Austria

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4.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to describe how researchers in Austria have studied ethnicity and educational inequality between 1980 and 2010 as well as critically assess the reasons for specific research activities and the lack thereof. Even today, Austria still lacks a systematic overview of research in the field of ethnicity/race and educational inequality. This is in direct contrast to countries like the United Kingdom or the Netherlands where a strong interest developed in this particular field of enquiry from the 1980s onwards. Nonetheless, Austrian research on educational inequality has sharply increased parallel to Austria's participation in large-scale studies such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS).

This contribution is structured as follows: we first provide background information on the Austrian educational system, main immigration periods and outline the most important developments of social policy between 1980 and 2010. Next, we describe how the data gathering for this literature review was applied. The centerpiece of our review is the analysis of five distinct research traditions on ethnicity/race and educational inequality in Austria: the political arithmetic tradition, the family background tradition, the structures of educational systems tradition, the intercultural education and discrimination tradition, and the multilinguality tradition. We concentrate on their major focuses, methods, findings and implications for debates within this field of inquiry. We conclude by summarizing and critically assessing the research traditions explored and provide suggestions for future research on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational inequality in Austria.

4.2 National context

This section offers a brief overview of the main characteristics of the Austrian educational system, immigration patterns to Austria after World War II, and the development of relevant policies in this field.

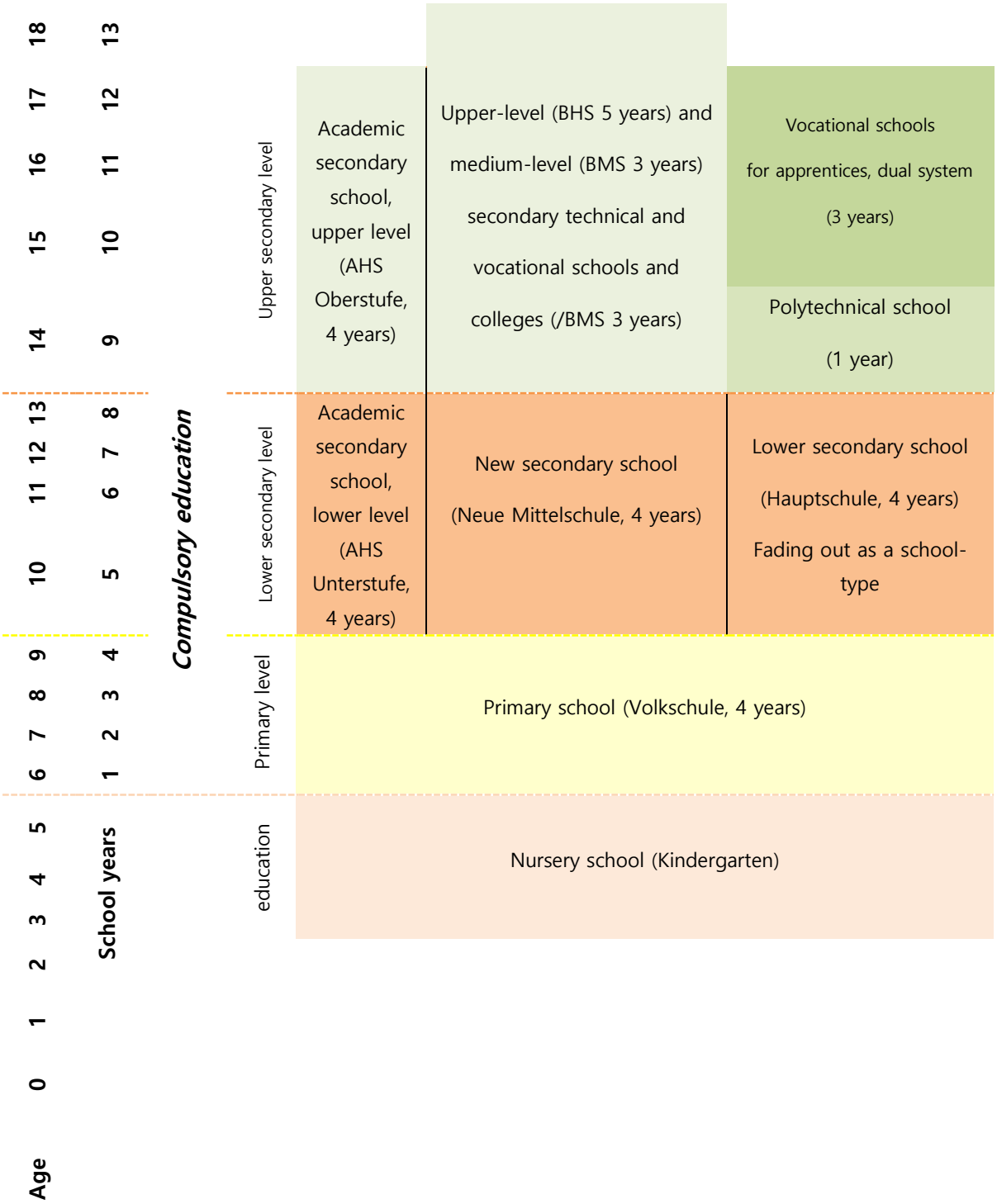
4.2.1 Educational system

Full-time compulsory education in Austria starts at age six and lasts nine years until age 15. Primary education is the most comprehensive phase in the Austrian system, takes four years and is compulsory except for the small percentage selected into special school (*Sonderschule*) for remedial education. Most primary schools (*Volksschule*) operate on a half-day basis. Pupils who are classified by teachers as 'not ready' spend an additional year in preschool. Since 2008, children have to take a German language test 15 months before entering school. If their German is not at the defined level they are provided with German language support in kindergarten (Stanzel-Tischler, 2011). Since 2010, kindergarten attendance is compulsory for the year before schooling begins. These measures were introduced with the aim of having all children begin their schooling with a reasonable level of German language proficiency.

After primary school, at the age of ten, pupils in Austria are streamed into two separate types of school: vocationally (*Hauptschule*) or academically oriented (*AHS-Unterstufe*) lower secondary education. Hauptschule represents the lower tier and is open to everybody after primary school. In contrast, admission to the academically oriented track, which prepares students to continue in upper secondary schools and sit the university entrance certificate 'Matura', depends on marks derived from the last year of primary school. The scale of assessment ranges from 1 (very good) to 5 (inadequate) and only pupils assessed as 'very good' or 'good' in German and mathematics may be admitted to the academic secondary school. Teachers can also give recommendations but these do not have a binding character. Additionally, lower secondary school pupils who are classified as not fit for regular school, in this case Hauptschule, are streamed into special schools where they receive specific support. Besides downward streaming, students have to retake a year in primary and secondary education if they do not meet the demands for that year. In the Austrian educational system, all exams are developed, administrated, and evaluated by teachers and have yet to be standardized. The first standardized national exams took place in spring 2012.[1]

Since compulsory education in Austria lasts until age 15, students who finish Hauptschule (and did not repeat a grade) have to attend one year more of school. Those heading for the labor market attend a one-year preparatory class (*Polytechnikum*) before continuing either as an unskilled worker or with an apprenticeship position to become a skilled worker. The apprenticeship system is a combined three-year period, in firm training with one day per week in school. The young adults streamed into the academic track in lower secondary education predominately move on to the upper secondary level (*AHS-Oberstufe*) within the same school. In Austria the majority of youth in the upper secondary level are in vocational education and training (VET) whereas only a minority (around 20% of peers in their age group) is in general academic education. VET consists of three separate paths with varying content and credentials. Among them is the apprenticeship path, which trains young adolescents in a certain profession (four days in an enterprise and one day in school) as mentioned above. The apprenticeship path was, for decades, the main path into adulthood for the male population, albeit with widely varying prestige accorded to firms and professions. A parallel path without a position in an enterprise is found in schools with a medium vocational education lasting three years (BMS). Only the higher technical and vocational colleges (BHS) provide access to tertiary education through the 'Matura' diploma. Tertiary education is two tiered, consisting of classical universities and so-called '*Fachhochschulen*'. The former offer university programs while the latter are full-time schools where students can extend and refine their skills with a strong labor-market orientation. Once the entrance certificate 'Matura' is obtained, the student is free to choose their study program and university. Binding entry exams at this point in time only exist for specific study programs, such as medicine and law. In short, until 2012 the Austrian educational system was characterized by non-compulsory preschool education, early selection at age ten and highly stratified secondary education. The proportion of private schools accounted around 10% (Statistik Austria, 2012[2]), the majority of these run by religious congregations. Moreover, participation at the post-secondary/tertiary educational level remains low in Austria compared to other OECD countries (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: THE AUSTRIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM



4.2.2 Migration to Austria

After the end of World War II, Austria soon experienced labor shortages in specific industrial sectors that required more workers than the domestic labor market could supply. Accordingly, unemployment rates decreased at the end of the 1950s and the recruitment of unskilled labor increased during the 1960s, with a peak during the first years of the 1970s. Official recruitment agreements were signed with Spain (1962), Turkey (1964), and Yugoslavia (1966) (Fassmann and Münz, 1994).[3] Until the break-down of the Eastern bloc in 1989, Austria mostly attracted migrants from Yugoslavia and Turkey. The recruitment period finished in 1973 when the oil price shock cut back the economic boom throughout Europe. From 1975 until 1990, migration to Austria and the employment of foreign workers was regulated (and restricted) by the employment law for foreigners and the residence law. Up to 1990, immigration policy was purely conceived as labor market policy and continued to rest on the assumption of the temporary nature of the presence of 'guest workers' (Perchinig and König, 2003).

After the fall of the iron curtain in 1989 and the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991, an influx of refugees and immigrants reached Austria. The size of the foreign-born population increased from 5% to almost 9% between 1989 and 1993. Austrian politicians reacted by implementing restrictive migration laws which led to a sharp decrease of inflows from 1994 onwards.

In the early 2000s, immigration from other European countries increased (Germany in particular), including Eastern European countries which had joined the European Union in 2004. Recent statistics classify 18.6% of the current Austrian population as persons with a 'migration background' (Bundesministerium für Inneres, 2011). This statistical category contains foreign-born as well as native-born with both parents being either foreign-born or holding foreign citizenship.

Table 4.1: Austrian population with a migration background (2011), by generation and parents' country of origin

	total population	Migration background					
		Total	% of total population	1st Generation	% of total population	2nd Generation	% of total population
Total	8,283,000	1,543,000	18.6	1,138,000	13.7	404,565	4.9
		Country of origin parents					
Austria	6,739,947						
Europe (without Austria)	515,374	515,374	6.2	411,891	5.0	103,482	1.2
Non-European	1,027,915	1,027,915	12.4	726,833	8.8	301,083	3.6
Former Yugoslavia	507,090	507,090	6.1	361,042	4.4	146,048	1.8
Turkey	262,974	262,974	3.2	163,914	2.0	99,060	1.2

Source: Microcensus 2011 (Statistics Austria). Own calculations.
Note: Definition of migration background and generational status according to Statistics Austria: First generation immigrants are born abroad; Second generation immigrants are born in Austria. Both generations have both parents born abroad.

Table 4.1 displays the population with a migration background broken down by generation and parents' country of origin. Foreign-born persons represented 13.7% of the Austrian population in 2011. Among them, the majority originates from non-European countries, double the share of those from European states. Table 4.1 additionally provides the percentages of first generation immigrants from (former) Yugoslavia (6.1%) and Turkey (3.2%), who still represent two of the largest labor migrant groups in Austria. The predominance of former Yugoslavian immigrants in the Austrian population is also reflected in the size of second-generation immigrants with 1.8%, and the second-generation Turkish population as somewhat smaller, comprising 1.2% of the Austrian population. Compared to other North-Western European countries, the number of children of immigrants in Austria is still small (5% of the total population).

Table 4.2: Proportion of students with colloquial languages other than German by school-type and across selected years.

		1993/1994	2000/2001	2009/2010
Primary school	Volksschulen incl. Vorschule	11.3	14.4	23.2
Lower Secondary Education	Sonderschulen	18.4	23.3	27.8
	Hauptschulen	10.2	13	20.9
	AHS-Unterstufe allgemeinbildende höhere Schulen	Na	7.9	15.2
	Polytechnische Schulen	15.9	12.5	23.2
Upper secondary education	BPS berufsbildende Pflichtschulen	8	5.5	8.8
	BMS berufsbildende mittlere Schulen	4.6	10.7	18.2
	BHS berufsbildende höhere Schulen	3.2	6.6	11.7
	AHS-Oberstufe allgemeinbildende höhere Schulen	Na	7.3	12.7
	N (all schools)	100,407	131,494	201,275

Source: BMUKK (2011)
Note: Percentages show proportion of pupils who also speak other languages than German in their everyday life within each school type. na=not available.

The classification available is by 'first language', 'first' in this case refers to the biographical timing of language acquisition.[4] By 2010, 17% of the total population of pupils in Austria had a first language other than German (Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur (Bmukk), 2011). As shown in Table 4.2, the proportion has almost doubled within the last 15 years, indicating that children of immigrants are entering schools in steadily increasing numbers. This trend is reflected to differing extents in different school types and tracks. In primary schools, the percentage of non-German mother tongue pupils grew from 11% in 1994 to 23% in 2010 and from the considerably higher level of 18% to 28% in special schools; however, although the percentages of pupils with a first language other than German in academic-oriented educational tracks (BHS and AHS-Oberstufe) has quadrupled, it still lags behind with 12%. As in many metropolitan

cities, the situation in Vienna is quite different. The majority is multilingual, so that, on average, monolingual German-speakers are the minority. Notably, the situation is very different among teachers. There are almost no multilingual teachers in Vienna, let alone in the rest of Austria (Sertl, 2009, p. 120).

While migrants and their descendants are sometimes called 'new' minorities, Austria also has a number of 'old' minorities. Following gradual recognition in legal texts, there are now six officially recognized minorities: Carinthian Slovenes, Burgenland Croats, Hungarians, Roma, Czechs and Slovaks. They are less a legacy of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (all internal migrants had to leave the first Republic of Austria after the Peace Treaty of Saint Germain) as they are a reminder that state borders are artificial lines of separation and that settlement patterns have been mixed concerning linguistic and ethnic diversity. There is no reliable data on the size of the minorities and it appears, given the estimates on language use, that none of these groups exceeds 50,000 people, while some probably comprise less than 10,000 people (Luciak, 2008, p. 46). The 'old' minorities have special rights in Austria to date which are built on either the 1955 State Treaty or the 1976 Ethnic Minorities Act. In school matters, the respective provinces adopted Minority Schools Acts in 1959 (Carinthia) and 1994 (Burgenland) so that instruction in designated primary and secondary schools can be either bilingual or in one of the minority languages of the region. Interestingly enough, the share of students attending these schools or classes is rising, even when teachers report that a majority of the pupils have little or no knowledge of the minority language upon registration (Landesschulrat für Kärnten, 2011, p. 24).

4.2.3 Policy development in the field of education and research

In the field of education and ethnic diversity, the Austrian school system offers – at least since the beginning of the 1990s – three distinct approaches (cf. Luciak and Kahn-Svik, 2008): (a) minority language schooling for autochthonous ethnic minorities, (b) educational provision for migrants, and (c) intercultural education for all pupils. Until the beginning of the 1990s policies towards foreign nationals were characterized by the 'guest worker' idea, which was originally built on the rotation principle, i.e. that migrant workers will stay for one year, and then return home. Therefore, their children, if not ignored by educational politicians, were to be prepared for their return home. As the number of migrant children steadily increased from the 1970s onwards, three measures were applied: (i) support in learning the language of instruction, i.e. German, (ii) support in learning the

mother tongue, (iii) extra-matricular status for those who could not follow instruction in German. The extra-matricular status was meant to protect children for the duration that they could not sufficiently understand the language and comprised a first phase of 12 months with the possibility of prolongation for another 12 months. Additional support in learning German was offered for two to three hours per week on average while legal provisions allowed for 11 hours per week with up to 18 hours in special cases. The implementation of the defined legal provision generally failed due to lack of resources. In 1980/1981 the Viennese school administration reacted to the growing numbers of migrants, who tended to cluster in specific neighborhoods and thus sent their children to the same schools, by installing an alternative model: the accompanying teacher (*Begleitlehrer*). This meant that a second teacher worked with the migrant children in the classroom during regular teaching hours for five to six hours per week often using one of the main migrant languages as the primary teaching language (Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian, Turkish).

From the mid-1970s until 1990, instruction in Serbo-Croatian or Turkish language, history and culture was provided by the two 'sending' countries of the 'guest workers', Yugoslavia and Turkey, for three to five hours per week. Not only textbooks, but also teachers were sent to Austria by the two state administrations. Finally, in 1992, the above mentioned instruments of support in German language learning, mother tongue instruction, and extra-matricular status were regularized in the law together with the new principle of instruction in 'intercultural learning'. Adding onto the 12 existing principles of instruction, such as health, peace, environment, and traffic, 'intercultural learning' became part of the curriculum's general objectives and therefore had to be implemented in the didactic process of each subject (Bundesgesetzblatt II 277/2004). In addition to these major instruments, the ministry occasionally offered new, innovative approaches on a voluntary basis which were often neglected by school administration, headmasters, and teachers.

As neither the German remedial classes (or the alternative form of accompanying multilingual teachers in classrooms) nor the mother tongue courses were compulsory nor guaranteed, their implementation in school was dependent on organizational matters such as the number of children in need. Without any justification, funding for the different forms of support was cut every few years between the mid-1990s and the mid-2000s. Only in 2006/2007 were additional funds for remedial teaching in German made available, with the Ministry of Education being required to biannually apply to the Ministry of Finance for continuation.

At roughly the same time, political measures to improve educational results, especially among children with a first language other than German, have shifted to the period before schooling starts. Not only is kindergarten now compulsory for one year before entering school (age five to six), children must be registered with a school 15 months prior to starting and are evaluated by the headmaster regarding their proficiency in German. Those in need get specific training in German language in kindergarten.

4.3 Methodology

In order to achieve a systematic sampling approach of relevant literature on educational inequality and race/ethnicity between 1980 and 2010 in Austria, this study followed the guidelines developed by Stevens (2007) and Stevens et al. (2009). Five major criteria of inclusion guided the first steps in our review process. First, only literature focusing on Austria as a research context is included. Second, the review investigates studies that primarily research educational inequalities and race/ethnicity within a sociological framework. At the same time, the academic production in Austria has been quite limited and dominated by particular personalities who were also situated in disciplines other than sociology. In fact, as the boundaries between the disciplines are rather blurred in cross-cutting topics such as migration and ethnicity, we include researchers and contributions from neighboring disciplines. Third, this review captures both 'old' and 'new' minorities in Austria, highlighting the importance of the political framework and historic development of group-relationship for the situation of children from ethnic minorities in Austrian schooling. Fourth, we review studies on primary as well as (lower and upper) secondary schooling since research was not differentiated into educational levels. Actually, the transition between primary and secondary level attracted specific attention. Finally, we take peer-reviewed journals, (edited) books, book sections and official reports as primary sources. As secondary sources we additionally consider unpublished but officially available reports that had an impact on educational inequalities and race/ethnicity research in Austria. This strand of publications commissioned by state actors (often labeled as 'grey literature') is of particular importance to better understanding the dynamics in the field. This applies especially for the time periods until the end of the 1990s.

The sampling of specific research contributions consisted of four specific steps: As suggested by Stevens and colleagues (2007; 2009), we started with the major databases (i.e. ERIC, JSTOR, etc.) and went on to the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), where only one relevant journal appeared.[5] In order to maximize our sample, we identified a list

with over ten journals which were frequently cited in relevant studies on race/ethnicity and educational inequality in Austria. On the basis of this selection, we identified further relevant and important studies that were cited in the journal articles. As a last step, we employed detailed research on Austrian-specific bibliographic databases to classify additional studies, books, and reports relevant to our field of inquiry. Based on the publications found through this first round of sampling, we developed a detailed list with search strings to be used for re-contacting the above-named databases, which yielded a number of additional sources found within this second round of sampling.

Strikingly, we did not find any articles on race/ethnicity and educational inequality in the disciplinary journals such as the *Austrian Journal of Sociology*. Most of the contributions cited here were published in books or pedagogically oriented journals and mostly only from the 1990s onwards with a sharp increase during the 2000s. The dominant language of the publication in the sample is German rather than English. It is further important to note that there is no scientifically oriented journal of education in Austria.[6] Instead, there are some journals on education and instruction or schooling but they are not oriented towards international scientific discourse. Finally, cross-country studies are important for the context of Austria in relation to the literature on race and ethnic inequalities, which is why we included key publications in this review.

4.4 Research on race/ethnicity and educational inequality in Austria

Now we will summarize the result of our literature review. We identified five research traditions over the last 30 years.

The first research tradition, which we call (i) political arithmetic tradition (PA) due to great similarities with equivalent research traditions in countries like the United Kingdom and the Netherlands (Stevens, 2007; Stevens et al. 2009), examines studies and reports that describe rather than explain how students of different race/ethnic backgrounds perform and participate in the Austrian educational system. While this tradition started with the very first publications on migrant education in Austria at the beginning of the 1980s, it is overwhelmingly based on quantitative analyses with large-scale surveys following Austria's participation in international studies such as PISA, PIRLS and TIMSS. This tradition has also gained importance over the past ten years outside the specialist discourse due to the prominence of representative surveys on educational outcomes.

The second research tradition, (ii) family background tradition (FB), primarily investigates underachievement in education by considering the socio-economic position of

the parental generation as well as related resources (cultural and social capital) to be the main explanations. This tradition has grown, side by side, with the evolution of large-scale surveys within the last decade. Thus, the great majority of studies in the FB tradition employ quantitative research designs, while qualitative and ethnographic studies are scarce.

The third research tradition investigates the impact of features and institutional arrangements of the Austrian educational system in producing educational inequalities. Therefore we call it the structures of educational systems (SOES) tradition (iii). In this category, we include research on organizational structures like age of first selection, duration of schooling and half- or whole-day schooling. This is mostly analyzed with statistical methods.

The fourth research tradition, entitled (iv) intercultural education and discrimination tradition (IED), is centered around intercultural learning as a principle of instruction and includes topics such as the (lack of) implementation, teachers' actions and attitudes, and discrimination in textbooks. It builds on concepts of cultural anthropology and employs participatory observation, interviews, questionnaires, and discourse analyses.

The fifth and final research tradition is the (v) multilinguality tradition (ML), which focuses on the development of multilinguality in Austrian schools either by concentrating on the language development of multilingual children or by depicting the implementation of the support measures for the development of multilinguality. While the first strand in this tradition builds on linguistic methodology complemented by sociolinguistics, the second strand is following a broad social-science approach which uses document analyses, case analyses, and thick description.

The boundaries of these research traditions are not always clear cut. Most traditions interact with each other and in some cases it is quite hard to decide which tradition is more dominant in the particular research. Similarities, influences, and overlaps will be pointed out in the analyses and highlighted in the conclusion. An additional remark concerns the time dimension. Most of the traditions are particularly strong in a specific period closely tied to political developments and public discourse. Therefore, it is necessary to provide information on the historical context in which these traditions unfold before they are described in terms of methods, outcomes and related debates.

4.4.1 Political arithmetic tradition

In the 1980s many European countries began to examine several types of inequalities and evaluate social policy initiatives: national governments stimulated and financed large-scale surveys which allowed quantitative analysis of the educational attainment and progress of ethnic minority groups; yet, similar developments were almost non-existent in Austria. However, the few publications on the education of the children of 'guest workers' did not fail to show the detrimental situation in schools or reference the discriminatory societal structures (Matuschek, 1982; Fischer, 1986; Viehböck and Bratic, 1994). Based on accessible datasets from school administration, censuses, or micro-censuses, social science researchers from different disciplines described the situation of migrant children in Austrian schools; namely, unequal distribution across school types, over-representation in special schools, high repetition rates, large presence in low-prestige vocationally oriented schools, and large numbers leaving the educational system without any degree at all. Parallel to similar research traditions in the UK and the Netherlands, we call this research the political arithmetic tradition. It is defined by quantitative analyses with large datasets either with full coverage from school- or census-statistics or representative samples taken from national (micro-census) or international surveys (European Household Panel). This tradition also includes the first survey on the second generation in Austria by Weiss (carried out in 2005). Studies in the PA tradition increased substantially with the availability of national samples from large-scale assessment studies, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS).

These phenomena were most pronounced among the children of the labor migrants from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia. Academically oriented schools (those granting a university entrance certificate) were called 'foreigner free' until the beginning of the 1990s (1980–2000) (DeCillia, 1994), with only 4% of pupils having a mother tongue other than German in 1992 (Perchinig, 1995, p. 133). The national averages, however, are fictitious values as there are and always were pronounced regional differences, with the federal state Vienna showing much higher proportions of immigrant children in schools. Nevertheless, large unequal distribution among different groups of origin have been observed in Vienna too: 33% of all pupils attended academically oriented schools in Vienna but only 8% of ex-Yugoslavian and 4% of Turkish pupils did (own calculations based on Gröpel, 1999, p. 301).

In the early 2000s, Austrian researchers from various fields (sociology, political sciences, and econometrics) started to show different aspects or changes over time. Herzog-Punzenberger (2003a) showed that at the beginning of the 2000s school success among the adult second generation was colored by the segregated school system. Among young adults aged 15 to 34 years born in Austria to Turkish parents or having immigrated before starting school, less than 0.5% held an academic degree, only 4% a university entrance certificate (AHS, BHS), and just as few a medium-level degree from a vocationally oriented school (BMS) (cf. p. 33). Finally, she was the first to look at the numbers of students with a migration background undergoing teacher education. At that point in time there were two students with Turkish citizenship heading for the teaching profession while the number of pupils with a Turkish migrational background in Austrian schools had reached 30,000 (cf. p. 26). Biffl (2004) documented that on average participation rates of the Turkish and former Yugoslavian student population (aged 15–24) in the Austrian educational system increased over time (1981–2002) and that educational inequalities were reduced. She further observed a positive shift from lower basic towards vocational-oriented schools among immigrant origin students. As in many other cases (Felderer and Hofer, 2004) she based her trend analysis on a broad categorization of children of Turkish and former Yugoslavian foreigners without considering the age of the children on arrival or the effect of excluding naturalized children.

Later on, through the availability of the census data from 2001 and the question on everyday language use allowing for more than one language, more precise analyses were possible targeting the second generation born in Austria (Herzog-Punzenberger, 2007). It was shown that the share of female second generation in higher education was larger in all ethnic groups observed (Turkish, former Yugoslavian, natives) (cf. p. 94). These studies conclude that in addition to progress in either lower secondary education (Biffl, 2004) or in relation to their parents' generation (Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003a, 2003b; Kogan, 2007), ethnic minority students still obtain lower educational outcomes in upper secondary education than Austrians, especially among academic-oriented tracks. Although these studies were of great importance in continuing to highlight trends in ethnic educational inequalities, no information on competences, grades, or prior experiences were available for ethnic minority students.

The PA tradition in the large-scale assessment period

The number of studies that can be classified within the PA tradition in Austria sharply increased from the mid-2000s onward through the use of large-scale assessment (LSA) studies like PISA, PIRLS, and TIMSS. Those studies not only consist of standardized achievement tests but also include context questionnaires with a wide range of information on school and family. A second advantage is the possibility to statistically differentiate immigrants in school according to country of birth, parents' country of birth, and citizenship.

Starting with the first PISA survey (2000), achievement differences between immigrants and the majority of the student population aged 15–16 were reported for reading, mathematics, and (natural) science, and socio-economic and other information on migrant families was described in a new way (Blüml, 2002; Burtscher, 2004; Reiter, 2002a, 2002b). These analyses occurred for every PISA wave in short one year after the survey and in depth in more substantial reports usually three years after the survey (based on PISA, 2003; see Breit and Schreiner, 2006; Schreiner, 2006; Schreiner and Breit, 2006; based on PISA, 2006; see Breit, 2009, Herzog-Punzenberger, 2009; Schmid, Schreiner and Breit, 2009).

The findings of the PISA studies revealed that the proportion of 15–16-year-old immigrant students in Austria has grown over the last ten years. In 2000, they represented around 11% of the total student population, while, according to 2009 data, they account for 15.2% (Schwantner and Schreiner, 2010). Among them, the proportion of second generation immigrants has increased over time while numbers of first generation immigrants has decreased. From 2000 to 2009, the number of second generation immigrants aged 15–16 changed from 4% in 2000 to almost 11% in 2009. In particular, between 2006 and 2009, the numbers of second generation immigrants doubled (cf. p. 42–43).

The majority of analytical emphasis has been on reading literacy, observable achievement differences, and co-occurrence of diverse factors. Within the four PISA waves to date, children of immigrants have been found to significantly underperform against the majority of the student population (Breit and Schreiner, 2006; Schreiner, 2006; Schreiner and Breit, 2006). Special attention has been drawn to children of immigrants born in Austria, the so-called second generation, who were found to perform on average among the worst in Europe (OECD, 2006). Overall, the findings on the reading abilities of second generation immigrants did not show substantial progress between the years 2000

and 2009 (compare Table 4.3) which leads to the question of whether any effective measures were taken to improve the situation following the first LSA. Moreover, literacy tests in 2006 and 2009 returned almost identical scores, and the resultant reduction in the achievement gap between migrant and native students only arose because the entire student population scored worse in 2009 than in 2006. According to the most recently available national report (Schwantner and Schreiner, 2010), children of immigrants are twice as often represented in the 'at risk' group of students in all three test subjects (30% in the group at risk compared to 15% in the overall peer group) while the group 'high achievers' is composed of 96% non-immigrant students.

Besides these findings on test results, the PISA reports shed light on many other details in education. For example, children of immigrants were found to repeat classes three times more often than their Austrian counterparts (Breit and Schreiner, 2006; Schreiner and Breit, 2006). Especially among those born outside the country, repetition rates were almost 16% compared to 4% for non-immigrant students in 2003. With the PIRLS study investigating reading competencies of pupils in their final year before leaving primary school, reporting on ethnic educational inequalities became feasible on a quantitative and representative basis also at age ten (Herzog-Punzenberger and Gapp, 2009; Unterwurzacher, 2009). However, similar to PISA, the analyses of these data suggest that children of immigrants show on average lower reading competency than their Austrian counterparts. Breaking the achievement gaps into ethnic groups, findings revealed that children of Turkish origin in particular face the greatest literacy problems at the age of ten. This trend has been replicated in the TIMSS study, a large-scale assessment survey evaluating students' competencies in mathematics and natural sciences at the end of primary school (aged nine to ten) (Breit and Wanka, 2010). More precisely, second generation students were found to perform significantly better than first generation students but still lower than their native-born peers (see Table 4.3). The relatively high levels of underachievement by second generation immigrants place Austria at the low end of international rankings in providing equal opportunities in education (Breit and Wanka, 2010).

Whereas naturalization did not prove significant in LSA data analyses, it did in the 2001 census data on the highest degree earned by young adults. When comparing Turkish-speaking adolescents, those with Austrian nationality had considerably higher percentages of upper secondary and tertiary degrees than those without Austrian nationality (Herzog-Punzenberger, 2007). In the first survey focusing on second generation immigrants

(n=1000) in Austria in the age-group 16 to 26 years old, findings on the over-representation of immigrants in lower tracks were confirmed (Weiss, 2007) and regional differences were observed with lower disparities occurring between majority and minority youth in Vienna than in the western federal states of Salzburg, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg (Unterwurzacher, 2007).

Table 4.3: Average achievements by survey, immigrant generation, type of achievement and year

Assessment field		Survey (students age)					
		PISA (15/16)				PIRLS (9/10)	TIMSS (9/10)
		2000	2003	2006	2009	2006	2007
Reading	Natives	502	501	499	482	549	-
	1st Gen	**-104**	**-73**	**-48**	**-98**	**-56**	-
	2nd Gen	**-73**	**-76**	**-79***	**-55**	**-47**	-
Mathematic	Natives	-	515	515	507	-	513
	1st Gen	-	**-63**	**-65**	**-76**	-	**-51***
	2nd Gen	-	**-56**	**-80**	**-57**	-	**-36**
(Natural) Science	Natives	-	502	523	508	-	538
	1st Gen	-	**-80**	**-88**	**-103**	-	**-84***
	2nd Gen	-	**-68**	**-92**	**-74**	-	**-62**

Sources:
PISA: own calculations.
PIRLS: Suchan et. al. (2007)
TIMSS: Breit and Wanka (2010)
Bold: significantly different to majority group, * significant group differences between immigrant generations.

In sum, the PA tradition in Austria during the first two decades of the reviewed time span (1980–2000) indicates the law, the labor market, the housing situation, discrimination, and the structure of the school system as reasons for the differences in access, participation, and eventual qualification of youths with or without migration backgrounds. However, the Austrian PA tradition accounting of achievements measured in standardized tests was first founded in 2000, with the first PISA testing effectively occurring in 2002 and with the first report also covering students with a migration background. Large-scale assessment studies (PISA, TIMMS, PIRLS) were used to

examine achievement differences on several subjects. Overall, children of immigrants have been found to significantly underperform against the majority student population in Austria. Special attention has been drawn to children of immigrants that were born within Austria, the so-called second generation, who were also found to significantly underperform against the Austrian majority student group.

4.4.2 Family background tradition

Research on family background characteristics and ethnic inequalities in education evolved side by side with the PA tradition in Austria. First, although empirical results had been published by the end of the 1990s (e.g. Gröpel, Urbanek and Khan-Svik, 1999), the increasing availability of large-scale quantitative datasets led to considerable growth from the 2000s onwards (in particular through PISA, PIRLS or TIMSS). Researchers investigated the significance of parental socio-economic background, social and cultural capital, or material resources to explain the educational underachievement of children of immigrants in Austrian schools. Given the high correlation between the FB and PA traditions, studies in the family background tradition almost exclusively employ quantitative research designs to investigate inequalities in educational attainment, transition rates between educational tracks, and achievement at certain educational stages.

Parental socio-economic background

Due to the predominant position of first generation immigrants in the lower social strata in Austria, focusing on parental socio-economic background has been seen as promising path to pinpointing further mechanisms in explaining the educationally disadvantaged position of their children. This line of argument also traces the structural position of immigrant groups within Austrian society, considering either their time of arrival, the general skills first generation immigrants brought with them, or the fit between their skills and their ability to fill certain needs in local economies. Although not directly labeled as a ‘social class versus culture’ debate, the majority of studies follow this line of argumentation by employing multivariate regression analysis to show the relative impact of different factors. Socio-economic background (measured as parental occupational status and educational attainment) regularly plays a more important role in significant correlations with educational outcomes than other variables such as language spoken at home or parents born outside the survey country.

To give a few examples, various studies have observed ethnic minorities' disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds for a considerable part account for achievement differences in reading and mathematics at the end of primary (Bacher, 2010; Breit and Wanka, 2010; Unterwurzacher, 2009) and secondary education (Bacher, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009; Wroblewski, 2006; Breit and Wanka, 2010), at transition points from primary to lower and upper secondary education (Unterwurzacher, 2007; Bacher, 2003, 2005), in linguistic development (Khan-Svik, 2007), and on final educational attainment (Weiss, 2006, 2007a; Weiss and Unterwurzacher, 2007).

These quantitative studies do not come without methodological caveats. A great number of studies treat ethnic inequality in a dichotomous way – achievement of the Austrian students on the one side and achievement of children with a 'migration background' or 'children with a foreign mother tongue' on the other side – while detailed analyses looking closer into the heterogeneity of immigrant groups are scarce. One exception is the work conducted by Unterwurzacher (2007, 2009), using their own survey on various second generation immigrant groups in Austria. The findings suggest that enrollment differences for the academic-oriented track at the first transition point at age ten can largely be explained by SES for former Yugoslavian and other immigrant descendants but that does not apply for second generation Turks (Unterwurzacher, 2007). The 'Turkish disadvantage' which persists after considering their lower socio-economic background was also observed in reading achievements using PIRLS 2007 data (Unterwurzacher, 2009) and final educational attainment (Weiss and Unterwurzacher, 2007).

Social and cultural capital

Current debates on ethnic educational inequalities in Austria are motivated by the question of how to describe the remaining variation in educational outcomes net of socio-economic differences in the family of origin. Whether specific cultural resources in the family would enhance educational success has been put to the test using Austrian LSA datasets in particular (Bacher, 2008; Breit and Wanka, 2010; Wroblewski, 2006). Studies using PISA data examined strong effects of 'cultural capital' in explaining achievement differences in reading and mathematics among Austrian and immigrant students at the age of 15 beyond socio-economic background (Bacher, 2008). The lack of cultural resources has been found to explain a large proportion of the disparities in mathematic (Breit and Wanka, 2010; Wroblewski, 2006) and reading abilities (Unterwurzacher, 2009). However, these quantitative analyses using large-scale surveys are rather limited in explaining the direct

relationship between parenting behavior and educational outcomes. Instead, they use crude indicators measuring family wealth (such as place to study at home) or family 'habitus' (books at home) rather than explicit types and forms of capital and the transmission between generations.

Exceptions are recently published qualitative studies on schooling success by second generation immigrant students. Atac and Lageder (2009) interviewed children of immigrants in Viennese vocational schools. This study reveals that immigrant parents indeed lack relevant resources to support their children in schooling activities. Due to low educational levels or limited language abilities in German they are less often found to help their children with homework or attend parent-teacher conferences. But at the same time, high parental aspirations and strong emotional bonds between family members can lead to higher aspirations among the children themselves and therefore foster social mobility in the Austrian educational system – a finding that is in line with the qualitative results observed by Waechter and colleagues (Waechter, Blum and Scheibelhofer, 2007). Besides the parents, the elder siblings often act as role models and provide their younger brothers and sisters with relevant information and support for schooling activities, which makes them as effective as parents. Older siblings can act as intermediaries between younger children and their school, and their own schooling experiences can be a major source of support (Waechter, Blum and Scheibelhofer, 2007). Finally, a limited number of qualitative studies have highlighted that, in addition to family members, peers and teachers sometimes offer additional forms of support that are of great importance for immigrant children to successfully navigate the Austrian school system (Atac and Lageder, 2009; Burtscher, 2009, 2010).

In public discourse, parents' lack of fluency in the language of instruction in school (German) is one of the most prominent explanations for educational inequality although not empirically proven for data in Austria. Lack of information about the educational system on the parents' side as well as lack of communication between schools and parents was subject of analyses before the LSAs, albeit in a heuristic way (Gröpel et al., 1999; Matuschek, 1982). More recently, a study on language development in primary school children included parents and teachers in the study (Brizic 2007). With quantitative and qualitative methodology, Brizic found out that parents' attitudes towards education as perceived by the teachers had no impact on the language development of the children. At the same time, the teachers' perceptions of the parents' attitudes and the parents' factual attitudes towards education were rather different. While the teachers had a more positive

appraisal of parents from the former Yugoslavia, Turkish parents were in fact more interested in educational issues. In most cases of children with language development difficulties, teachers and parents were caught in misperceptions of both each other and the educational system, which in some cases resulted in distrust. Both, however, felt helpless and thought the solution would only come about through changes made by the other (Brizic, 2007).

Overall, research on the significance of family background characteristics to explain ethnic disparities in education has grown substantially over the last decade with the increasing availability of relevant quantitative survey data. Small-scale ethnographic or qualitative studies to explore the relationship between social origin, ethnicity, and educational achievement are (at least to our knowledge) scarce in Austria. As a consequence, the majority of studies in the FB tradition are variable driven and oftentimes lack clear theoretical foundations. This applies especially for the role played by social and cultural capital in exploring the complex relationship between social class origin, ethnicity, and educational achievement. Social and cultural capital are predominantly treated as resources or indicators of family wealth rather than the classical conceptualization by Coleman (1988) or Bourdieu (1983; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979). Additionally, parents' attitudes and behavior in relation to schooling are not understood as result of the overall setting and activities of the school, but conceptualized as a separate container where pupils should receive what they need to function well in school. This goes along with Austrian teachers' beliefs that they have relatively little impact on students learning outcomes (TALIS, 2008). Specific questions, such as whether certain immigrant communities possess certain forms of capital that might explain variations in achievement differences across ethnic groups, have yet to be investigated in the existing studies on race/ethnicity and educational inequality.

4.4.3 The structure of educational systems tradition

Parallel to studies in general migration research, where outcomes on an aggregate level such as naturalized immigrants' highest educational degrees or social mobility rates are often connected to the broader societal framework, researchers in the field of education also look at the macro-level and analyze the institutional arrangements of the educational system. While not all of the characteristics of educational systems have been scrutinized in the context we are discussing, the following should be mentioned:

1. Kindergarten: starting age and duration (opening hours), availability.

2. Primary education: starting age, downgrading in pre-phase (*Vorschulstufe*), duration, repetition rates, selection into special school, half-day schooling.
3. Secondary education: age at first selection, tracking, half-day schooling, short duration of compulsory schooling.

These issues came up for debate long before the school success of migrant children was considered. In the 1970s, a particularly intensive and ideological discussion raged over class-based educational inequality, with a focus on early differentiation at age ten, also called 'tracking'. This form of school organization has been anchored in the constitutional law for decades, and changes to the system would require a parliamentary majority, something still unlikely to happen in the near future despite growing evidence for the advantages of late tracking.

During the last decade (2000–2010), the question of the structural characteristics of educational systems gained importance in explaining educational outcomes more generally, not least driven by international comparative large-scale assessments such as PISA (OECD, 2005). Nevertheless, in most of the research designs, this has not been the starting point for explaining the disadvantages of students with a migration background.[7] It was rather a by-product of acknowledging the class-based character of much of the problem of research on race and ethnicity in Austria. However, the selectivity of the school system has been criticized in Austria for decades. Generally, it has an inherent logic of down-streaming, i.e. it is very unlikely that a pupil changes to a higher-status school. The main criticism was the reproductive logic of the school system in terms of family background (Bacher, 2003, 2005, 2006).

Since the 1980s, researchers have addressed institutional ramifications as driving forces for disadvantages in the educational participation and results of children with a migration background (Fischer, 1986; Khan-Svik, 1999, p. 186–197; Gröpel, 1999; Volf and Bauböck, 2001). They criticized the individualizing perspective which either stressed the deficits of the child or the family – something quite common at that time in the German-speaking pedagogical literature. Instead, they tried to show that the selectivity of the Austrian school system was the reason for the over-representation of children of migrants in lower status school types with a lower standard curriculum, i.e. the vocational-oriented track in lower secondary school (*Hauptschule*) and special school (*Sonderschule*). Khan-Svik (1999, pp. 187–188) and Gröpel (2001, p. 220) applied the theory of '*Unterschichtung*', meaning that when a group of people enters a stratified system at the lowest rank this will enable those who formerly were at the bottom to enter the next

stratum (Baker and Lenhardt, 1988, p. 40, cited in Gröpel, 2001, p. 221). For the school system, this meant that children from immigrant families, who occupied the lowest societal status at that time, would have a higher likelihood of being deferred to the lowest positions in the school system and those native children who were previously at the lowest ranks, i.e. in Sonderschule or in Hauptschule, then had a smaller chance of being down-streamed and a better chance of moving to a higher status school. They presumed an economic logic in educational organization, where pupils are channeled accordingly. For further reasons, they pointed to the fact that support measures for children with a first language other than German were not adequate, preschool in particular was described as an '*Aufbewahrungsstätte*' (place of custody) rather than a support center, which among other things explained the higher representation of students with migration backgrounds among those who had to repeat a class. Gröpel (2001, p. 219) also mentioned the limited places in institutions of early childhood education and care (*Kindergartenplätze*) as well as high fees which obviously would decrease the likelihood of the children of migrants participating.

The situation has improved since then, but the over-representation of students with migration background in special school remains a part of the discussion about race/ethnicity and educational inequality. Luciak (2008) recently pointed out that there were (still) gender, class, and ethnic disparities to be observed in schools where the only reason for such '*Zuweisung*' should be diagnosed mental or physical disability. He analyzes that while a rhetoric of diversity has been established, curriculum, didactics, school organization, and teacher education are still oriented towards homogenization and a middle-class construction of normality. Teachers basically have a hard time adjusting to the heterogeneity in classrooms, be it lingual, cultural, social, or cognitive.

While studies in this tradition have always had to use statistics to show over- and under-representation in specific school types, the first analyses to prove the effect of the different selectivity for children with migration background was based on the 2003 PISA (Bacher and Stelzer-Orthofer, 2008). In a comparison of 16 countries, of which six had early selection, between age 10 and 14, and nine had late selection, at age 15 and 16, those with early selection had significantly bigger differences in test results and school career delay (by repetition) between pupils with and without migration background, penalizing those with migration background. There was no systematic effect for age of selection on the differences between pupils with and without migration background in perceived quality of respondent-teacher interaction and interactions among pupils.[8]

To sum up, the educational structures tradition has so far concentrated on the selectivity of the school system and its down-streaming logic in Austria. It is different from the political arithmetic tradition in so far as researchers do not simply describe over- and under-representation of pupils with migration backgrounds in different school types or outcomes, but try to establish causal relationships to features of the Austrian school system. While causality is hard to establish, especially between macro-variables and micro-level outcomes, researchers in Austria have had strong hypotheses about the effects of structural features. With the availability of LSA datasets, researchers try to show the effects of age of first selection by using statistical analyses in country comparisons.

4.4.4 Intercultural education and discrimination tradition

In this research tradition, we treat studies that analyze the implementation of intercultural learning (Binder, 2004; Englisch-Stölner, 2003; Luciak and Khan-Svik, 2008), focusing on teacher behavior and attitudes (Fillitz, 2003), teacher education, and textbooks (Markom and Weinhäupl, 2007). The theoretical foundation of this research lies in cultural anthropology and its critical understanding of culture as being embedded in power relations, schools as the major site of reproduction of the majority culture in modern nation-states, and ethnicity as being relational, processual, and at times instrumental and situational. If empirical, most of this research is qualitative, being sometimes supplemented with surveys of albeit small samples. Generally in this research tradition, class or socio-economic status tends to remain in the background even when some mention the unfavorable legal, economic, and housing situation of many families with migration backgrounds.

Instead of the anti-discrimination orientation found in England, the other and more positive side of intergroup relations, interculturality was to be developed as part of the curriculum and implemented in schools from 1993 onwards. Around this time several articles were published discussing the benefits and limits of intercultural education. Notably, these were also published by representatives of the school administration (Pinterits, 1990, 1991). This was not by accident nor long debated. The Ministry of Education's sudden interest in proposals of how to react to multilingual classrooms was rather a consequence, as Jaksche (1998, pp. 42–45) shows, of the influx of migrants from East and Southeast Europe, and particularly the political problematization of it. While teachers' earlier efforts to draw attention to the increase in lingual and cultural diversity were marginalized, financial and legislative measures were taken in the aftermath of the

fall of the iron curtain. Astonishingly enough, since the anti-foreigner campaign (*Volksbegehren*) of the FPÖ political party was not as successful as expected, the interest of academia in questions related to multicultural and multilingual classrooms decreased again.

Jaksche (1998) was the first to critically analyze the implementation of the 'intercultural learning' principle of instruction and concluded that teachers who had previous worked in the vein of intercultural learning were, through this principle, covered by law and all other teachers and principals were not obliged to do or change anything specific.

Binder (2004) compared the implementation of intercultural learning in the Netherlands and Austria and surprisingly came to the conclusion that the difference was merely on the level of rhetoric and not so much in practice. In both countries, clear guidelines and standard procedures as well as intensive factual knowledge transfer were missing. Consequently, shape and content were dependent on the personal engagement of the teachers. Binder (2003), Binder and Daryabegi (2003), Englisch-Stölner (2003), and Frank (2003), in their casestudies of lower secondary schools in Vienna and Lower Austria, also find that the implementation of 'intercultural education' is largely dependent on the personal interest of the teachers. Teachers and headmasters often simply ignored cultural and linguistic diversity and proceeded as though the pupils were a monolingual and monocultural group. Teachers complained about the lack of appropriate material, and textbooks being not adapted as well; however, as their training did not provide for a diverse classroom, many did not consider it their task to adapt to the circumstances. Parents often had very little contact with the school or the teachers and experienced language-based communication problems. This study was commissioned by the Ministry of Education and carried out with participatory observation, interviews with teachers and headmasters as well as questionnaires for pupils (n=414) and parents (n=324).

The first studies surveying teachers' attitudes and experiences in the field of intercultural education and pupils with migration background were carried out during the 2000s. Furch's study (published only in 2010) had a sample of 315 primary school teachers; a few years later a more comprehensive study, with 1400 primary and secondary school teachers (Weiss, Unterwurzacher, Strodl 2007), was initiated. Their findings were rather similar. The majority of the respondents thought that teaching should be adapted to the needs of students with migration backgrounds but implementation was weak. In Furch's study most teachers judged their knowledge on this subject to be sufficient while

their actual knowledge turned out to range from insufficient to poor, even when, as 43% had done at some point in time, they had participated in intercultural training. Furch concluded that their self-image was distorted. At the time of the study, 79% had no experience with multilingual teaching material; this was interpreted as being rooted in the belief that pupils should learn German as fast as possible. These teachers mostly followed the public opinion that other languages distract children from learning German. More than half stated that migrant languages did not play a role during their classroom time and less than half were interested in learning a migrant language. 'Interculturality' was seen as a buzz-word which teachers mainly understood as differences between regional cultures. Surprisingly, even though the younger teachers had participated in intercultural training they were no more engaged in implementing intercultural learning than older teachers. The conclusion was that, despite the fact that more than half of the pupils in Viennese primary schools had a first language other than German, the primary school teachers were badly prepared for a diverse classroom with different languages, cultures, and religions at the beginning of the 2000s. In the other study (Weiss et al., 2007) the sample included teachers from all over Austria and all school types, the only pre-selection requirement being a minimum of 10% of pupils with migration backgrounds in their school. While in primary school instruction in multicultural classroom were perceived as less problematic, in secondary schools problems increased due to ethnic tensions. However, the biggest share reported knowing about specific bullying victims (39%) whereas only 22% reported hostile group dynamics in their classrooms but not necessarily bound to ethnic background. Bullying was much more frequent in general secondary schools (56%) than in academic secondary schools where pupils with migration background are less frequent. It co-occurred with a negative classroom climate. Teachers perceive religion, that is 'Islam', as the biggest problem tied to multicultural classrooms. While few teachers report experiences with conservative Muslim families that prevent girls from participating in school activities, in the same way as others they perceive Islam as an impediment to gender equality.

In Austria there is no tradition of research on school books, thus there are also no quantitative studies on the effect of textbooks on pupils' educational achievement. However, those researchers who analyze textbooks conceptualize effects as part of the secondary socialization process in which children develop their self-concept, especially concerning collective aspects.[9] This approach criticizes the values and knowledge presented in textbooks, which not only attach a higher status to Austrian middle-class

culture, and more broadly to white or European expressions and manifestations, but also marginalize those of minorities or non-European provenance. This research mainly focuses on social aspects such as the ability to cooperate in diverse group settings and the ability to critically analyze diversity, hierarchy, and power relations. The link between the content of the textbooks and educational success has not been analyzed in Austria, as for example in studies on the ethnocentric curriculum in the US or the race and racial discrimination in school research tradition in England (Stevens, 2007, p. 157–161). Children are bound to accept, if there are no convincing 'counter-offers', the content of textbooks as authoritative knowledge about groups, group relations, ethnicity, and normality, and ultimately their collective identity (Hintermann, 2007). In this way, textbooks contribute to pupils' self-concepts and possibly to the stereotype threat effect in learning (Schofield, 2005). With Austria's framework curriculum, textbooks are sometimes called 'the hidden curriculum' because teachers structure their teaching along the one book they are free to choose for each subject and year. However, the point of departure in this tradition is the implicit or even explicit view of school as being the primary site of nation-state reproduction of one homogenous culture and one language which are superior to all others. Anthropologists have analyzed diverse school-books to uncover attitudes to specific issues such as Islam or general perspectives on ethnocentrism, anti-Semitism, sexism, and heteronormativity. The most recent study (Markom and Weinhäupl, 2007) analyzes textbooks from biology, history, and geography in lower secondary school (Grades 5 to 8). They conclude that racist and anti-Semitic accounts are rare, but that clichés and downgrading stereotypes are more frequent, especially regarding 'the orient', Islam, 'the Third World', Africa, 'tribes', homosexuality, and gender roles. The superficiality in avoiding stereotyping is best exemplified by the fact that even when the text is reasonably balanced the illustrations still convey stereotypes. While the textbooks treat the reality of power imbalance, hierarchy, and exploitation, racism and discrimination are barely mentioned and receive no detailed discussion.

In sum, the intercultural education and discrimination tradition focuses not only on questions of intercultural learning in schools and the implementation of the principle of instruction in teachers' actions and attitudes, but also on textbooks. The most important results concern the variable implementation of intercultural learning in schools. Training in this area is still not compulsory in teacher education. More advanced concepts such as language awareness or cultural awareness are barely known. In many instances,

interculturality is merely a buzz-word equated with cultural differences and homogenizing concepts of cultural groups; adequate material is lacking and textbooks need revision.

4.4.5 Multilinguality tradition

In this research tradition, work is mainly undertaken by linguists but also by education researchers, sociologists, and political scientists. It is research on the multilinguality of schoolchildren, the school setting regarding multilinguality, the legal ramifications as laid out by the Ministry of Education, and the implementation of the measures. Some studies focused on mother tongue teaching, either analyzing the organizational deficiencies in public schooling and its consequences (Cinar, 1998) or looking at complementary organizational provisions in the private sector (Khan-Svik 2005); others focused on the support structures for learning German as a second language (Bauer and Kainz, 2008). There were some longitudinal studies following the language development of schoolchildren over several years, either based in pedagogical (cf. Khan-Svik, 2007) or linguistic studies (Fischer, 1992, 1995; Peltzer-Karpf et al., 2004; Brizic, 2007). Otherwise this research tradition is dominated by analyses of documents and discourses.

As previously mentioned, the public discourse on pupils with migration backgrounds in Austria has centered around German language proficiency. Also the common attitude among teachers that the only problem is that immigrant parents do not speak German with their children before entering school continues to be widespread. The political approach of the Ministry of Education was more differentiated and forwardlooking.[10] In collaboration with researchers, they developed a framework for the entire complex of cultural and linguistic diversity, migration and education, as previously described: (i) the general principle of instruction called ‘intercultural learning’, geared towards all children; (ii) support for learning German as a second language for migrant children; and (iii) mother tongue teaching for children with a first language other than German. As the legal framework has never included ‘compulsory’ measures for schools, the implementation of these measures is the subject of research. However, quantitative research is scarce and evaluations on the effectiveness or outcomes of the programs are almost non-existent.

Education of linguistic minorities as a political issue

Since the 1980s, researchers focusing on linguistic minorities in Austria have been among the most active in contributing to scientific and public discourse on ethnicity and

educational inequality while – not to give a wrong impression – the critical discourse as a whole was pretty marginalized. However, this kind of research and its institutional anchorage frequently came under threat (Fischer, 1993, p. 13), especially during the 1980s and 1990s. As a consequence of political pressure against bilingualism in the southern region of Austria and an ever present devaluation of minority languages and individuals, such as Slovene in Carinthia, researchers investigated not only bilinguality and schooling as such, but also the whole complex situation of ethnicity, ethnic identity, belonging, attachment, and discrimination (DeCillia, 1998; Boeckmann et al., 1988; Busch, 1991). One of the findings was (Fischer, 1993, pp. 13–14) that the legal ramifications of bilingual schooling laid down in the *Minderheitenschulgesetz* (Minorities Schools Act) of 1985 were highly disputable and predominantly seen as unfavorable for the further development of the region, the minority, its language, and the school success of the children. Instead, this law fostered segregation between monolingual and bilingual school children in a bilingual territory.

Boeckmann (1997), for example, compared bilingual speakers in the most eastern province of Burgenland who were successful in education with those in the southern province of Carinthia, contrasting the micro-social context. In this tradition, language was not seen as an isolated phenomenon but intertwined with individual and collective identity and politics. Baumgartner and Perchinig (1995) pointed out that differences between these regional contexts, albeit within the same nation-state, are deeply rooted in history. During the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, when Burgenland belonged to the Hungarian Transleithania and Carinthia to the Austrian Cisleithania, legal regulations and group relations were much more favorable in the Hungarian part compared to the German part. Even today, multilinguality is treated very differently in these two parts of Austria and is much less problematic in Burgenland than in Carinthia.

Language development of multilingual children in each of their languages

The most comprehensive in-depth study following the language development of 100 primary school children from Grade 1 to Grade 4 in Vienna was carried out by a team based in linguistic studies (Peltzer-Karpf et al., 2003). The study was commissioned by the Ministry of Education and included six classes with multilingual children from different backgrounds. To find out which factors enhance the proficiency in the language of instruction, they used a multi-methodological approach with linguistic tests (system linguistics, vocabulary, text comprehension, and text production) in the language of

instruction, the first language of the children (if Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian or Turkish), and spontaneous conversation in any language combination the children wanted to use. Additionally, teachers and parents were surveyed so that the linguistic approach was accompanied by a sociolinguistic analysis. Results showed that language development in German happens differently among bilingual children than among monolingual children and that teachers have to be aware about the specificities to understand the structure of the particular mistakes etc. It does not help to support language learning in the language of instruction at the expense of the first language. As it turned out, those with the highest competence in their (non-German) first language when entering school reached the highest competence levels in (their second language) German after four years. The most important results for the development in the second language German were threefold. First, the children's self-confidence and school-related experiences of success; fear and lack of self-confidence hampers language development. Second, a good competence in and a positive approach towards the first language were more important for gains in proficiency in German than the extent of motivation to learn German. Third, the societal status of their first language also has an effect on the children. Results that proved less important than expected were the percentage of multilingual children in the class and the age of first contact with German. Moreover, while the educational background of the parents, duration of stay, and orientation to stay or return were not as important as expected, poverty was (Fleck, 2007, pp. 261–262).

Consequences of language oppression in the country of origin

A central question in this tradition was researched by Katharina Brizic during the 2000s and formalized in the language-capital model (2007). She tried to answer the question, why children of specific immigrant groups in different countries do have problems with language attainment while others don't. To name the most prominent ones in Europe: Turks in Germany and Austria, Moroccans in the Netherlands, and Bengali in Great Britain show large differences in educational attainment compared to natives. As lower proficiency in the language of instruction is generally seen as the reason for significantly lower success in the educational system of the country of immigration, it is an important question to ask why this happens. One of the most innovative and widely recognized findings was that the language history of many families in these groups revealed specific patterns. When parents and grandparents were members of linguistic minorities which faced oppression in their country of origin, language transmission within the family was

severely hampered. Therefore not only the development of the pupils' second language, in Austria's case German, was severely delayed or restricted, but also the development of the pupils' first language or what was thought to be their first language. Often, the language the parents spoke with their children was not the parents' first language because political pressure had forced a change in their family during their own childhood. For this reason, language attainment was a rather complicated process for the pupils, despite generally being highly motivated to learn German and be successful in school.

In sum, the multilinguality tradition focuses on the development of multilinguality in Austrian schools either by concentrating on the development of the language proficiency in the pupils' first and second language or by concentrating on the implementation of measures that should support the language development of the pupils. Some of the studies follow pupils over several years and other case studies concentrate on specific groups or schools. They are mostly in-depth studies which allow insights into the micro-mechanisms of language transmission within families and are only possible within a long-term setting where trust can be built up between researchers and parents. The implementation strand simply tries to document how variable, and at times limited, support measures for language development in schools are despite the fact that the legal framework offers many possibilities. However, without funding, clear regulations for each child's support and adequate employment of teachers, especially mother tongue teachers, implementation simply does not work.

4.5 Summary and conclusion

Despite having gained considerable importance in public discourse, research on race/ethnicity and educational inequalities in Austria, contrary to other countries, remained a marginalized field within institutionalized research until recently. In the last 30 years it has developed along five research strands.

To begin with, the political arithmetic tradition consists of studies and reports that describe differences in the participation and outcomes of students from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Most researchers while coming from different disciplines agreed on discriminatory societal structures as the source for the enduring inequality in education. While researchers in the 1980s and 1990s had to rely on school statistics, census, and micro-census data, more nuanced analyses became possible with the data stemming from international comparative large-scale assessments that began with PISA 2000. Until the 1990s, due to low naturalization rates, the children's nationality was taken as the most

important characteristic. Later on, during the 1990s when the share of naturalized pupils was growing, the Ministry of Education made statistics on children's first languages available. Rising numbers were observed in most school types as well as enduring over-representation in lower tracks and among drop-outs and early school-leavers, higher repetition rates, and under-representation in academic tracks. Surprisingly, under-representation in apprenticeship positions and vocational training was documented since the 1990s but did not become subject to more in-depth research. Since 2000, with Austria's participation in international tests, literacy results in reading, mathematics, and natural sciences were also compared and analyzed and showed large gaps for first- and second-generation students. At the same time, the success of mono- or bilingual schooling in the autochthonous minority languages Slovene and Burgenland-Croatian was documented, resulting in higher shares of academic success in younger-aged peers and impressive intergenerational educational mobility.

The family background tradition (FB) emerged parallel to the political arithmetic tradition in Austria. It focused primarily on the significance of family background characteristics to explain ethnic disparities in education. This tradition has grown substantially over the last decade with the increasing availability of relevant quantitative survey data. Consequently, since 2000, studies in the FB tradition are variable driven and the more detailed the data, the greater the lack of clear theoretical foundations. This especially applies to the role played by social and cultural capital in exploring the complex relationship between social class origin, ethnicity, and educational achievement. Whereas the low educational success of children with migration background was explained heuristically with reference to the socio-economic position of the families and the discriminatory societal structures in the 1980s and 1990s, with LSA data a positivistic approach is rarely accompanied with reference to institutional structures or societal frameworks.

The third research tradition, called the structure of educational systems tradition, investigates the impact of the institutional arrangement of the Austrian educational system in producing educational inequality. It focuses primarily on the early age of selection and the down-streaming logic of the Austrian school system. This has been widely discussed since the 1970s regarding social class, but not with a main focus on children with migration background. Although many other institutional variables were discussed in this literature, including issues such as the lack of kindergarten places, late age of entrance into early childhood institutions, predominance of half-day schooling, frequency of grade

retention, short duration of compulsory schooling resulting in early school-leavers without certificates, and the lack of communication with parents and ethnic communities, these have not been subject of closer investigation. With the availability of LSA datasets from 2000 onwards, researchers try to show effects of the age of first selection by using statistical analyses in country comparison. Nevertheless, the empirical evidence on the influences of institutional arrangements of the Austrian education system in producing ethnic educational inequalities has only increased during recent years.

The fourth research tradition, called the intercultural education and discrimination tradition, focuses on intercultural learning as a principle of instruction, its implementation, teachers' education, training, actions, and attitudes, and discrimination in textbooks. The most important results concern the variable implementation of intercultural learning in schools, the lack of training in teacher education and the incongruent self-image of the teachers regarding their knowledge of the issue. As most studies show, interculturality often functions as a catchword and works with a clear stress on cultural differences between ethnic groups. Teaching materials in Austria still lack important aspects of intercultural education. Whereas the other research traditions mentioned so far are strongly anchored in sociology with some researchers from political science and economics, this research tradition is predominantly rooted in cultural anthropology. Therefore, qualitative methodology, participant observation, document and discourse analyses are predominant.

The multilinguality tradition, the fifth tradition, focuses on the development of multilinguality in Austrian schools, the nature and extent of support measures and the language development of bi- or multilingual schoolchildren. It does so by either concentrating on the development of proficiency in the pupils' first and second language or by concentrating on the implementation of measures that should support the language development of pupils. The former covers insights about micro-mechanisms of language transmission within families through in-depth case studies. One of the most important findings in this tradition refers to the language biography in families as a reason why specific groups appear to be particularly disadvantaged, with the language policy in the country of origin being equally important as the one in the country of residence. In contrast, the implementation-oriented strand tries to document how variable, and at times limited, support measures for language development in schools are, despite the fact that the legal framework offers many possibilities. However, without transparent rules for each child's support as well as adequate funding and employment of staff, especially mother tongue teachers, implementation simply does not work.

Overall, our review indicated that the boundaries of these research traditions are not always clear cut. Most traditions interact with each other and in some cases the research could be classified in two or more traditions. Some traditions are particularly strong in a specific period closely tied to the availability of data, political developments, and public discourse. Since the 1980s, research on migration, minorities, and educational inequalities in Austria has been dominated by a strong tradition of analysis on the macro-level considering the consequences of societal structures and intergroup relationships for the individual and its attitudes and actions. During the first decade of the 21st century education researchers entered a new phase mainly through the availability and analysis of large-scale datasets. They produced a first wave of findings on the level of the individual and its family background with a view to international comparison. As there is a lack of knowledge in the field of micro-mechanisms in teaching and learning, future research should concentrate on classroom- and school-level processes to explore how multilingual language development can be adequately supported. Research on the level of schools and classrooms waits for attention since hardly any study covers these processes.

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Notes

[1] The first standardized test was carried out in May 2012 in mathematics covering all students in Austrian schools attending Grade 8.

[2] Own calculations on the basis of the 'Bildungsdokumentation'': http://www.statistik.at/web_de/static/schuelerinnen_und_schueler_201011_nach_geschlecht_020961.xlsx

[3] In the year 1961, the first agreement to recruit a maximum of 47,000 foreign workers was decided but many fewer came until bilateral agreements with the sending states had been signed (Wimmer, 1986).

[4] Recorded in administrative data by the school principal at the moment of enrollment.

[5] This journal is the *SWS Rundschau für Sozialwissenschaften*.

[6] The first one was founded in 2011: '*Zeitschrift für Bildungsforschung*' (*ZBF*).

[7] The first research project to do this was TIES (the Integration of the European Second Generation, www.tiesproject.eu), in mid-2008, which compared young adults with parents from Turkey/former Yugoslavia/Morocco to those with native parents in different education systems. For first publications, see Crul et al. (2012a, 2012b) and Schnell (2012).

[8] In Austria respondents with migration background were more negative about the interactions in school than those without migration backgrounds. On this dimension Austria ranked fourth among 16 countries after Ireland, Spain and Hungary (Bacher and Stelzer-Orthofer, 2008).

[9] Many researchers mention this element but only in passing and it is not properly discussed in the publications.

[10] However, funds to implement the measures were lacking and research on financial flows is scarce.