftijd kan verwacht worden (academisch).	1	2	3	4	5
dd.	taken in de klas zelfstandig kunnen beginnen en afmaken.	1	2	3	4	5
ee.	aandachtig zijn in de klas.	1	2	3	4	5

Laddism

Ben je akkoord met volgende uitspraken? (Omcirkel voor elke uitspraak 1 getal.)

	Helemaal niet akkoord	Niet akkoord	Tussen in	Akkoord	Helemaal akkoord
a. Mijn vrienden lachen met mensen die veel meewerken in de klas.	1	2	3	4	5
b. Het is ok om goede resultaten te halen, zolang je er maar niet te hard voor werkt.	1	2	3	4	5
c. Ik zou niet vrijwillig op een vraag antwoorden in de klas omdat andere leerlingen dan zouden denken dat ik slim ben.	1	2	3	4	5
d. Als ik het goed zou hebben gedaan op een taak of test, zou ik niet willen dat andere leerlingen mijn punten zouden zien.	1	2	3	4	5
e. Mijn vrienden lachen met mensen die hoge punten halen.	1	2	3	4	5
f. Ik doe minder goed mijn best op school omdat mijn vrienden vinden dat hard werken voor school niet cool is.	1	2	3	4	5
g. Eén van mijn doelen in de klas is te vermijden dat ik slimmer lijk dan andere leerlingen in de klas.	1	2	3	4	5
h. Leerlingen die veel tijd steken in schoolwerk, worden niet zo gemakkelijk aanvaard op school.	1	2	3	4	5
i. Iemand die altijd alle lessen leert, is een uitsloper/streber.	1	2	3	4	5



Relaties op school ontcijferd

Promotoren: Prof. Dr. Stevens en Prof. Dr. Van Houtte

Contactpersoon: Drs. Roselien Vervaet

Adres: Korte Meer 3, 9000 Gent

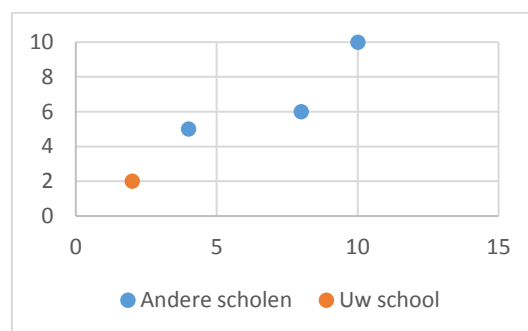
Telefoonnummer: 09/264.84.37

E-mailadres: Roselien.Vervaet@UGent.be

Beste,

Vorig schooljaar nam uw school deel aan een onderzoek van de Vakgroep Sociologie, Universiteit Gent, over relaties tussen leerlingen onderling en tussen leerlingen en leerkrachten. We willen nagaan welke invloed deze relaties hebben op het welbevinden en de studieresultaten van de leerlingen. Na het bezoeken van 45 scholen en het bevragen van bijna 3500 leerlingen en meer dan 600 leerkrachten zijn we begonnen met de verwerking van de vragenlijsten. Nu deze verwerking achter de rug is, willen we graag de eerste onderzoeksresultaten met u delen.

In de vragenlijst hebben wij de leerlingen allerlei vragen voorgelegd. Verschillende vragen meten samen 1 concept, bijvoorbeeld zelfwaardering. U krijgt zicht op hoe de leerlingen van uw school gemiddeld hebben gescoord op dit concept. Naast de resultaten voor uw school, krijgt u ook de resultaten van de andere scholen. We hebben geprobeerd, waar mogelijk, de resultaten visueel weer te geven. In deze grafieken is het resultaat van uw school in het rood aangeduid, dat van de andere scholen in het blauw. Om een vergelijkingsbasis te hebben, hebben we de resultaten van de scholen op de horizontale as geordend volgens het leerlingenpubliek. Hoe meer naar links, hoe kansarmer het leerlingenpubliek. Hoe meer naar rechts, hoe meer welgesteld het leerlingenpubliek. Dus horizontaal is uw school telkens gepositioneerd volgens de welgesteldheid van het leerlingenpubliek. Dit is een score op 90, waarbij de minst welgestelde school binnen dit onderzoek een waarde van 31.82 had en de meest welgestelde school een waarde van 65.81, met een gemiddelde van 48.06. Verticaal is uw school gepositioneerd volgens de gemiddelde score van uw leerlingen op dat specifieke concept.



Stel dat we in dit voorbeeld kijken hoeveel de leerlingen gemiddeld scoren op een zelfwaarderingsschaal die loopt van 0 tot 10. Hier situeert 'uw school' zich helemaal links op de horizontale as, wat dus betekent dat in dit geval uw school de meest kansarme school is. In dit voorbeeld scoort de meest kansrijke school 10, terwijl de meest kansarme school ('uw school') 2 scoort.

De grafieken geven u een goed beeld van hoe uw school zich verhoudt tot de andere scholen. De scores kunnen telkens lopen van 2 (op elke deelvraag hebben alle deelnemende leerlingen dan 'helemaal niet akkoord' ingevuld) tot 10 (op elke deelvraag hebben alle deelnemende leerlingen dan 'helemaal akkoord' ingevuld). Omdat het echter interessanter is om de resultaten te bekijken in relatie tot de andere scholen zoomen we bij de meeste grafieken een beetje in, zodat u een goed beeld krijgt op de score van uw school en de andere scholen.

We willen hierbij benadrukken dat het gaat om een opvolgingsonderzoek. De leerlingen van uw school werden eerder bevraagd in het derde middelbaar, tijdens het schooljaar 2011-2012. Daarom zullen in dit rapport telkens twee grafieken weergegeven worden van de vragen die in beide onderzoeken bevraagd werden. U krijgt een grafiek met de resultaten van 3 jaar geleden, naast die met de nieuwe gegevens. Zo is het voor u mogelijk om evolutie en progressie te zien. De resultaten van de tweede bevraging gaan uiteraard over (grotendeels) andere leerlingen en leerkrachten, aangezien niet alle leerlingen en leerkrachten die drie jaar geleden op uw school les volgden of gaven in het derde middelbaar nu actief zijn in het zesde jaar. Bovendien zijn de assen van de twee grafieken soms anders ingedeeld om een meer gedetailleerd overzicht te geven, wat dus op het eerste gezicht een vertekend beeld kan geven. Bij de eerste bevraging werden 55 scholen onderzocht, bij deze bevraging 49, waardoor de positionering van uw school automatisch licht veranderd kan zijn. Bovendien zijn op sommige scholen slechts een tiental leerlingen bevraagd, wat kan leiden tot vertekende resultaten. Vandaar dat hieronder het aantal leerlingen wordt meegedeeld dat deelnam aan de bevraging op uw school. Een opvolgingsonderzoek betekent een grote meerwaarde voor ons als onderzoekers, maar we zijn er ook van overtuigd dat het voor u als deelnemende school een grote meerwaarde kan betekenen.

Ten slotte wil ik u nogmaals bedanken voor uw medewerking aan ons onderzoek. Bij vragen of opmerkingen kan u mij steeds contacteren (Roselien.Vervaeke@UGent.be).

151 leerlingen van het zesde middelbaar van uw school namen deel aan de enquête.

1. Welbevinden van de leerlingen van het zesde middelbaar

Hieronder geven we informatie over het welbevinden van de leerlingen van het zesde middelbaar. Achtereenvolgens bespreken we:

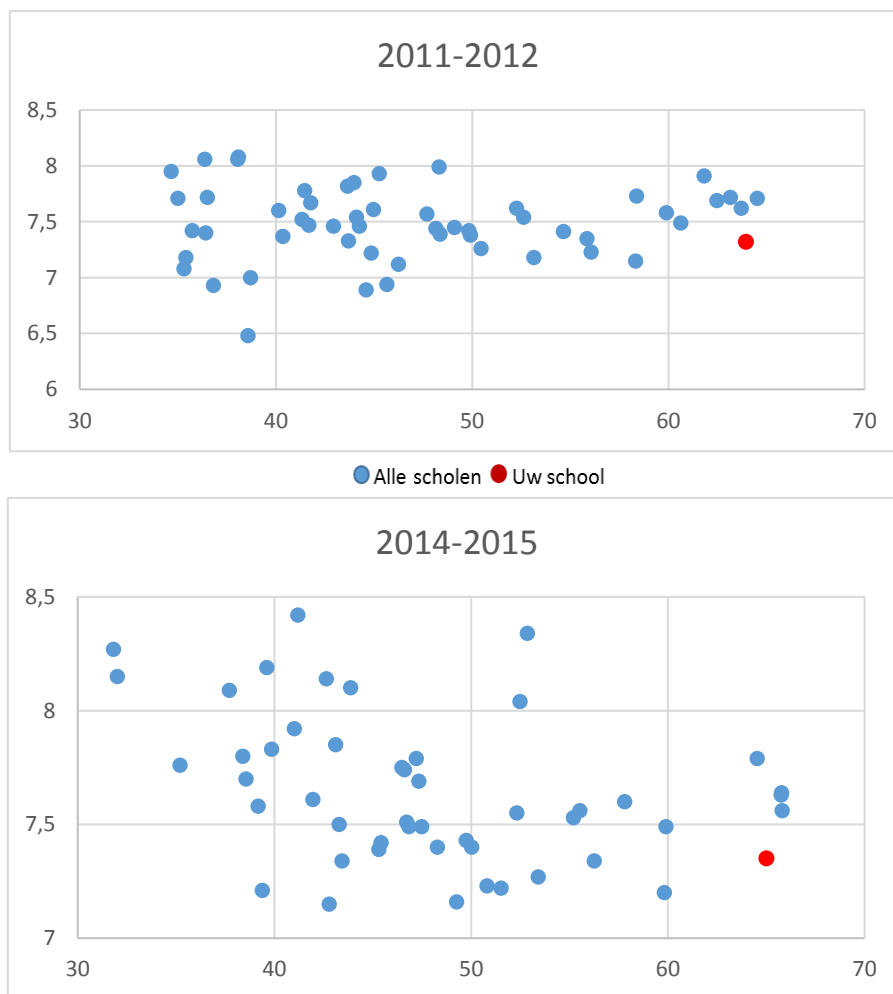
- Zelfwaardering
- Pesten
- Zich goed voelen op school
- Schoolmoeheid

1.1. Zelfwaardering

Deze schaal meet de mate van zelfwaardering bij de leerlingen. We hebben dit gemeten aan de hand van de volgende vragen (*“Duid aan of je akkoord bent met volgende afspraken over jezelf: helemaal niet akkoord, niet akkoord, tussenin, akkoord, helemaal akkoord”*):

- Soms denk ik dat ik nergens goed voor ben en helemaal niet deug.
- Ik denk dat ik een aantal goede eigenschappen bezit.
- Ik heb niet zoveel eigenschappen om trots op te zijn.
- Ik ben een waardevol persoon, minstens evenwaardig als anderen.
- Ik neem een positieve houding aan tegenover mezelf.
- Ik zal het nooit even goed doen als de meeste anderen.

Hoe hoger de score op 10, hoe meer zelfwaardering de leerlingen hebben. De gemiddelde score voor 2014-2015 bedroeg 7.64/10.



1.2. Pesten

We hebben de leerlingen allerlei vragen voorgelegd in verband met pesten. We stelden ongeveer dezelfde vragen, eenmaal met betrekking tot de medeleerlingen en eenmaal met betrekking tot de leerkrachten. Opgelet, omdat niet alle leerlingen al gepest geweest zijn, gaat het soms om een beperktere groep leerlingen. Als het om een beperktere groep gaat, zullen we tussen haakjes weergeven om hoeveel leerlingen het gaat. De percentages die weergegeven worden, gaan dan specifiek over die groep.

1.2.1. Pesten door medeleerlingen

- Eerst werd aan de leerlingen gevraagd of ze sinds het vierde middelbaar uitgescholden, bedreigd, geduwd of geslagen zijn, oneerlijk behandeld of uitgesloten. Indien ze 1 of meerdere van deze situaties hadden meegemaakt, werd hen gevraagd hoe vaak dit is gebeurd. De resultaten hiervan vindt u terug in **tabel 1**.
- Daarna hebben we gevraagd waarom ze dachten dat ze dit hadden meegemaakt. Dit is top 3 van redenen voor uw school:
 1. Omdat je goed je best doet op school
 2. Je uiterlijk
 3. Je kleren

Tabel 1

	Heb je dit al meegemaakt van het vierde middelbaar tot nu?		
	Uw school 2011-2012	Uw school 2014-2015	Alle scholen 2014-2015
ja	62.1%	42.4%	58.4%
nee	37.9%	57.6%	41.6%
	Als je dit hebt meegemaakt, hoe vaak is dit gebeurd? (63)		
1 enkele keer	61.0%	31.7%	17%
een paar keer	30.5%	52.4%	25.8%
soms	5.9%	9.5%	9.9%
regelmatig	1.7%	4.8%	3.3%
zeer regelmatig	0.8%	1.6%	1.3%
constant	0.0%	0%	0.4%

1.2.2. 'Pesten' door leerkrachten

- Een opmerking hierbij. Pesten door leerkrachten gaat over hoe de leerlingen dit ervaren hebben. Dit hoeft helemaal niet zo voorgevallen te zijn of zo bedoeld geweest te zijn. Maar dit betekent niet dat dit niet betekenisvol is. Het is een zeer belangrijke indicatie voor het klimaat tussen leerlingen en leerkrachten.
- Eerst werd aan de leerlingen gevraagd of ze sinds het vierde middelbaar een van volgende situaties al hadden meegemaakt:
 - Een leerkracht gaf jou minder punten dan je verdiende.
 - Een leerkracht gaf jou het gevoel dat je dom bent.
 - Een leerkracht heeft jou beledigd of uitgescholden.
 - Een leerkracht liet jou minder dan de anderen aan het woord in de klas.
 - Een leerkracht gaf jou onterecht straf.
 - Een leerkracht heeft jou oneerlijk behandeld.

De resultaten hiervan kunt u terugvinden in **tabel 1**.

- Daarna hebben we gevraagd hoe vaak dit is gebeurd. De resultaten hiervan vindt u in **tabel 2**.

Tabel 1

	Heb je volgende situaties al meegemaakt van het vierde middelbaar tot nu?		
	Uw school 2011-2012	Uw school 2014-2015	Alle scholen 2014-2015
1. Een leerkracht gaf je minder punten dan je verdiende.	ja: 42.6%	ja: 49.7%	ja: 47.5%
2. Een leerkracht gaf jou het gevoel dat je dom bent.	ja: 27.9%	ja: 33.8%	ja: 36%
3. Een leerkracht heeft jou beledigd of uitgescholden.	ja: 20.5%	ja: 16%	ja: 20.4%
4. Een leerkracht liet jou minder dan de anderen aan het woord in de klas.	ja: 24.2%	ja: 21.5%	ja: 21.4%
5. Een leerkracht gaf jou onterecht straf.	ja: 23.8%	ja: 26.7%	ja: 33.4%
6. Een leerkracht heeft jou oneerlijk behandeld.	ja: 16.8%	ja: 28%	ja: 34.4%

Tabel 2

	Als je dit hebt meegemaakt, hoe vaak is dit gebeurd? (91)		
	Uw school 2011-2012	Uw school 2014-2015	Alle scholen 2014-2015
1 enkele keer	38.3%	19.8%	11.1%
een paar keer	47.7%	49.5%	29%
soms	9.3%	25.3%	14.1%
regelmatig	4.7%	4.4%	6%
zeer regelmatig	0.0%	1.1%	1.4%
constant	0.0%	0%	1%

1.3. Zich thuis voelen op school

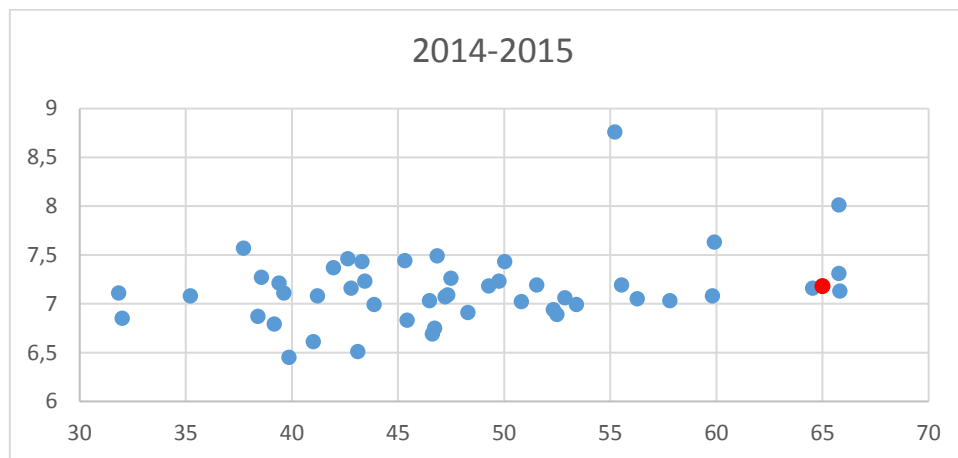
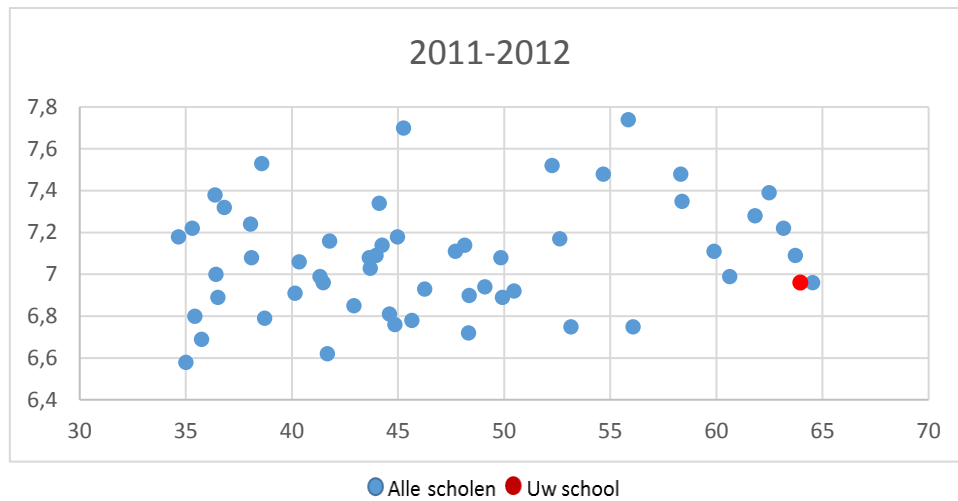
De schaal die het zich thuis voelen op school meet, bevat verschillende vragen. In deze schaal zitten er verschillende dimensies die elk naar iets anders peilen. Om u een gedetailleerd beeld te geven, geven we de resultaten weer van de verschillende dimensies. Aan de leerlingen werd gevraagd: *“Ben je akkoord met volgende uitspraken?: helemaal niet akkoord, niet akkoord, tussenin, akkoord, helemaal akkoord.”*

1.3.1. Leerling-Leerkracht relatie

Deze schaal meet de perceptie die leerlingen hebben over de steun die ze krijgen van leerkrachten (volwassenen) op school. Ze bevat volgende items:

- Wanneer ik ergens goed in ben, wordt dit hier ook opgemerkt.
- De meeste leerkrachten zijn geïnteresseerd in mij.
- Er is zeker één volwassene op school waarmee ik kan praten als ik een probleem heb.
- Ik word met evenveel respect behandeld als andere leerlingen.
- De mensen op school weten dat ik goed werk kan leveren.
- De leerkrachten respecteren mij.

Hoe hoger de leerlingen hierop scoren, hoe positiever ze staan tegenover de rol van leerkrachten (volwassenen) op school. De gemiddelde score voor 2014-2015 bedroeg 7.15/10.

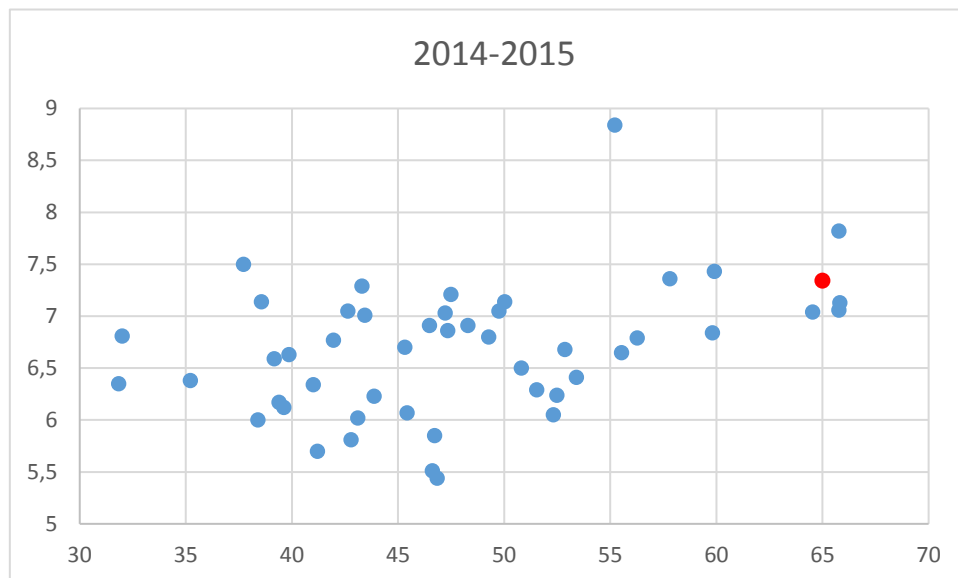
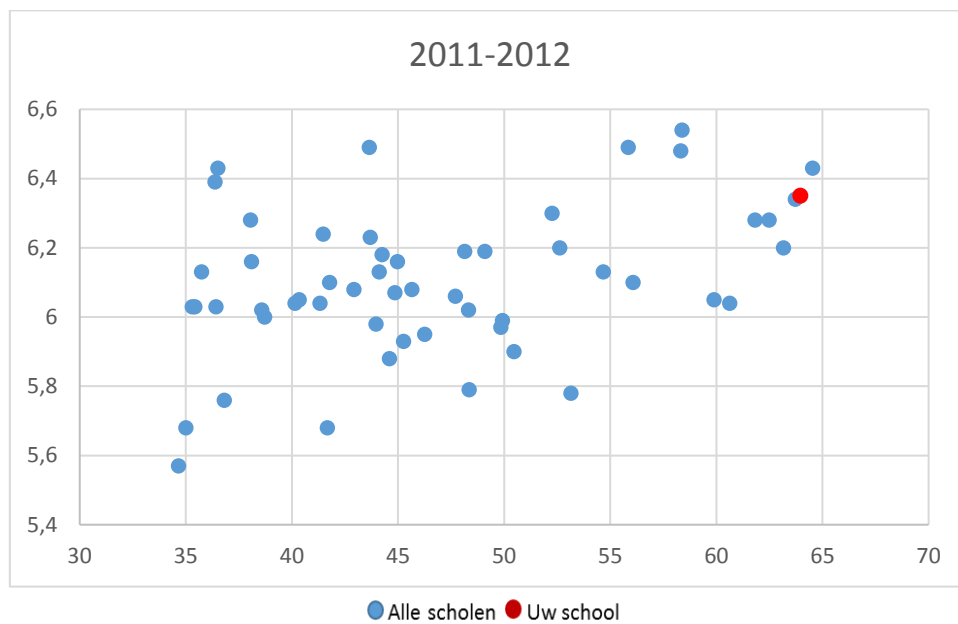


1.3.2. Zich verbonden voelen met de school

Deze schaal bevat volgende items:

- Ik voel me echt deel van deze school.
- Ik wou dat ik op een andere school zat.
- Ik ben trots om op deze school te zitten.

Hoe hoger de leerlingen hierop scoren, hoe meer ze zich een deel voelen van de school. De gemiddelde score voor 2014-2015 bedroeg 6.67/10.

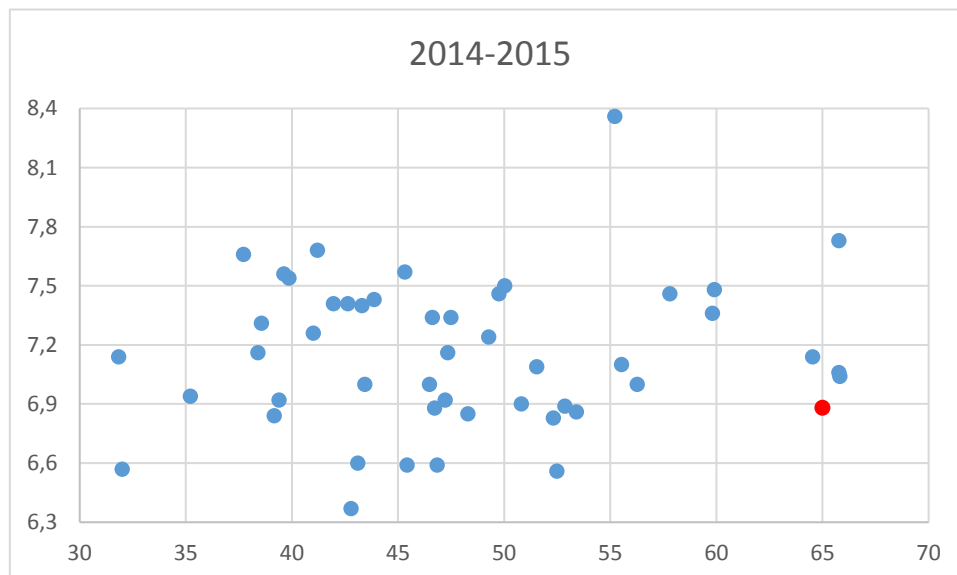
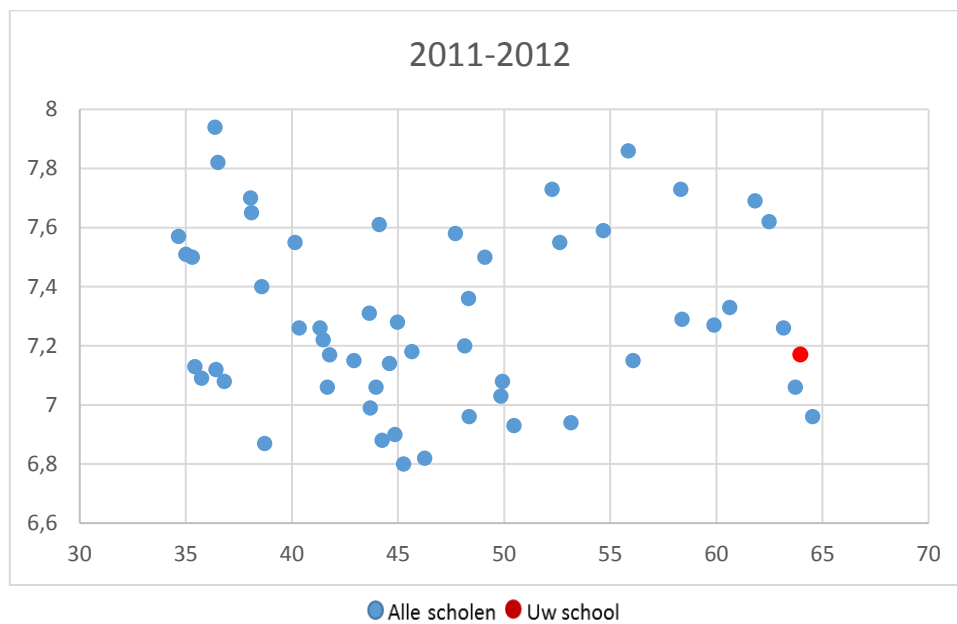


1.3.3. Mezelf zijn op school

Deze schaal bevat volgende items:

- Iedereen op school is vriendelijk tegen mij.
- Ik kan echt mezelf zijn op deze school.
- De andere leerlingen aanvaarden mij zoals ik ben.

Hoe hoger de leerlingen hierop scoren, hoe meer de leerlingen het gevoel hebben dat ze echt zichzelf kunnen zijn. De gemiddelde score voor 2014-2015 bedroeg 7.15/10.

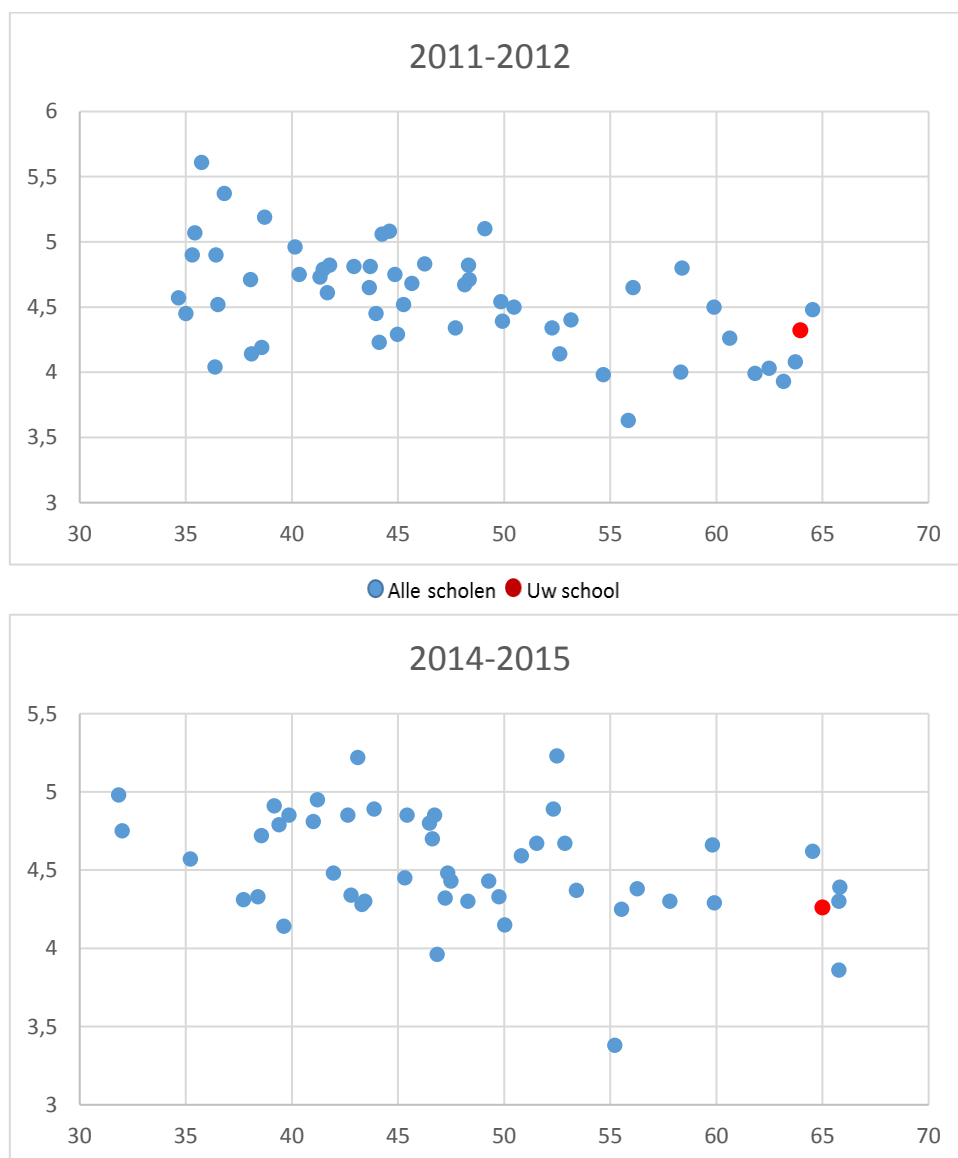


1.3.4. Niet mezelf zijn op school

Deze schaal bevat volgende items:

- Mensen als ik worden hier moeilijk aanvaard.
- Soms heb ik het gevoel dat ik hier niet pas.
- De leerkrachten op school zijn niet geïnteresseerd in mensen zoals ik.
- Ik voel me anders dan de meeste leerlingen hier.

Hoe hoger de leerlingen hierop scoren, hoe meer ze het gevoel hebben dat ze niet aanvaard worden op school. Dus hoe lager de leerlingen hierop scoren, hoe beter. De gemiddelde score voor 2014-2015 bedroeg 4.52/10.

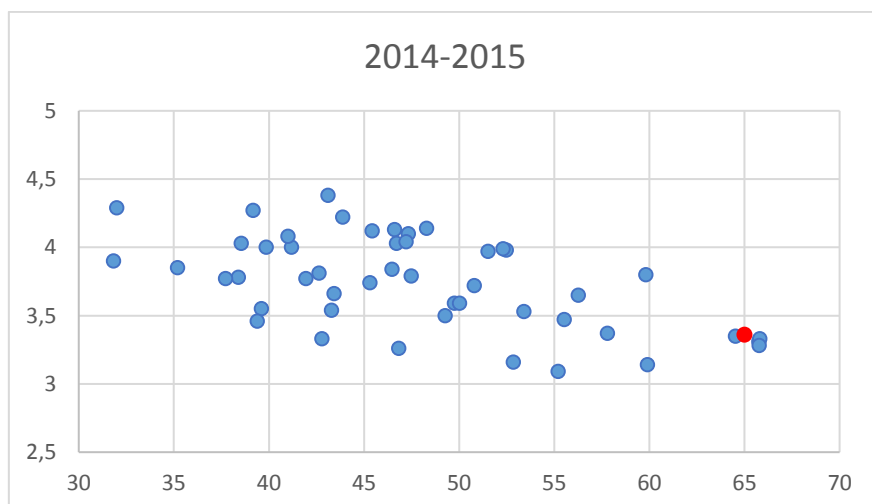
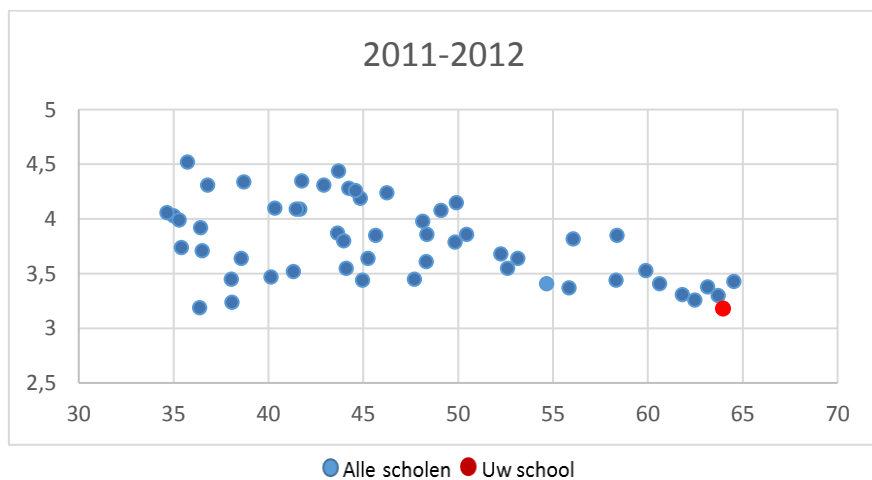


1.4. Futiliteit

Het gevoel van futiliteit is eigenlijk een gevoel van controle over het eigen functioneren in het schoolsysteem. Als leerlingen hoog scoren op de futiliteitsschaal dan betekent dit dat ze het gevoel hebben dat hun slagen op school niet in hun eigen handen ligt. Ze voelen zich een pion in het systeem. Belangrijk hierbij is dat ze zich niet alleen voelen in 'hun lot'. Het gaat telkens om 'mensen zoals ik'. *"In welke mate ben je akkoord met volgende uitspraken: helemaal niet akkoord, niet akkoord, tussenin, akkoord, helemaal akkoord"*.

- Voor mensen als ik is er weinig kans dat we in het leven bereiken wat we graag willen.
- Mensen zoals ik zullen het nooit goed doen op school, zelfs al proberen we nog zo hard.
- Als ik hard werk, kan ik het goed doen op school.
- Leerlingen zoals ik hebben geen geluk op school.
- Hard werken op school heeft geen zin, een goede job is toch niet voor mensen zoals ik.

Hoe hoger de leerlingen scoren, hoe sterker het futiliteitsgevoel. Een lagere score is hier dus beter. De gemiddelde score voor 2014-2015 bedroeg 3.74/10.



2. Vooroordelen bij de leerlingen van het zesde middelbaar

In dit deel meten we hoe etnocentrisch de leerlingen zijn en welke mate vooroordelen tegenover andere bevolkingsgroepen leven bij hen.

Achtereenvolgens bespreken we:

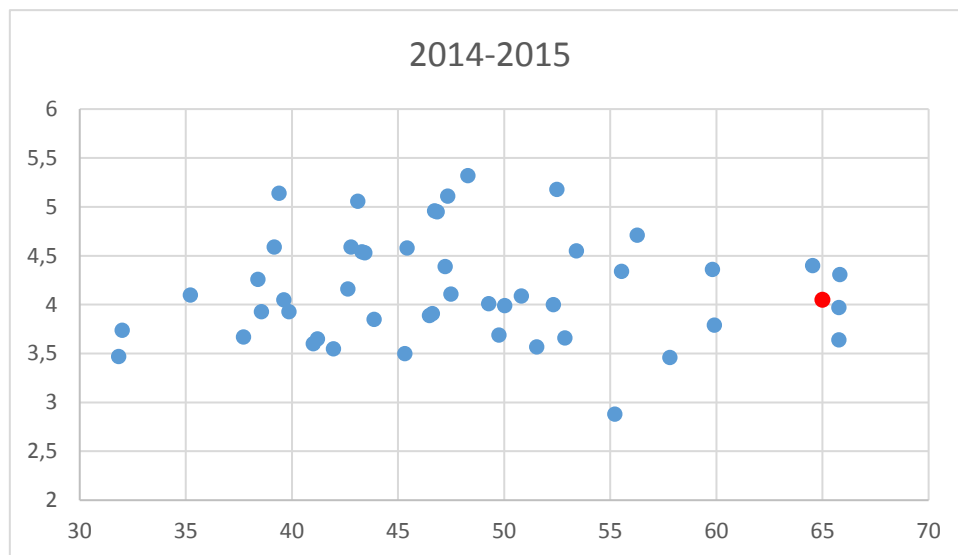
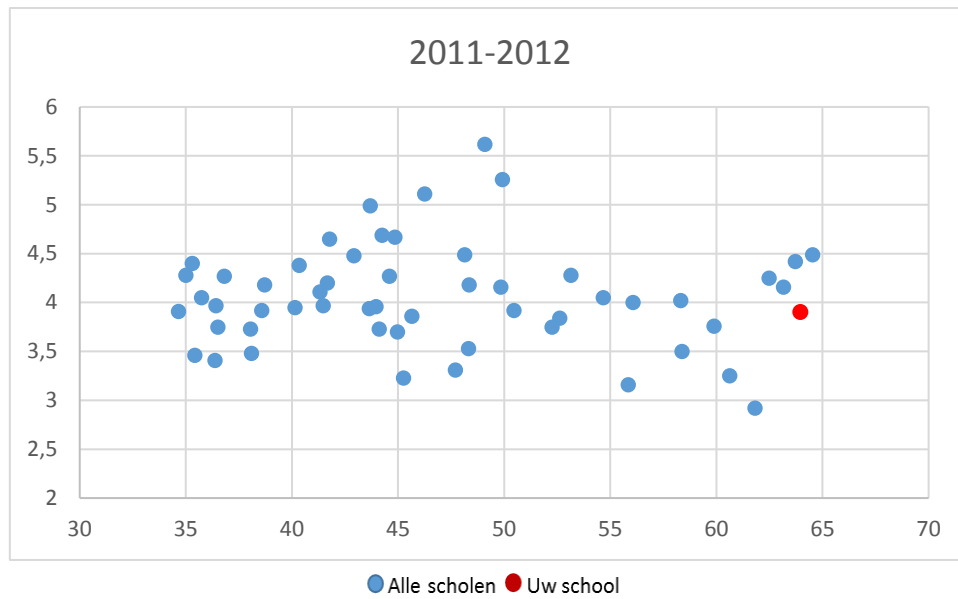
- Etnocentrisme
- Vooroordelen

2.1. Etnocentrisme

Etnocentrisme peilt naar het openstaan voor andere culturen. Hoe etnocentrischer iemand is, hoe meer die gericht is op zijn/haar eigen cultuur en zich afsluit voor andere culturen. *“In welke mate ben je akkoord met volgende uitspraken: helemaal niet akkoord, niet akkoord, tussenin, akkoord, helemaal akkoord”.*

- De aanwezigheid van verschillende culturen maakt onze samenleving interessanter.
- Mensen uit verschillende culturen hebben best zo weinig mogelijk contact met elkaar.
- Ik vind dat we veel kunnen bijleren van mensen uit andere culturen.
- Als we allemaal goed willen samenleven, moeten verschillende culturen elkaar respecteren.
- Er is in ons land te weinig begrip voor mensen met een andere cultuur.

Hoe hoger de leerlingen hierop scoren, hoe minder zij openstaan voor andere culturen. Een lagere score is hier dus beter. De gemiddelde score voor 2014-2015 bedroeg 4.16/10.



2.2. Vooroordelen

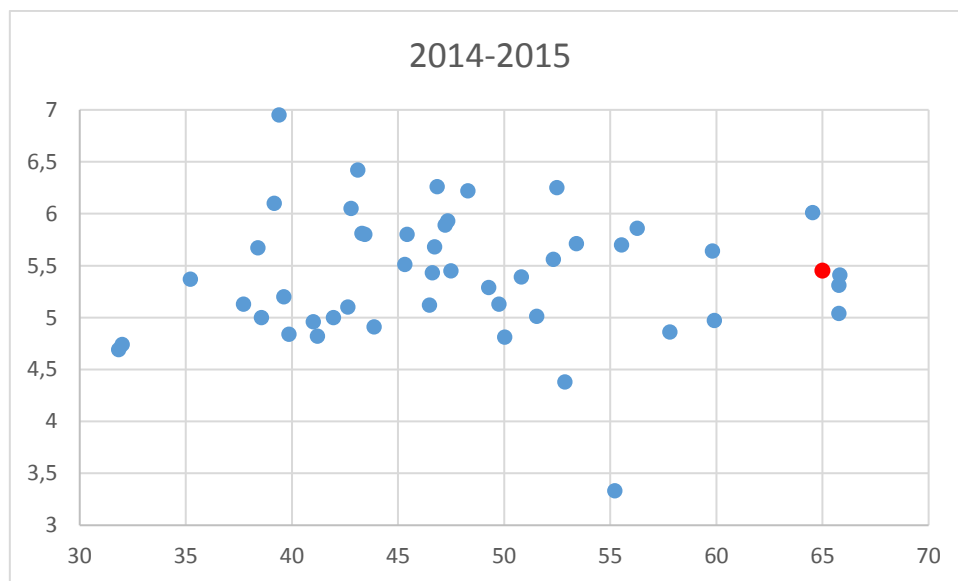
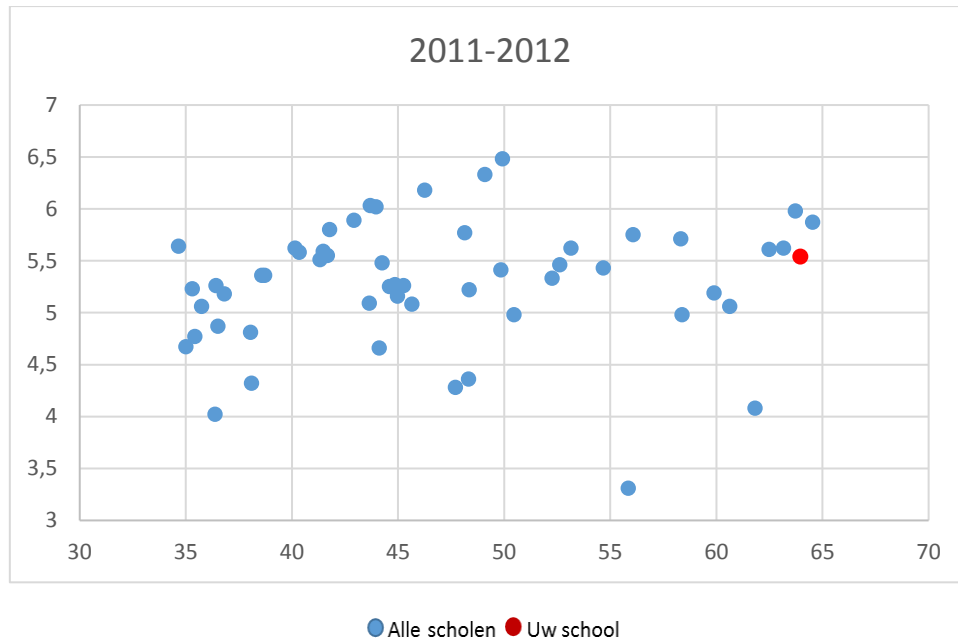
Bij deze vraag hebben we de vooroordelen van de leerlingen tegenover 3 verschillende bevolkingsgroepen bevraagd, namelijk Oost-Europeanen, Turken en Marokkanen. *“Duid voor elke uitspraak aan of je akkoord bent of niet. Het gaat om jouw persoonlijk mening. Helemaal niet akkoord, niet akkoord, tussenin, akkoord, helemaal akkoord”*. Volgende vooroordelen werden bevraagd:

- Oost-Europeanen zijn over het algemeen onbetrouwbaar.
- Oost-Europeanen werken mee aan de rijkdom van België.
- Oost-Europeanen komen in België profiteren van de sociale zekerheid.
- Oost-Europeanen nemen het werk af van de andere mensen in België.
- In sommige buurten doet de overheid te veel voor Oost-Europeanen en te weinig voor de andere mensen.
- Oost-Europeanen zijn een bedreiging voor onze cultuur en gebruiken.

Dezelfde vragen werden ook gesteld met betrekking tot Turken en Marokkanen. Hoe hoger de leerlingen hierop scoren, hoe meer zij bevooroordeeld zijn. Een lagere score is hier dus beter.

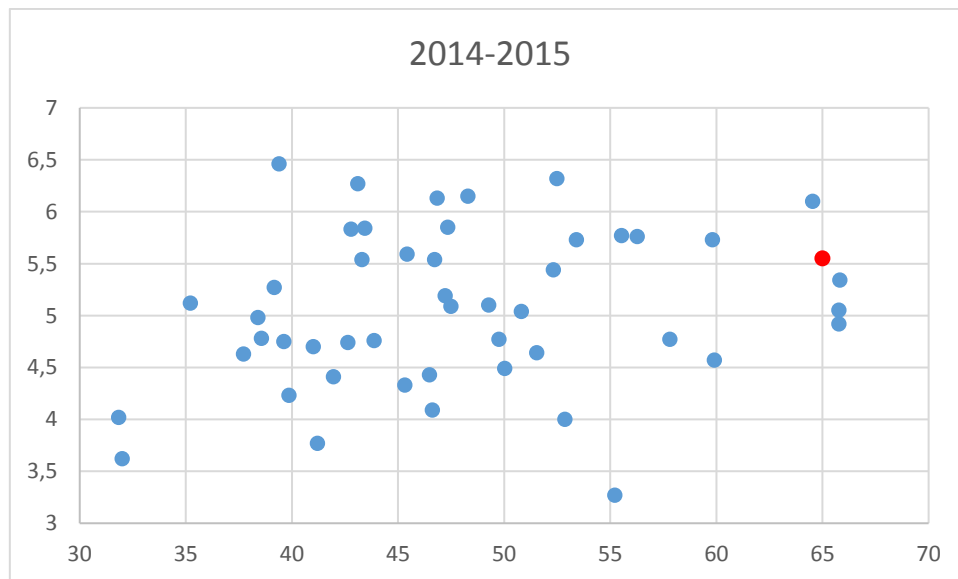
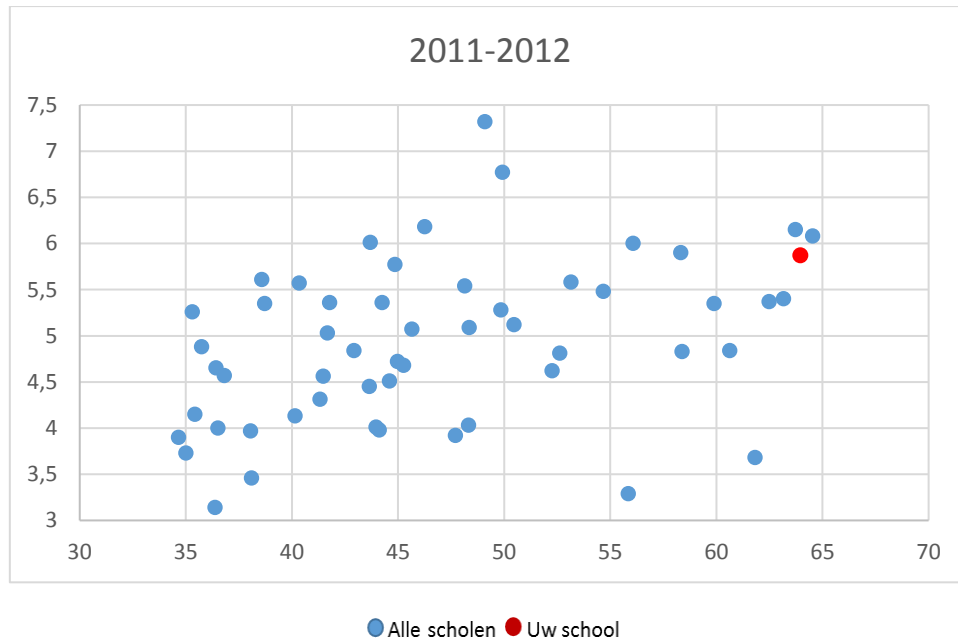
Vooroordelen tegenover Oost-Europeanen

De gemiddelde score voor 2014-2015 bedroeg 5.42/10.



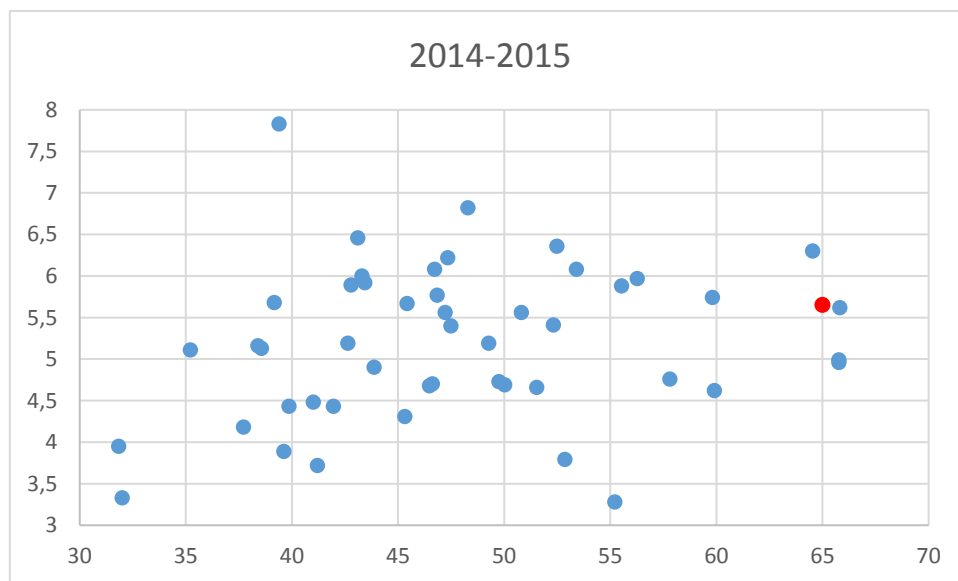
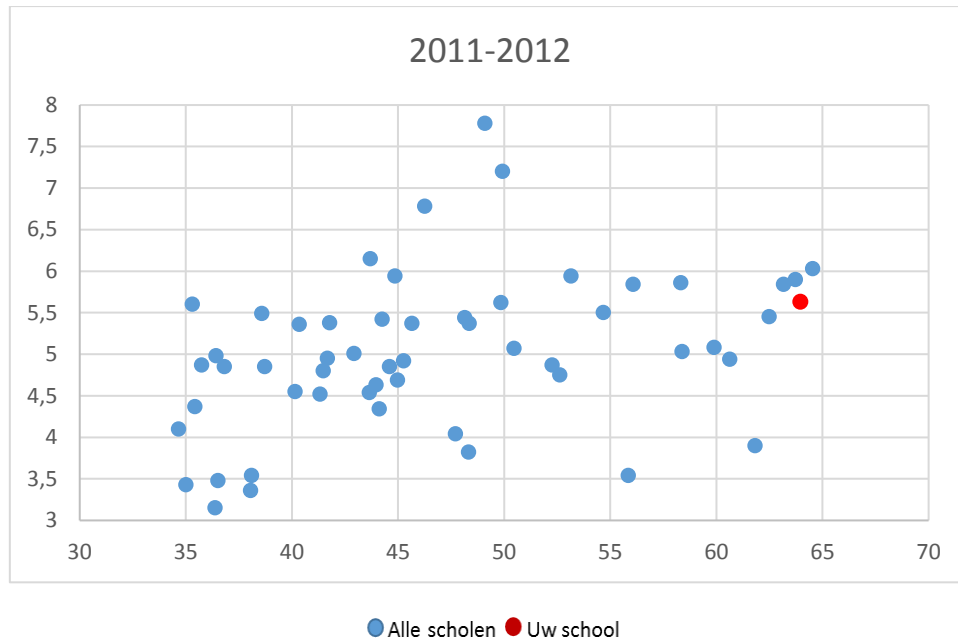
Vooroordelen tegenover Turken

De gemiddelde score voor 2014-2015 bedroeg 5.07/10.



Vooroordelen tegenover Marokkanen

De gemiddelde score voor 2014-2015 bedroeg 5.21/10.



With this dissertation, I hope to stimulate researchers, social policymakers, and educational practitioners alike, to make multiculturalism a core element of the development of caring school communities. In such communities, pupils, teachers, and principals feel at ease in a diverse society, bound together by shared values of mutual respect and understanding.