



Equity in providing learning opportunities for living together

This chapter examines equity in students' access to learning opportunities at school and how access is curtailed by practices such as tracking, grade repetition and stratification. It explores the association between these practices and students' capacity to live in an interconnected world. The chapter also investigates how teachers' behaviours and intercultural attitudes are related to students' attitudes and dispositions.

What the data tell us

- On average across OECD countries, boys were slightly more likely than girls to have access to intercultural and global learning opportunities. The largest differences in favour of boys were observed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Korea, Kosovo, Slovenia and Turkey, while the largest differences in favour of girls were observed in Belarus, Ireland, Jordan, Singapore, Thailand and Ukraine.
- Advantaged students have access to more learning opportunities than disadvantaged students. This finding holds true in 32 of the 64 participating countries and economies, with the largest differences observed in Australia, Canada, Hong Kong (China), Korea, Macao (China), New Zealand, Scotland (United Kingdom) and Chinese Taipei.
- Attending a disadvantaged school is associated with less positive intercultural and global attitudes among students compared to attending an advantaged school. However, this association is largely attenuated after accounting for students' socio-economic status.
- Students who had repeated a grade were likely to report less positive intercultural and global attitudes than their peers who had not repeated a grade. On average across OECD countries, repeating a grade was associated with a decline in students' self-efficacy regarding global issues (0.16 of a unit) and awareness of global issues (0.18 of a unit).
- Principals in Belarus, Iceland, Ireland, Poland, the Russian Federation, Scotland (United Kingdom), Singapore, Spain, Ukraine and the United Arab Emirates reported the greatest prevalence of positive multicultural beliefs among their teachers.
- Students in Baku (Azerbaijan), the Dominican Republic, Morocco, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Thailand reported the most perceived discrimination at school, while those in Costa Rica, Iceland, Ireland, Korea, Scotland (United Kingdom) and Viet Nam reported the least. On average across OECD countries, relatively few students (less than 15%) reported that they perceive discrimination by their teachers.

Two factors, access and acquisition, determine the effectiveness of any teaching or school practice (Hoskins and Janmaat, 2019^[11]). The findings from Chapter 7 show that certain activities are positively associated with students' attitudes and dispositions. However, not all students participate equally in learning activities. As seen in Chapters 2 through 5, students from socio-economically advantaged backgrounds and whose parents have more positive attitudes or are likely to take action for collective well-being exhibited more positive attitudes and higher levels of cognitive skills. This could indicate differential access to global education due to stratification or other school practices (Janmaat, Mostafa and Hoskins, 2014^[21]).

Schools can be a major contributor towards improving equity in access to learning opportunities, but in some cases they may act as barriers. This can happen in multiple ways. First, stratification and the fact that students do not stay in education for the same length of time mean that students will not benefit equally from learning opportunities. Stratification mechanisms include early selection and tracking into general and vocational streams and school segregation according to students' socio-economic status (e.g. between public and private schools) (Nie, Junn and Stehlik-Barry, 1996^[3]; Hoskins, D'Hombres and Campbell, 2008^[4]; Borgonovi, d'Hombres and Hoskins, 2010^[5]). Second, even students who attend the same school may not benefit from exposure to learning opportunities in the same way. This is due to streaming and grouping practices within classrooms, grade repetition, teachers' choice of certain pedagogies, and teachers' attitudes, preparedness and willingness to integrate global education into their lessons. Such practices could be used even in the most comprehensive school system (Kahne and Middaugh, 2008^[6]; McFarland and Starmanns, 2009^[7]; Hoskins, Janmaat and Melis, 2017^[8]).

Under these two scenarios, schools could either mitigate or exacerbate inequalities in skills and attitudes. For instance, schools could provide much needed learning opportunities that disadvantaged students may lack at home. In contrast, tracking students into differentiated streams based on their previous performance amounts to sorting them according to their socio-economic status. Students in the less demanding, often less prestigious tracks, may lack the opportunities that others enjoy. In this sense, tracking would only exacerbate pre-existing social differences in attitudes and engagement (Hallinan, 1994^[9]; Loveless, 1999^[10]; Hoskins and Janmaat, 2016^[11]).

However, explanations focusing on the role of schools in reinforcing the social status quo often omit young people's agency and their ability to overcome socio-economic disadvantage (OECD, 2018^[12]; OECD, 2019^[13]). They also omit the role that teachers and schools play in empowering and engaging students from different backgrounds (Aldridge et al., 2016^[14]). School climate, shaped by students' relationships with their teachers and peers, teachers' attitudes and beliefs, and the quality of teaching and learning

are likely to influence students' experiences, attitudes and overall resilience in the face of adversity (Weissbourd, Bouffard and Jones, 2013^[15]). A positive and inclusive school climate is a strong predictor of attitudes and behaviours (Roeser, Eccles and Sameroff, 2000^[16]; Loukas and Robinson, 2004^[17]; Wang et al., 2010^[18]).

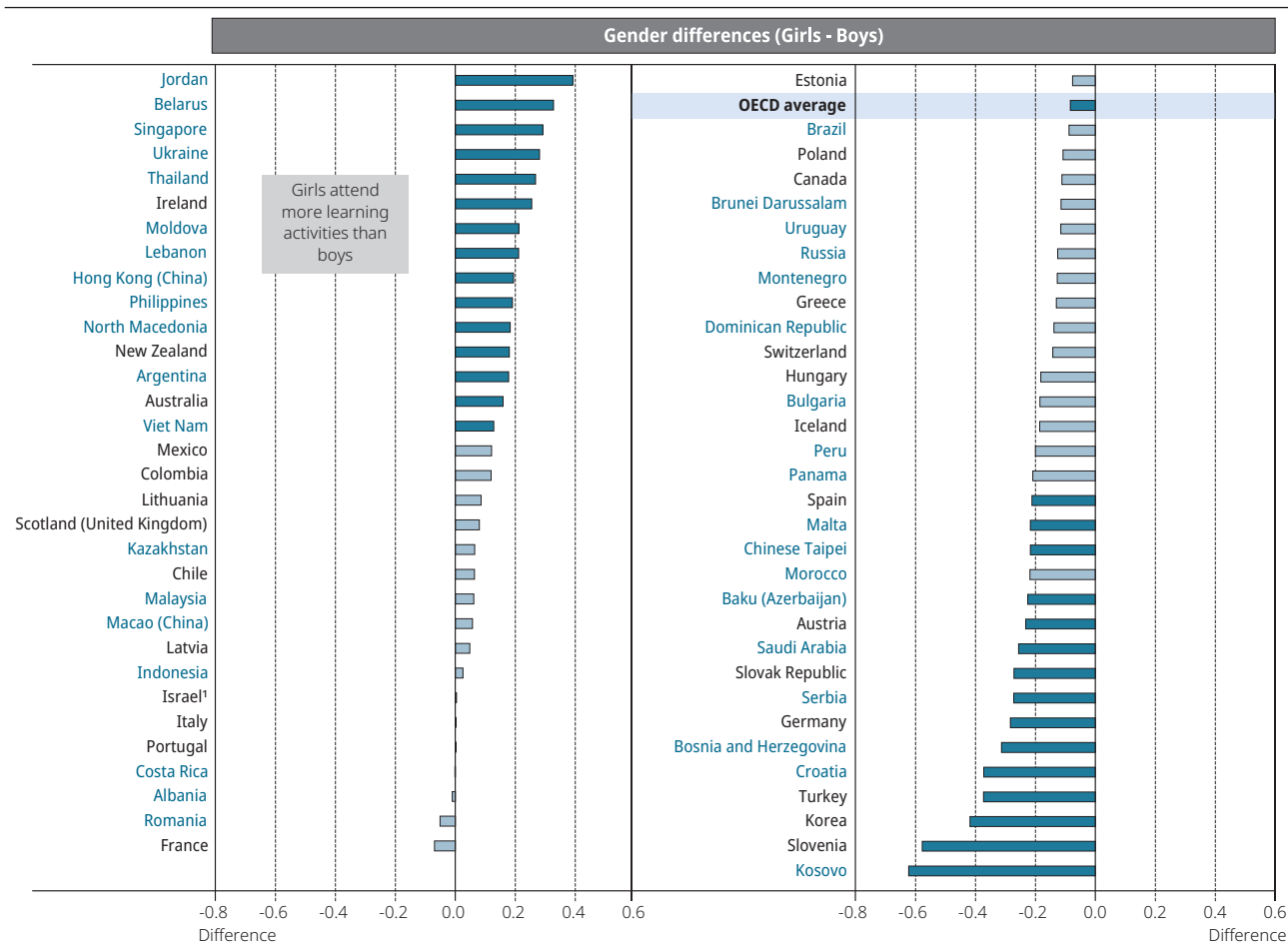
INEQUALITIES IN ACCESS TO LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES

The analyses of PISA 2018 data show a mixed picture, with substantial differences between countries in access to learning opportunities, depending on the type of learning activity, student and school characteristics and the extent of stratification in the education system. For instance, depending on the design of the education system, vocational tracks may provide learning opportunities of equal quality to those in general tracks even though students might be disproportionately sorted into those tracks based on their characteristics and prior academic performance. The following sections examine access to learning opportunities associated with student and school characteristics. Learning activities in which students are involved are the same ten activities discussed and analysed in Chapter 7.

Students' gender

On average across OECD countries, boys were slightly more likely than girls to have access to learning opportunities (Table VI.B1.8.1). The largest differences in favour of boys were observed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Korea, Kosovo, Slovenia and Turkey, while the largest differences in favour of girls were observed in Belarus, Ireland, Jordan, Singapore, Thailand and Ukraine (Figure VI.8.1).

Figure VI.8.1 Number of learning activities, by students' gender



1. The global competence sample from Israel does not include students in ultra-Orthodox schools and, thus, is not nationally representative. See PISA 2018 Technical Report (OECD, forthcoming) for details.

Note: Statistically significant values are shown in darker tones.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the difference between girls and boys.

Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.8.1.

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More boys than girls (about 5 percentage points more) reported that they learn about the interconnectedness of countries' and economies, on average across OECD countries. Boys were also more likely than girls to read newspapers, look for news on the Internet or watch the news together during class (a difference of 3 percentage points), be invited by their teachers to give their personal opinion about international news (a difference of 4 percentage points), participate in classroom discussions about world events (a difference of 3 percentage points) and analyse global issues together with their classmates (a difference of 3 percentage points). In contrast, girls were more likely than boys to report that they learn how to solve conflicts with their peers in the classroom (a difference of 4 percentage points), learn about different cultures (a difference of 4 percentage points), and learn how people from different cultures can have different perspectives on some issues (a difference of 3 percentage points).

In general, boys were more likely than girls to participate in activities in which they are expected to give and discuss their views, while girls were more likely than boys to report participating in activities related to intercultural understanding and communication. Those differences might reflect how girls and boys are socialised in the classroom and how their teachers encourage their engagement in the different activities. They could also reflect differences between boys and girls in interests and in self-efficacy. These differences provide evidence in favour of empowering girls to take an active role in the more participatory learning activities and for boys to engage with activities focusing on intercultural understanding and communication. These differences are consistent across countries and economies, but some are statistically non-significant.

Students' and schools' socio-economic profile

Another source of differences in access to learning activities is the socio-economic profile of students and their school. The findings show that advantaged students (those in the top quarter of the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status) have access to more learning opportunities than disadvantaged students. This finding holds true in 32 of 64 participating countries and economies, with the largest differences observed in Australia, Canada, Hong Kong (China), Korea, Macao (China), New Zealand, Scotland (United Kingdom) and Chinese Taipei (Figure VI.8.2).

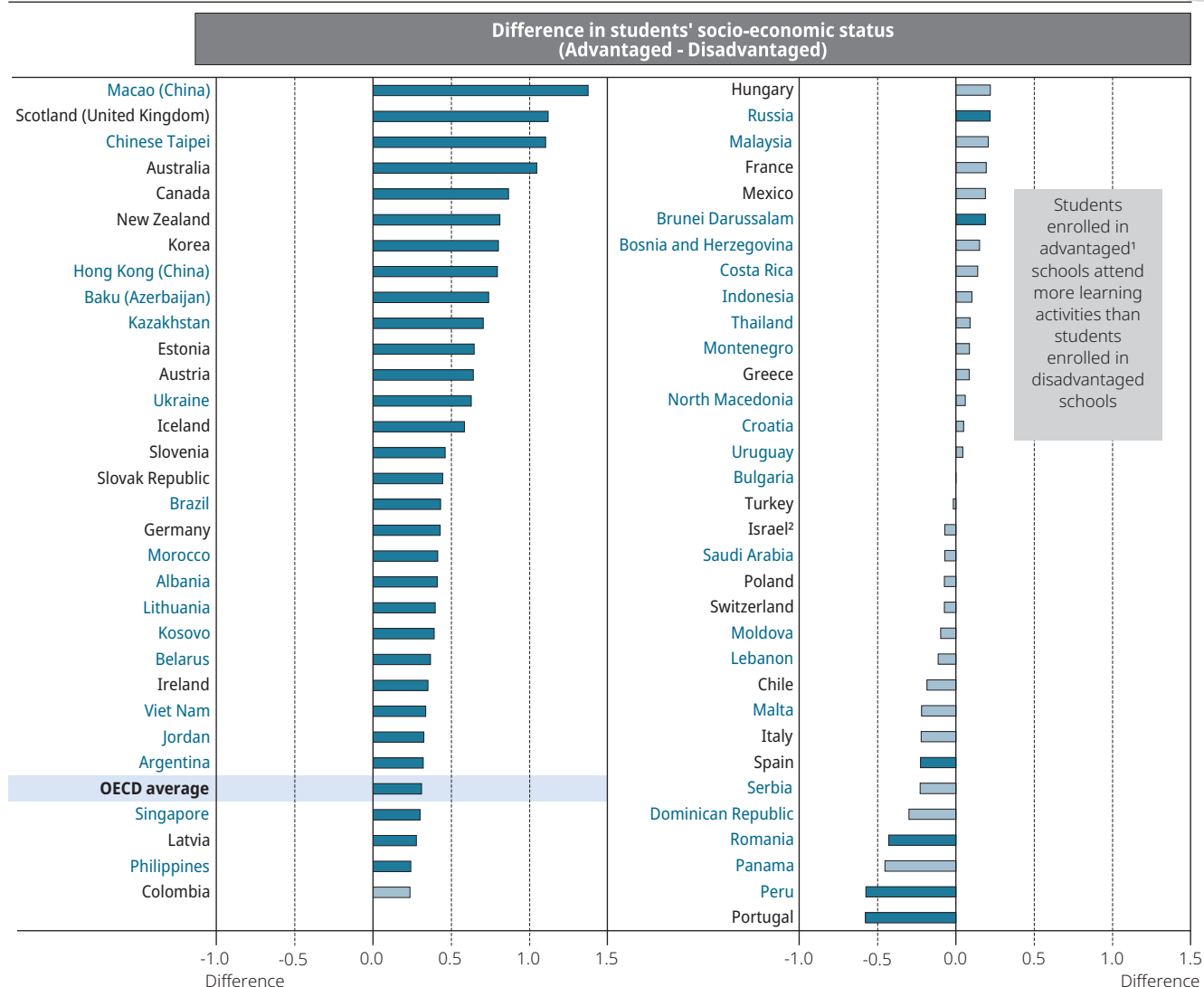
When each learning activity is considered separately, larger differences, in favour of advantaged students, were observed for the following activities: learning about different cultures; participating in classroom discussions about world events; analysing global issues together with classmates in small groups; and learning how people from different cultures can have different perspectives on some issues. Fewer significant differences were observed for: learning how to solve conflicts with other people in the classrooms; reading newspapers, looking for news on the Internet or watching the news together during class; giving personal opinions about international news; and participating in events celebrating cultural diversity throughout the school year.

This direct association with students' socio-economic status could be compounded by differences in favour of students who attend socio-economically advantaged schools (those in the top quarter of schools average PISA index of economic, social and cultural status) compared with disadvantaged schools (those in the bottom quarter).¹ However, evidence shows the opposite in many countries/economies, where students attending disadvantaged schools were more likely to report greater exposure to learning opportunities. This is the case in 36 of the 64 participating countries and economies. The largest differences in favour of students in disadvantaged schools were found in Bulgaria, Chile, Croatia, Israel², the Republic of Moldova, Montenegro, Panama, Peru, Portugal, Romania, the Russian Federation (hereafter "Russia"), Serbia and Switzerland. The opposite was true only in Australia, Canada, Iceland, Macao (China) and Scotland (United Kingdom) (Figure VI.8.3). This finding was corroborated by evidence when each learning opportunity was analysed separately.

However, students enrolled in advantaged schools tended to enjoy more opportunities than those enrolled in disadvantaged schools to participate in three of the ten learning activities assessed: learning about different cultures; participating in classroom discussions about world events; and learning how people from different cultures can have different perspectives on some issues (Table VI.B1.8.6).

In summary, disadvantaged students were likely to be exposed to fewer learning opportunities at school. However, inequity related to socio-economic status was not reflected at the school level, as students in disadvantaged schools were more likely than students in advantaged schools to enjoy greater access to seven learning activities. This finding could reflect a disproportionate provision of certain activities in disadvantaged schools that compensate for socio-economic disadvantage at home and a lack of social stratification in some education systems (i.e. socio-economic disadvantage at home does not translate into enrolment in disadvantaged schools). This finding also raises the issue of take-up among disadvantaged students, as the results suggest that even though disadvantaged schools may be providing those learning activities, students from disadvantaged backgrounds may not be equally attending them.

Figure VI.8.2 Number of learning activities, by socio-economic status



1. A socio-economically disadvantaged (advantaged) school is a school whose socio-economic profile (i.e. the average socio-economic status of the students in the school) is in the bottom (top) quarter of the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status amongst all schools in the relevant country/economy.

2. The global competence sample from Israel does not include students in ultra-Orthodox schools and, thus, is not nationally representative. See PISA 2018 Technical Report (OECD, forthcoming) for details.

Note: Statistically significant values are shown in darker tones.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the difference between advantaged and disadvantaged students.

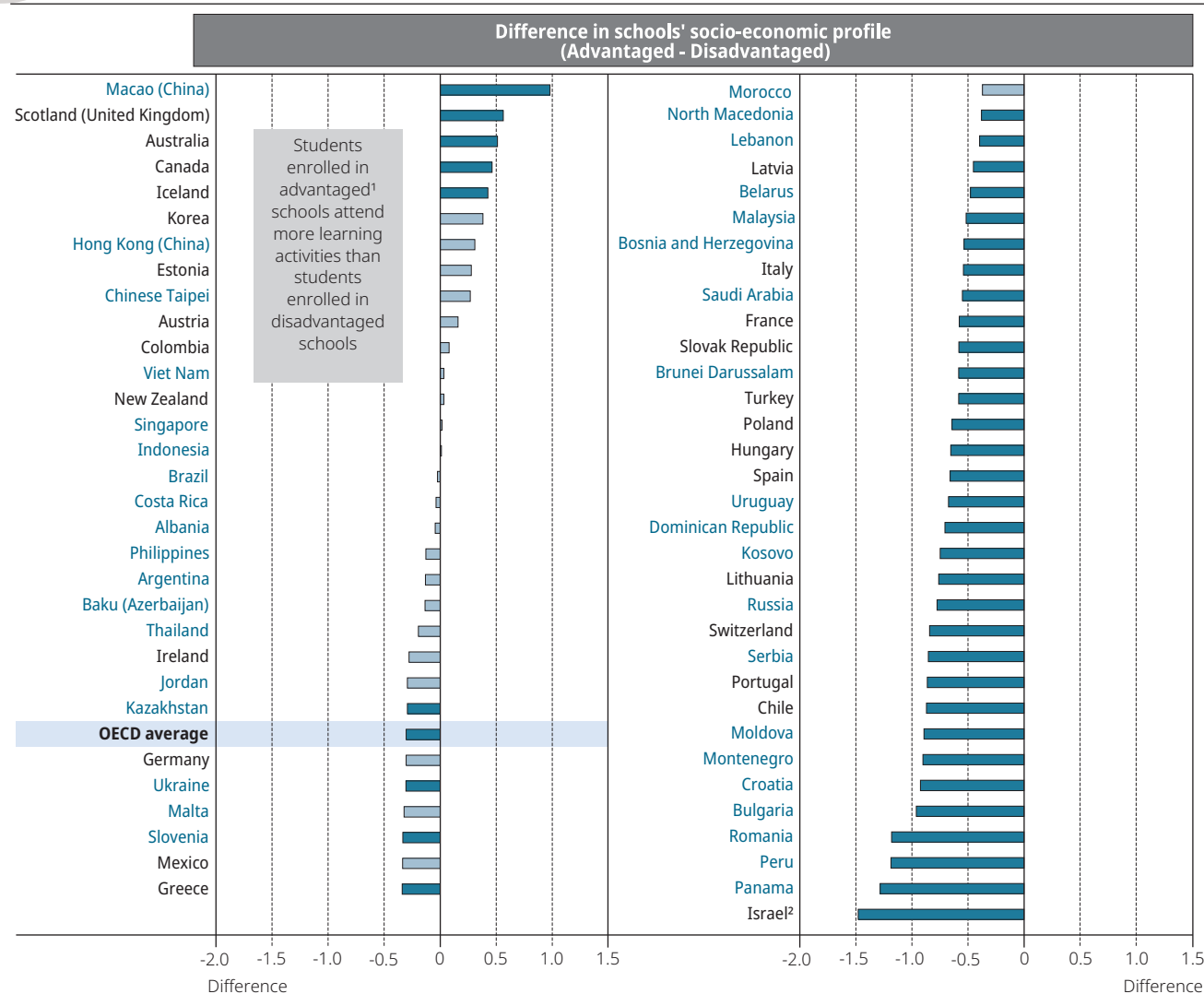
Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.8.2.

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Grade repetition

In countries and economies with a high prevalence of grade repetition (i.e. more than 5% of students had repeated a grade), students who had repeated a grade reported attendance at more learning activities (Table VI.B1.8.3). This was true in 15 of the 36 countries and economies with high grade repetition, while the reverse was observed only in Hong Kong (China), Jordan and the Philippines. Differences in favour of those who had repeated a grade were observed in all but two learning activities: 1) learning about different cultures (where difference in attendance was in favour of students who had not repeated a grade); and 2) learning how people from different cultures can have different perspectives on some issues (where differences were not significant).

This finding shows that grade repetition is not a main source of inequity in access to learning activities. Students who had repeated a grade would still be exposed to those activities in their classes, given that such activities are provided to all students in the class and maybe because such activities are more prevalent in lower grades. However, grade repetition might still be negatively associated with other attitudes and dispositions.

Figure VI.8.3 Number of learning activities, by schools' socio-economic profile¹

1. A socio-economically disadvantaged (advantaged) school is a school whose socio-economic profile (i.e. the average socio-economic status of the students in the school) is in the bottom (top) quarter of the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status amongst all schools in the relevant country/economy.

2. The global competence sample from Israel does not include students in ultra-Orthodox schools and, thus, is not nationally representative. See PISA 2018 Technical Report (OECD, forthcoming) for details.

Note: Statistically significant values are shown in darker tones.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the difference between students enrolled in advantaged schools and students enrolled in disadvantaged schools.

Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.8.6.

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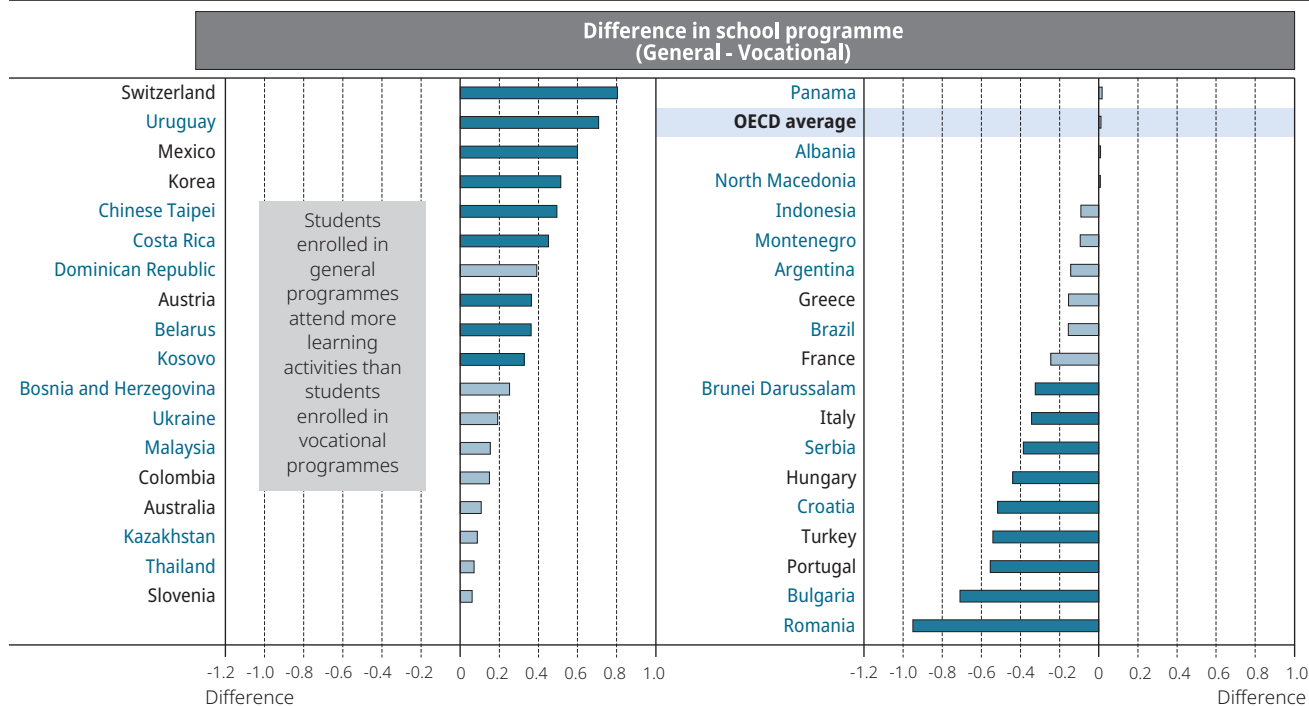
Programme orientation

The orientation of the programme in which a student is enrolled (vocational or general education) is associated with differences in access to learning opportunities. However, these differences are not consistent across all countries/economies where more than 5% of students are enrolled in vocational programmes. In Austria, Belarus, Costa Rica, Korea, Kosovo, Mexico, Switzerland, Chinese Taipei and Uruguay, students enrolled in general or modular programmes were more exposed to learning activities focusing on intercultural understanding and on global issues than students enrolled in vocational programmes. The reverse was observed in Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Italy, Portugal, Romania, Serbia and Turkey (Figure VI.8.4). Differences were non-significant in 19 countries and economies and on average across OECD countries. Some countries provide similar learning opportunities to all students, regardless of the type of programme in which they are enrolled.

On average across OECD countries, 7% more students in general programmes than in vocational programmes reported learning about different cultures, while 7% fewer reported that they read newspapers, look for news on the Internet or watch the news

during class. Moreover, 4% fewer students in general programmes than in vocational programmes reported participating in events celebrating cultural diversity throughout the school year. These results indicate that the conceptual aspects of intercultural learning might be more frequently taught in general programmes, while the practical aspects might be more commonly covered in vocational programmes.

Figure VI.8.4 Number of learning activities, by programme orientation



Note: Statistically significant values are shown in darker tones.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the difference between students enrolled in general programmes and students enrolled in vocational programmes.

Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.8.4.

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School type

School type is associated with differences in access to learning opportunities. In 9 countries and economies out of 51 with non-missing results, students enrolled in private schools were exposed to more learning opportunities than their peers in public schools (Table VI.B1.8.5). Those countries are Albania, Australia, Austria, Costa Rica, Greece, Mexico, New Zealand, North Macedonia (hereafter "North Macedonia") and Switzerland. Nonetheless, there are eight countries where students enrolled in public schools were exposed to more learning activities than their peers in private schools. Those countries are: Brunei Darussalam, Chile, Dominican Republic, Malaysia, Malta, Panama, Peru and Singapore. Moreover, on average across OECD countries, 4% more students in private schools than in public schools reported participating in classroom discussions about world events as part of regular instruction, while another 4% more reported that they are often invited by their teachers to give their personal opinion about international news. Moreover, 3% more students in private schools than in public schools reported that they learn about different cultures, and another 3% more reported that they learn how people from different cultures can have different perspectives on some issues. All other differences were either too small or statistically non-significant.

VARIATIONS IN STUDENTS' ATTITUDES, AND SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS AND PRACTICES

This section focuses on the association between the characteristics of students and schools and students' attitudes and dispositions towards living in an interconnected world.³ The attitudes examined are: 1) self-efficacy regarding global issues; 2) awareness of global issues; 3) interest in learning about other cultures; 4) respect for people from other cultures; 5) perspective taking; 6) attitudes towards immigrants; 7) cognitive adaptability; 8) awareness of intercultural communication; and 9) engagement with global issues. In general, students who had not repeated a grade, were enrolled in a general education track or attended a socio-economically advantaged school (a school in the top quarter of schools' average PISA index of economic, social and cultural status) were likely to have more positive attitudes and dispositions than their peers who had repeated a grade, were enrolled in a vocational track or attended a disadvantaged school.

Advantaged and disadvantaged schools

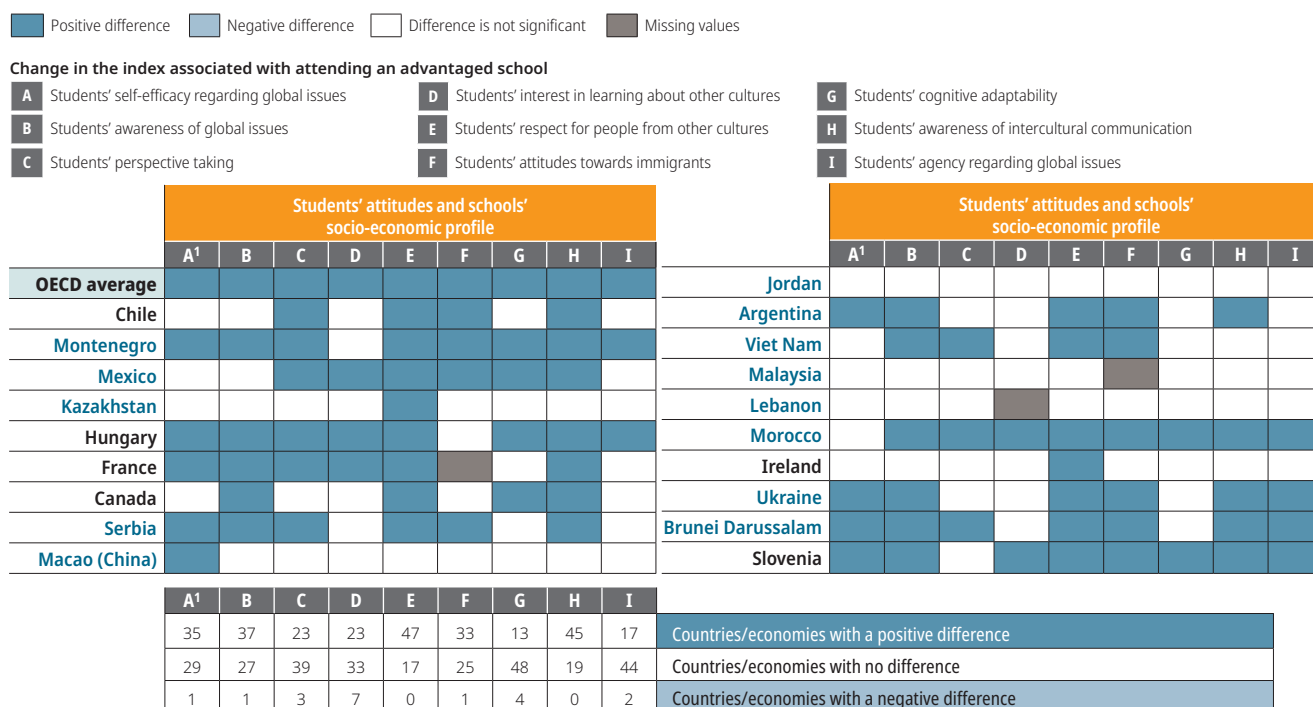
In a highly stratified education system, disadvantaged students are likely to attend schools with children of similar socio-economic status. Stratification results from tracking and student-allocation policies, but it could also arise naturally through parental choice of particular schools (e.g. faith schools), through the choice of a residence area or due to selection of students based on their academic performance. Those schools might also lack certain educational resources and qualified teachers and might suffer from disciplinary problems, such as truancy and bullying (OECD, 2019^[19]). Under those circumstances, the disadvantage students may face at home is compounded by disadvantage that they face at school. Ultimately, if no action is taken to counter those trends, students may feel disengaged and disempowered.

In general, attending a disadvantaged school (a school in the bottom quarter of the schools' average PISA index of economic, social and cultural status) is associated with less positive attitudes among students compared to attending an advantaged school (a school in the top quarter of the schools' average PISA index of economic, social and cultural status). However, this association is largely attenuated after accounting for students' socio-economic status. This indicates that a student's socio-economic background plays a central role in sorting students into different schools.

On average across OECD countries, attending an advantaged school was associated with an increase in these indices: self-efficacy regarding global issues (0.16 of a unit); awareness of global issues (0.12 of a unit); perspective taking (0.07 of a unit); interest in learning about other cultures (0.12 of a unit); respect for people from other cultures (0.26 of a unit); attitudes towards immigrants (0.14 of a unit); cognitive adaptability (0.04 of a unit); awareness of intercultural communication (0.2 of a unit); and agency regarding global issues (0.07 of a unit).

The associations between attending an advantaged school and students' attitudes were positive and significant after accounting for students' and schools' socio-economic profiles when considering: self-efficacy regarding global issues (in 35 countries and economies); awareness of global issues (in 37 countries/economies); perspective taking and interest in learning about other cultures (23 countries/economies); respect for people from other cultures (47 countries/economies); attitudes towards immigrants (33 countries/economies); cognitive adaptability (13 countries/economies); awareness of intercultural communication (45 countries/economies); and agency regarding global issues (17 countries/economies) (Figure VI.8.5).

Figure VI.8.5 ^[1/2] **Students' attitudes and schools' socio-economic profile**



1. After accounting for students' and schools' socio-economic profile. The socio-economic profile is measured by the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS).

2. The global competence sample from Israel does not include students in ultra-Orthodox schools and, thus, is not nationally representative. See PISA 2018 Technical Report (OECD, forthcoming) for details.

Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.8.10


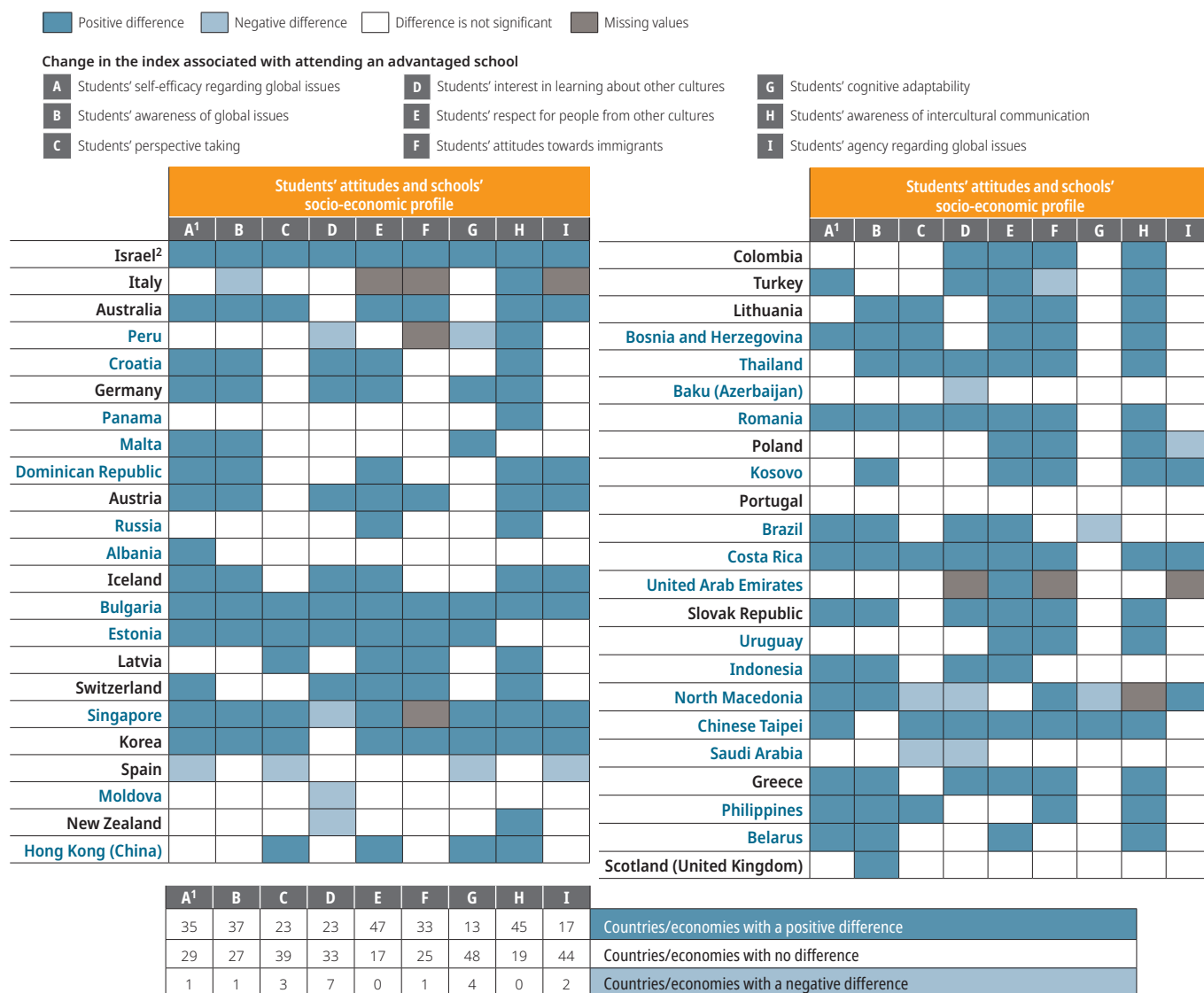

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Figure VI.8.5 [2/2] **Students' attitudes and schools' socio-economic profile**

1. After accounting for students' and schools' socio-economic profile. The socio-economic profile is measured by the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS).

2. The global competence sample from Israel does not include students in ultra-Orthodox schools and, thus, is not nationally representative. See PISA 2018 Technical Report (OECD, forthcoming) for details.

Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.8.10

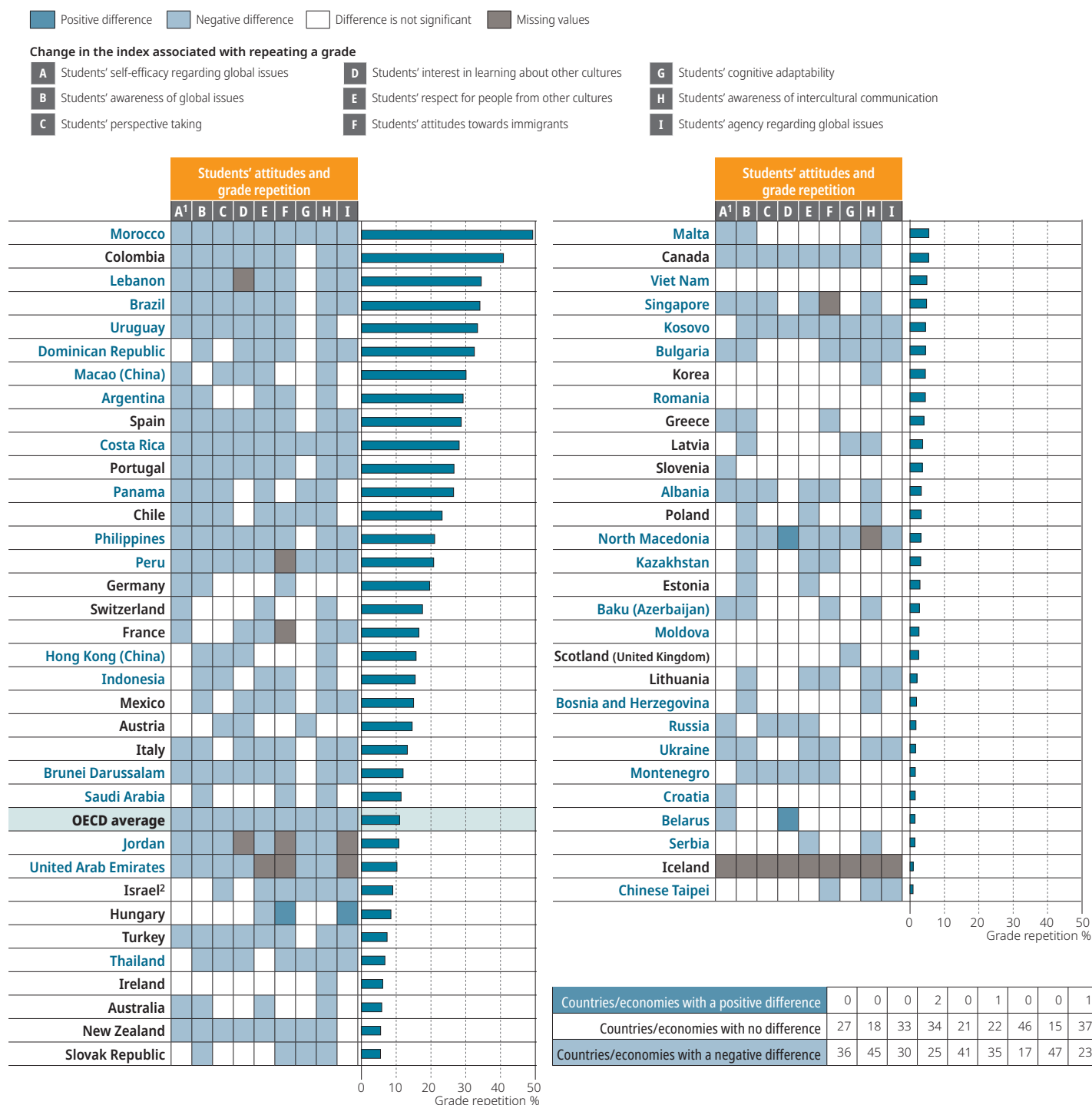
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Grade repetition

Although grade repetition, which is used to manage students' heterogeneity, is on the decline in many countries, it remains widely used in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Lebanon, Macao (China), Morocco, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, Portugal, Spain and Uruguay, where at least one in five students had repeated a grade by the time they sat the PISA test (Table VI.B1.8.7).

Students who had repeated a grade were likely to report less positive attitudes than their peers who had not repeated a grade. The associations held even though they were attenuated after accounting for students' and schools' socio-economic profile. On average across OECD countries, repeating a grade was associated with a decline in: students' self-efficacy regarding global issues (0.16 of a unit); awareness of global issues (0.18 of a unit); perspective taking, interest in learning about other cultures and cognitive adaptability (0.08 of a unit); respect for people from other cultures (0.17 of a unit); attitudes towards immigrants (0.13 of a unit); awareness of intercultural communication (0.2 of a unit); and agency regarding global issues (0.10 of a unit).

Figure VI.8.6 Grade repetition and students' attitudes



1. After accounting for students' and schools' socio-economic profile. The socio-economic profile is measured by the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS).

2. The global competence sample from Israel does not include students in ultra-Orthodox schools and, thus, is not nationally representative. See PISA 2018 Technical Report (OECD, forthcoming) for details.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the proportion of students who had repeated a grade.

Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Tables VI.B1.8.7.

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Out of 64 countries and economies taking the global competence questionnaire, the associations between having repeated a grade and certain students' attitudes were negative and significant when considering: self-efficacy regarding global issues (in 36 countries/economies); awareness of global issues (45 countries/economies); perspective taking (30 countries/economies); interest in learning about other cultures (25 countries/economies); respect for people from other cultures (41 countries and

economies); attitudes towards immigrants (35 countries/economies); cognitive adaptability (17 countries/economies); awareness of intercultural communication (47 countries/economies); and agency regarding global issues (23 countries/economies).

In general, grade repetition seems to predict less positive attitudes and predispositions among 15-year-olds, even after accounting for students' socio-economic status. This finding corroborates existing evidence that grade repetition penalises students who are already struggling at school. This could happen by stigmatising low performers and by discouraging hard work among students with low motivation to study, even though grade repetition is not a predictor of lack of access to learning opportunities (Ikeda and García, 2014^[20]). These results show that the effects of grade repetition extend beyond performance in traditional subjects to general attitudes about how people can live together in an interconnected world (Figure VI.8.6). However, the association between grade repetition and students' academic and attitudinal outcomes is not necessarily causal and is likely to be influenced by confounders such as the lack of motivation or discipline.

General and vocational tracks

Enrolment in vocational programmes could be a predictor of low performance and attitudes. However, this is not necessarily true everywhere and for all attitudes. On average across OECD countries in 2018, 14% of students were enrolled in vocational programmes. The countries with more than 50% of students enrolled in vocational programmes were Albania, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia and Slovenia.

In general, the results show a positive difference in attitudes in favour of students enrolled in general or modular programmes as opposed to those enrolled in vocational programmes (Table VI.B1.8.8). On average across OECD countries, and after accounting for students' and schools' socio-economic profile, enrolment in a general education track was associated with an increase in these indices: students' self-efficacy regarding global issues (0.14 of a unit); awareness of global issues (0.18 of a unit); interest in learning about other cultures (0.06 of a unit); respect for people from other cultures (0.12 of a unit); attitudes towards immigrants (0.11 of a unit); awareness of intercultural communication (0.11 of a unit); agency regarding global issues (0.07 of a unit); and cognitive adaptability (0.04 of a unit).

Those associations are weak and largely attenuated after accounting for students' and schools' socio-economic profile. This shows that the possible negative effect of enrolment in a vocational programme is mostly the result of socio-economic stratification into those programmes. Socio-economic status acts indirectly through its effect on academic performance and parental preferences, which are key factors affecting sorting into vocational programmes.

Moreover, these associations held in fewer countries and economies than those related to grade repetition. Among countries and economies with more than 5% of students enrolled in a vocational programme, the associations between enrolment in a vocational programme and students' attitudes were negative and significant when considering: self-efficacy regarding global issues (in 18 countries/economies); awareness of global issues (21 countries/economies); perspective taking (11 countries/economies); interest in learning about other cultures (15 countries/economies); respect for people from other cultures (18 countries/economies); attitudes towards immigrants (18 countries/economies); cognitive adaptability (9 countries/economies); awareness of intercultural communication (15 countries/economies); and agency regarding global issues (10 countries/economies) (Figure VI.8.7).

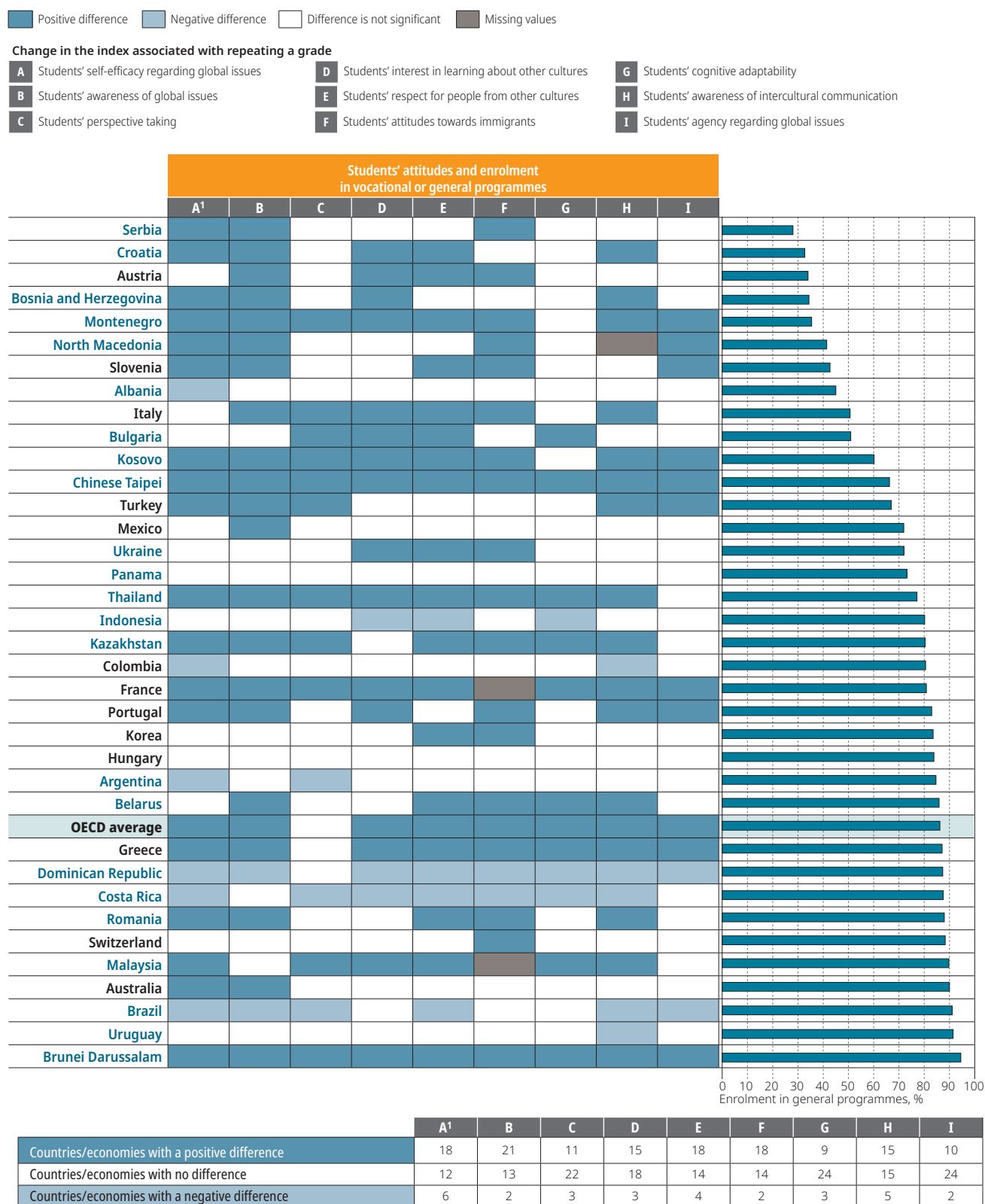
These negative associations could indicate a lack of certain learning opportunities in some countries/economies. However, as results from the previous section showed, few differences in participation in learning activities were observed in favour of students in general or modular programmes. This observation warrants more in-depth analysis of the negative association between enrolment in vocational programmes and students' attitudes. Factors unrelated to pedagogy, such as school management and students' expectations of future salaries and job opportunities, could play a role.

School type

Enrolment in private or public schools could be a predictor of students' attitudes and dispositions. However, this association is likely to be highly influenced by students' socio-economic background and parental preferences (e.g. preferences for parochial schools). On average across OECD countries, 17% of students attended private schools, with the highest proportions (exceeding 40%) being observed in Australia, Chile, Hong Kong (China), Indonesia, Lebanon, Macao (China), Malta, Scotland (United Kingdom) and the United Arab Emirates (Table VI.B1.8.9).

The results show a positive difference in attitudes in favour of students enrolled in private schools, before accounting for students' and schools' socio-demographic profiles. These differences hold true, on average across OECD countries, for all nine attitudes and dispositions. However, once students' and schools' profiles are taken into account, seven of the differences become statistically non-significant and two change sign. This is a clear indication that differences in attitudes between students enrolled in private and public schools are mostly due to socio-economic variations between the two groups. For two indices, students' respect for people from other cultures and attitudes towards immigrants, students attending public schools exhibited slightly more positive attitudes than their peers in private schools, once students' and schools' socio-demographic profiles are accounted for. Results vary substantially between countries/economies depending on which attitudes are being considered. The associations are negative in some and positive in others. All results are presented in Table VI.B1.8.9.

Figure VI.8.7 Vocational education and students' attitudes



1. After accounting for students' and schools' socio-economic profile. The socio-economic profile is measured by the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS).

Countries and economies are ranked in ascending order of the percentage of students who are enrolled in general programmes.

Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Tables VI.B1.8.8.

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SCHOOL CLIMATE AND STUDENTS' ATTITUDES

Principals' views on teachers' multicultural beliefs

A major goal of many teacher development programmes is to prepare teachers not only to teach a particular subject, but also to work with diverse student populations (Garmon, 2004^[21]; Bodur, 2012^[22]). Raising awareness about cultural sensitivity in schools has become a common feature of teacher preparation, although there is no agreement on what teacher development programmes should address. Some courses address diversity by broadly focusing on issues such as race, culture, gender, ethnicity, language diversity and sexual orientation, while others are more specific. However, teacher training courses cannot be developed without taking stock of teachers' beliefs and attitudes.

PISA 2018 asked school principals to report their views on their teachers' multicultural beliefs. Principals were asked to consider four statements and report whether these beliefs are widely shared among the teachers in their school. The statements were: "It is important for students to learn that people from other cultures can have different values"; "Respecting other cultures is something that students should learn as early as possible"; "In the classroom, it is important that students of different origins recognise the similarities that exist between them"; and "When there are conflicts between students of different origins, they should be encouraged to resolve the argument by finding common ground". Principals were given a choice of responses indicating how many of the teachers in their school shared these beliefs: "none or almost none", "some", "many", or "all or almost all". The responses to these statements were used to construct an index of principals' views on teachers' multicultural beliefs. Positive values indicate greater multicultural and egalitarian beliefs.

Principals in Belarus, Iceland, Ireland, Poland, Russia, Scotland (United Kingdom), Singapore, Spain, Ukraine and the United Arab Emirates reported the greatest prevalence of positive multicultural beliefs among their teachers, while those in Baku (Azerbaijan), Hong Kong (China), Jordan, Korea, Lebanon, Morocco, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Chinese Taipei and Viet Nam reported the least prevalence of these beliefs (Figure VI.8.8). On average across OECD countries, around 93% of school principals reported that many or all teachers shared positive multicultural beliefs. In most countries, results were similar across all four statements.

Teachers' multicultural beliefs, as reported by school principals, were weakly associated with students' attitudes. Associations were positive but weak and non-significant in most countries (Table VI.B1.8.12).

Students' perception of discrimination at school

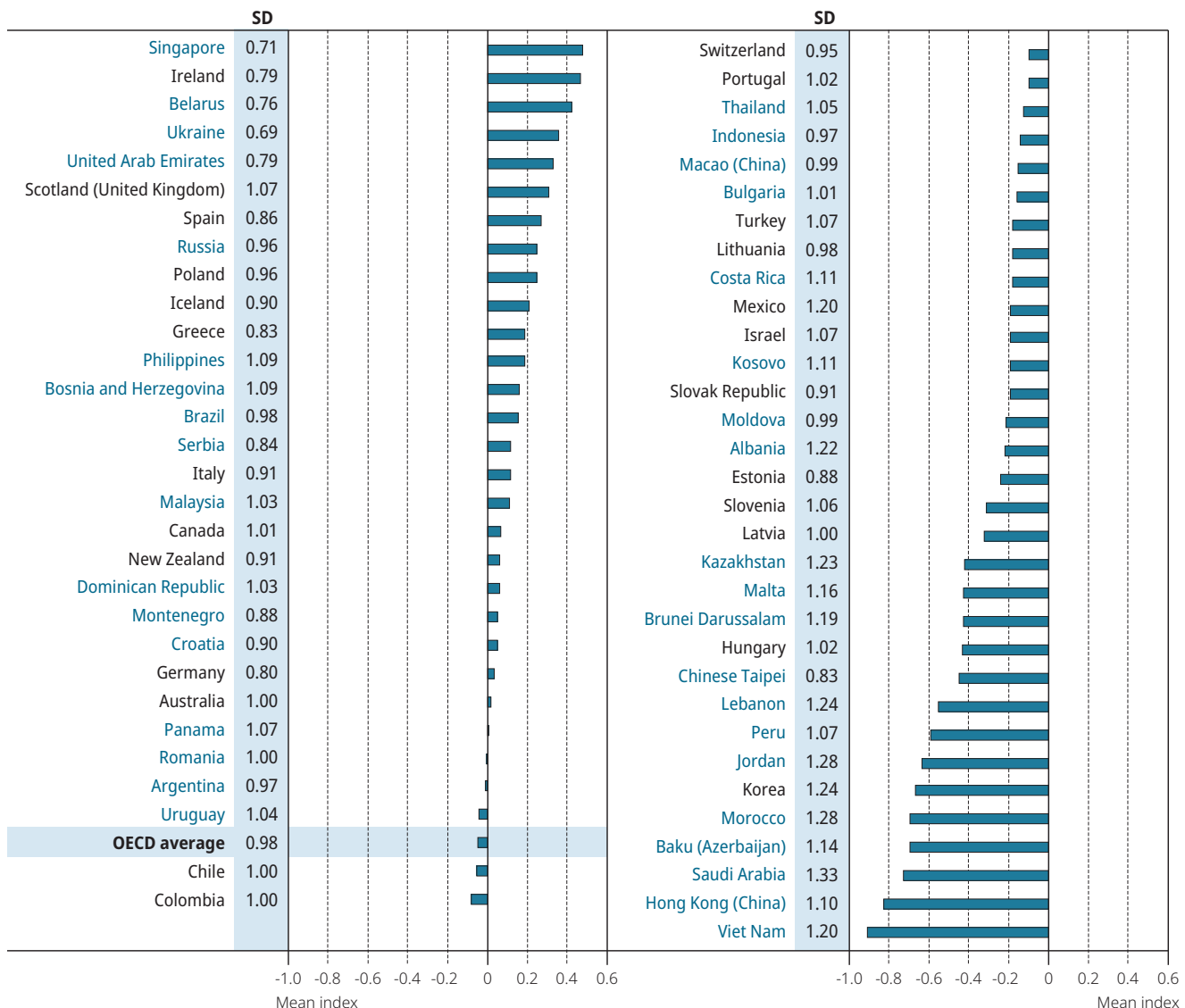
The definition of discrimination has changed over time as researchers have documented its nature and the forms it takes. Existing definitions distinguish between symbolic, traditional, institutional and individual discrimination (Rosenbloom and Way, 2004^[23]). The term symbolic is used to distinguish certain types of discrimination from traditional and more blatant forms, such as racism. Traditional discrimination is a shared negative attitude towards a group of people based on stereotypes and generalisations, while symbolic discrimination is more subtle. Individual discrimination can be described as an act taken by one individual, while institutional discrimination is systemic and entrenched.

PISA 2018 asked students about their perception of their teachers' attitudes towards people from other cultural groups. The index of perception of discrimination at school was constructed by combining students' responses to the following four statements: "They have misconceptions about the history of some cultural groups"; "They say negative things about people of some cultural groups"; "They blame people of some cultural groups for problems faced by [the country of test]"; and "They have lower academic expectations for students of some cultural groups". Responses were given on a four-point scale: "none or almost none of them", "some of them", "most of them", and "all or almost all of them". Positive values in this index indicate a more discriminatory school climate.

The PISA measure of discrimination at school could be seen as both individual and institutional, as discrimination can be the act of one teacher or a reflection of a more institutional problem. Moreover, the statements focus on traditional forms of discrimination rather than subtle ones, as they reflect generalised attitudes about a group of people or a particular culture.

Figure VI.8.8 Principals' views on teachers' multicultural beliefs

Based on principals' reports



Note: The global competence sample from Israel does not include students in ultra-Orthodox schools and, thus, is not nationally representative. See PISA 2018 Technical Report (OECD, forthcoming) for details.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of principals' views on teachers' multicultural beliefs.

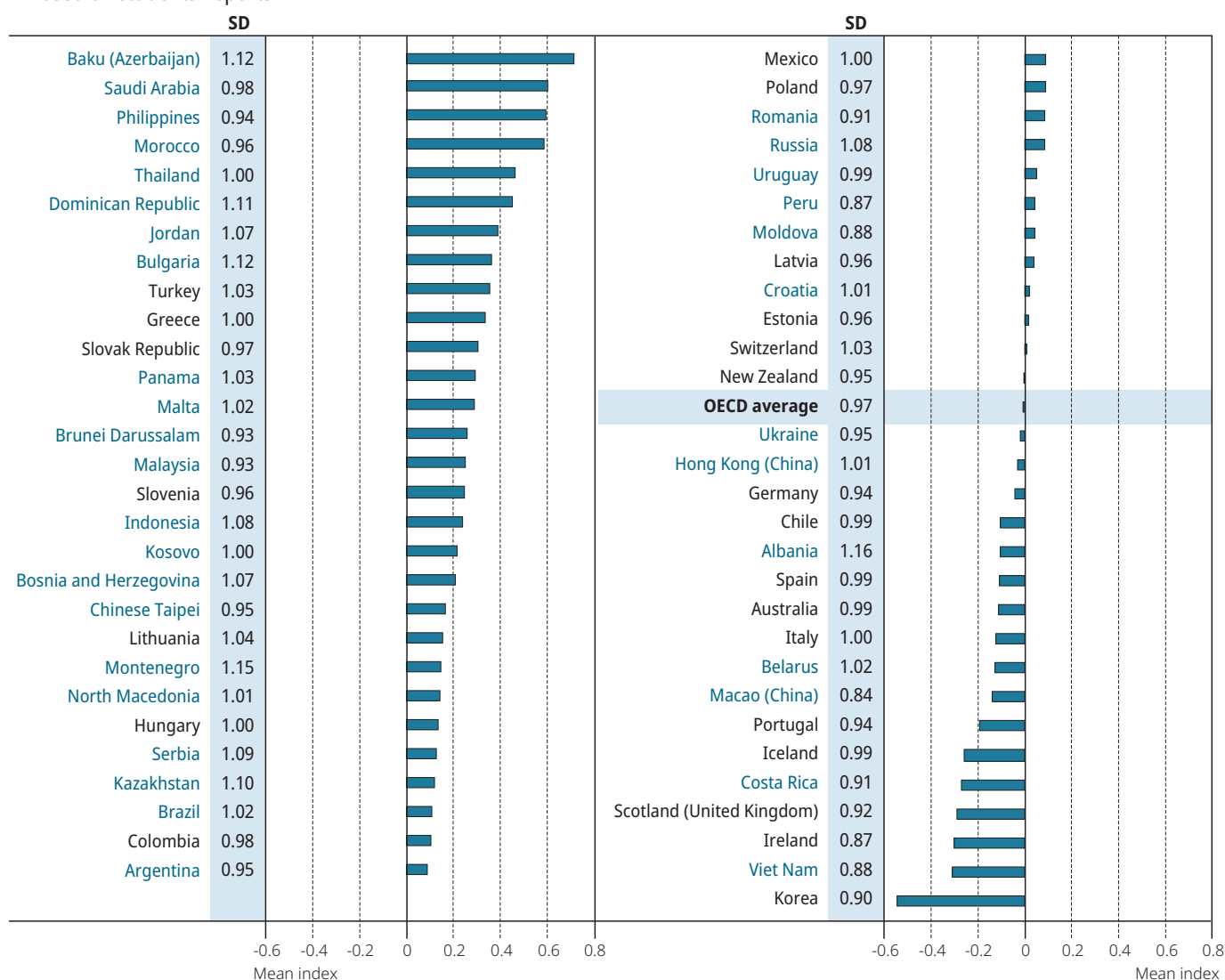
Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.8.11.

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Students in Baku (Azerbaijan), the Dominican Republic, Morocco, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Thailand reported the most perceived discrimination at school, while those in Costa Rica, Iceland, Ireland, Korea, Scotland (United Kingdom) and Viet Nam reported the least (Figure VI.8.9). On average across OECD countries, relatively few students reported that they perceive discrimination by their teachers (the two categories “most of them” and “all or almost all of them” combined). On average, 12% of students reported that their teachers have misconceptions about the history of some cultural groups or that they say negative things about people of some cultural groups. About 14% of students reported that their teachers blame people of some cultural groups for problems faced by their country, and about 15% reported that their teachers have lower academic expectations for students from some cultural groups. Even though those percentages are low, they are not negligible. The perception of discrimination at school could be a sign of absence of clear guidance on how teachers should behave in order to create an inclusive environment for all students.

Figure VI.8.9 **Students' perception of discrimination at school**

Based on students' reports



Note: The global competence sample from Israel does not include students in ultra-Orthodox schools and, thus, is not nationally representative. See PISA 2018 Technical Report (OECD, forthcoming) for details.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of students' perception of discrimination in their schools.

Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.8.13.

StatLink <https://doi.org/10.1787/888934171039>

In all countries and economies, girls perceived less discrimination at school than boys. The largest gender gaps were observed in Albania, Hong Kong (China), Kosovo and Turkey and the smallest in Argentina, Estonia, Korea and Scotland (United Kingdom). Students from disadvantaged backgrounds were more likely to perceive discrimination at school than their advantaged peers. This was the case in 35 countries and economies of the 59 that took the global competence questionnaire. The largest differences between advantaged and disadvantaged students were observed in Australia, the Dominican Republic, Hungary, Iceland and Switzerland, while the smallest differences were in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Estonia. Moreover, immigrant students perceived greater discrimination at school in 10 countries and economies of the 28 with more than 5% immigrant students. The largest differences were observed in Germany, Iceland and Italy and the smallest in Brunei Darussalam and Macao (China).

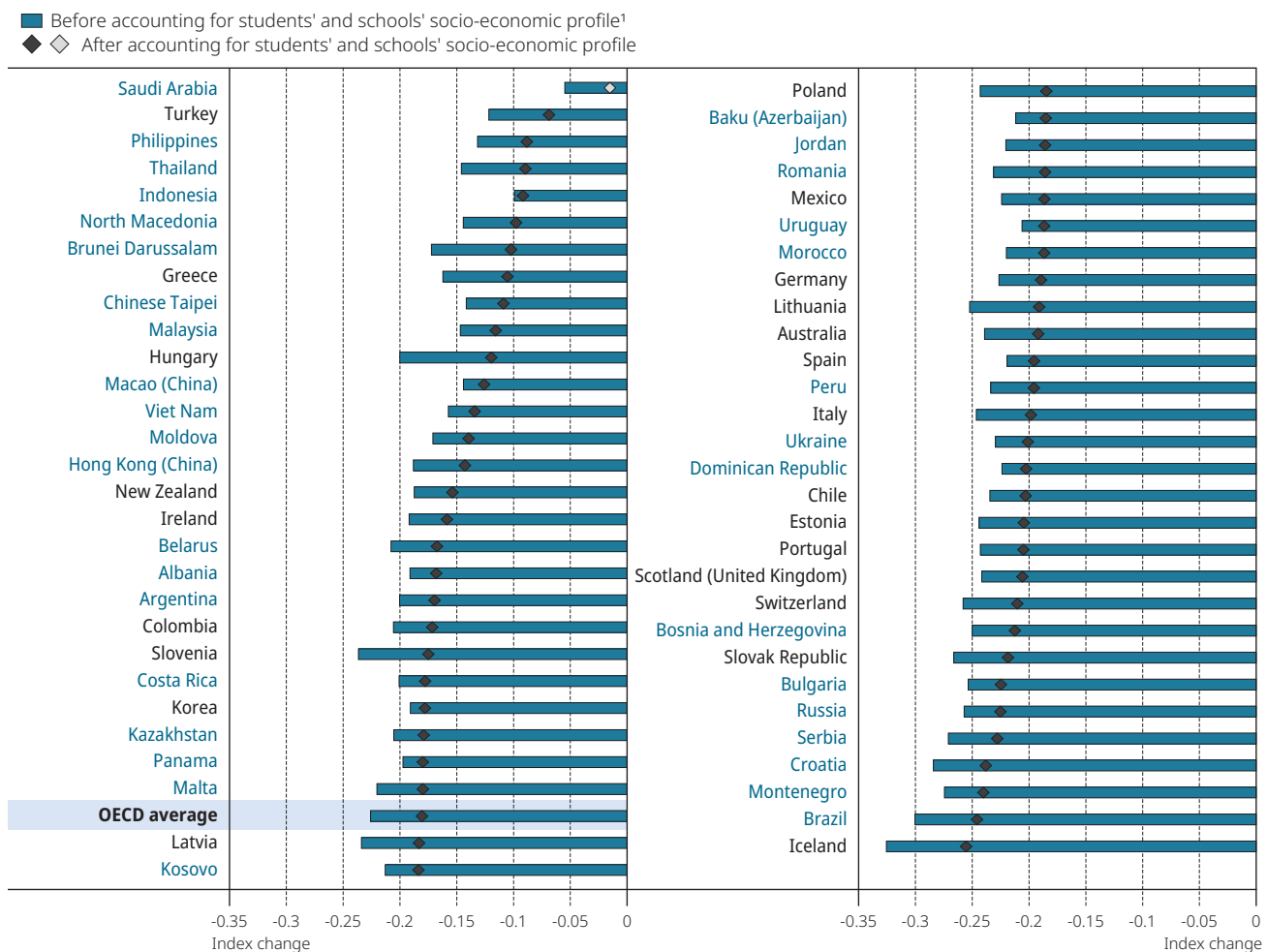
Students' perception of discrimination at school was associated with the nine students' attitudes considered. However, some of the associations were not consistent, such as those with the indices of awareness of and self-efficacy regarding global issues, interest in learning about other cultures, cognitive adaptability and agency regarding global issues. These associations were mostly non-significant, weak and varied in their signs (Table VI.B1.8.14). However, negative and consistent associations were observed between students' perceptions of discrimination in their school and the indices of perspective taking, respect for people from other cultures, attitudes towards immigrants and awareness of intercultural communication. Interestingly, the perception

of discrimination was less correlated with the knowledge aspects of students' dispositions and more with intercultural attitudes towards people from other backgrounds. Students who perceive discrimination by their teachers towards particular groups, such as immigrants and people from other cultural backgrounds, exhibited similar negative attitudes.

Figure VI.8.10 shows the negative association between students' perception of discrimination in their school and their level of respect for people from other cultures. On average across OECD countries, a rise of one unit in the index of perceived discrimination at school was associated with a decline of 0.18 of a unit in the index of respect for people from other cultures. This finding highlights the role of teachers in fighting discrimination by acting as role models, or perpetuating it by making discrimination routine. The associations were strongest in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Croatia, Iceland, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia, the Slovak Republic and Switzerland, weakest in Indonesia, North Macedonia, the Philippines, Thailand and Turkey. The associations with the other attitudes were also negative but weak and non-significant in Saudi Arabia.

Figure VI.8.10 **Perception of discrimination at school and students' respect for people from other cultures**

Change in the index of students' respect for people from other cultures associated with a one-unit increase in the index of discriminatory school climate



1. The socio-economic profile is measured by the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS).

Notes: Statistically significant values are shown in darker tones.

The global competence sample from Israel does not include students in ultra-Orthodox schools and, thus, is not nationally representative. See PISA 2018 Technical Report (OECD, forthcoming) for details.

Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the strength of the association, after accounting for gender, immigrant background, and students' and schools' socio-economic profile.

Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.8.14.

StatLink <https://doi.org/10.1787/888934171058>

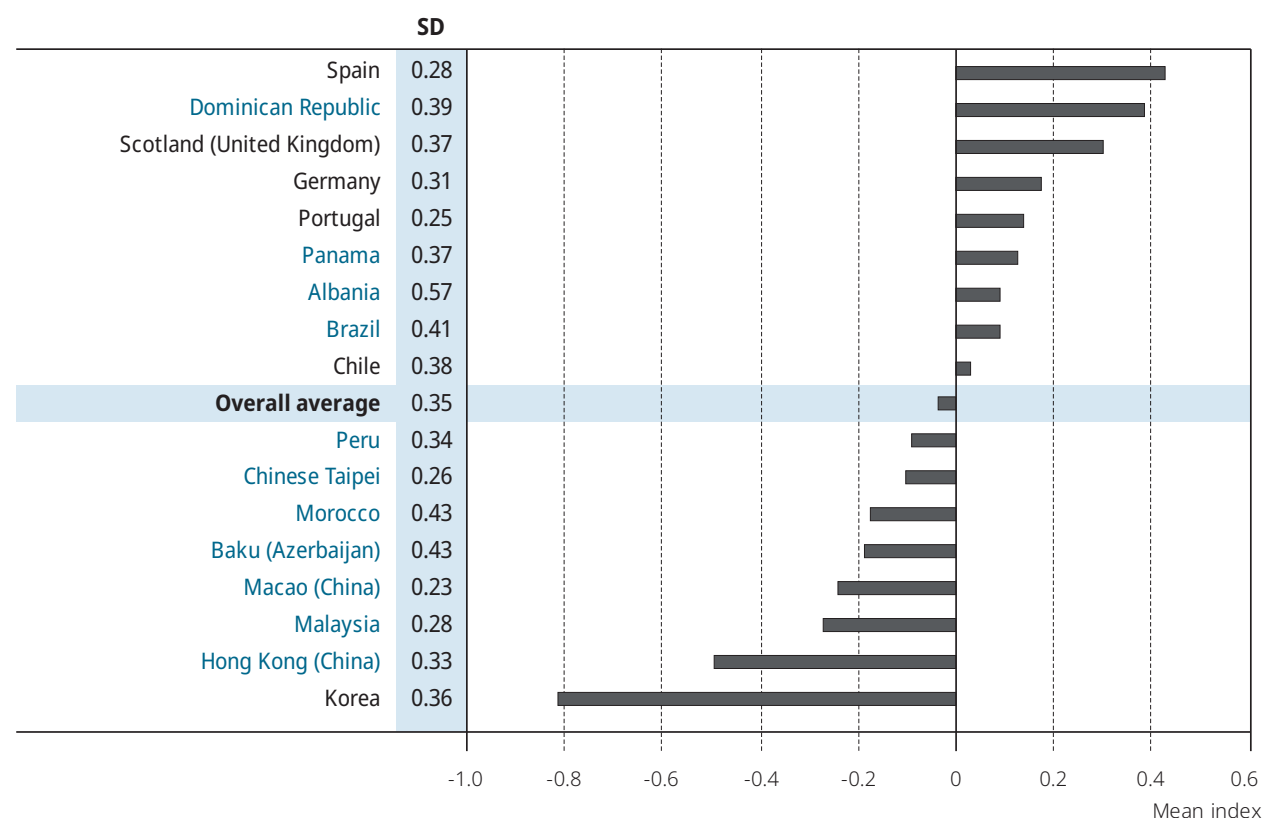
Box VI.8.1. **Teachers' multicultural and egalitarian beliefs**

Teachers were asked about their multicultural and egalitarian beliefs using four statements in the teacher questionnaire: "It is important for students to learn that people from other cultures can have different values"; "Respecting other cultures is something that students should learn as early as possible"; "In the classroom, it is important that students of different origins recognise the similarities that exist between them"; and "When there are conflicts between students of different origins, they should be encouraged to resolve the argument by finding common ground". Teachers reported whether these attitudes are: "shared amongst none or almost none of the teachers", "shared amongst some of the teachers", "shared amongst many of the teachers" and "shared amongst all or almost all of the teachers." Responses were used to construct an index with positive values indicating stronger multicultural and egalitarian beliefs.

Across the 18 countries and economies that distributed the teacher questionnaire, teachers in the Dominican Republic, Scotland (United Kingdom) and Spain showed the most prevalent multicultural and egalitarian beliefs, while those in Hong Kong (China), Korea, Macao (China) and Malaysia exhibited the least (Figure VI.8.11). In general, a large proportion of teachers reported that those beliefs are shared among many or all teachers. For instance, 74% of teachers reported that most or all of their colleagues share the belief that it is important for students to learn that people from other cultures can have different values. Some 78% of teachers reported that most or all of their colleagues share the belief that it is important that students of different origins recognise the similarities that exist between them; 80% reported that most or all of their colleagues share the belief that respecting other cultures is something that students should learn as early as possible; and 79% reported that most or all of their colleagues share the belief that when there are conflicts between students of different origins, they should be encouraged to resolve the argument by finding common ground.

Figure VI.8.11 **Teachers' multicultural and egalitarian beliefs**

Based on teachers' reports



Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of teachers' multicultural and egalitarian beliefs.

Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table VI.B1.8.15.

StatLink <https://doi.org/10.1787/888934171077>

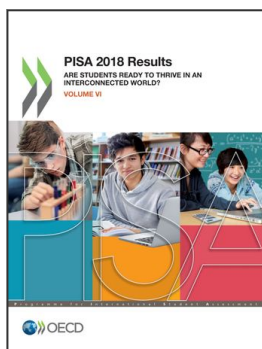
Note

- Analyses based on schools' socio-economic profile were restricted to the modal grade in which students were enrolled.
- The global competence sample from Israel does not include students in ultra-Orthodox schools and, thus, is not nationally representative. See PISA 2018 Technical Report (OECD, forthcoming) for details.
- The comparability of scaled indices across countries and economies is examined in Annex A5. The annex presents the findings of in-depth measurement invariance analyses for every index used in PISA 2018, Volume VI.

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