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**TITLE:**

**Stigmatisation, identity and educational exclusion in post-industrial societies: A qualitative synthesis of research from UK, Germany and the Nordic countries**

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The second page should include the title, an abstract of not more than 150 words, a 40-word bio for each author, and a character count.

## **Stigmatisation, identity and educational exclusion in post-industrial societies: A qualitative synthesis of research from UK, Germany and the Nordic countries**

### **Abstract (max 150 words):**

Post-industrial societies are characterized not only by the commonly described progressive lifestyle experimentations based on choice and preference in the middle classes, but also by segregation, social inequality and processes of extensive social and economic exclusion. In this paper our interest was directed toward educational responses to this situation, focusing particularly on youth from ethnic minority backgrounds. Questions about stigmatisation and marginalisation were explored in relation to meta-analyses of critical ethnographic studies of exclusion in education and society in England, Germany and the Nordic countries. Our analysis suggests that the key to understand and address the educational exclusion of minority students does not lie in the culture and background of the excluded, but in the dominance of upper classes in public sector politics and in the codes and modalities in educational organisations, policies and curricula.

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**Character count:** 7699 words

# **Stigmatisation, identity and educational exclusion in post-industrial societies: A qualitative synthesis of research from UK, Germany and the Nordic countries**

submission for a special issue on the subject of “Cultural Identity in Multilocal Spaces” of *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education* (DIME) by Dennis Beach, Bettina Fritzsche, Michalis Kakos

## **Introduction**

The 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century industrialisation processes created new employment markets in urban centres and an increase in urban populations (Geisen, Riegel & Yildiz, 2017, p. 3; Yildiz 2013). New, segregated quarters emerged for workers, many of whom were national and international migrants, and in several countries, such as for instance France, The USA, Sweden, Spain, Australia, Chile and Argentina (Beach & Sernhede, 2011, 2012), investigations have identified these segregated areas as vulnerable spaces with particular educational challenges (Borelius, 2010). In the paper we use a trans-local and trans-temporal methodological approach based on a cross-reading of ethnographic research and a meta-ethnographic synthesis (Noblit and Hare, 1988) of the findings of educational ethnographies conducted in three different European countries (Sweden, representing the Nordic countries, Germany and England, representing the UK) to address these issues.

The three countries to which our selected ethnographies refer do not hold equal status in our analysis, neither did we assume a position of unawareness of the commonalities of the findings between these ethnographies. Instead we chose to use the qualitative synthesis of the Nordic study as a starting point and we juxtaposed into this the findings of our analysis of ethnographies conducted in Germany and England. We do this in

direct response to globalisation and the need it creates to analyse not only national systems but also larger social orders within the capitalist world system. Following Marcus (1995) we see it as necessary for ethnography to move out from single sites and local situations “to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects and identities in diffuse time-spaces” (Marcus 1995: 96). The cross national meta-ethnography which we have conducted has not led to reinterpretation of the original ethnographies but is a means to overcome a national lens and to grasp trans-national phenomena.

## Method

Meta-ethnography was initially developed by George W. Noblit and Dwight Hare in 1988 as an approach to synthesising understanding from ethnographic accounts. It is based on Turner’s (1980) theory of social explanation and is inductive and interpretive in character (ibid, p. 16) based on the construction of interpretations (ibid, p. 11) of the concepts and the metaphors employed to guide and describe the analysis in and across a number of linked/related individual ethnographic studies.

Noblit and Hare supported their approach by arguing that all social explanation is implicitly or explicitly comparative, including even single case studies; in the sense that the researcher uses her or his experience, knowledge and/or expectations to establish what is of interest and provoke an explanatory ‘puzzle’, which s/he then solves by translating observed practices as analogies one to the other (Noblit & Hare, 1988:31).

Meta-ethnography is thus mainly a meta-analysis and a translation of interpretations. The analysed data is not the data collected in interviews and observations but the interpretations of the data undertaken in each study. Inevitably, our analysis has allowed some data drawn from interviews and observations to enter into the discussion but this is because of the significance of this evidence for the interpretations discussed.

Our starting point was the Nordic Study, which was based mainly but not exclusively on Swedish research. Because of this for the English and the German study our meta-analysis did not simply summarise results of ethnographic studies (Hammersley, 2010), but took into consideration the way the data were collected and their particular context. Our aim was not to compare the situation in the different nations, respectively regions, but rather to compare the results from ethnographic studies about race pedagogy/education and inclusion at particular sites in specific instances. This involved the following steps:

1. The identification of relevant ethnographic studies from each country/region for the national/regional meta-analysis and a negotiation and translation of the criteria of relevance for each meta-ethnography;
2. In each meta-ethnography:
  - a. Reading the research carefully to identify their main concepts and key findings.
  - b. Checking the relevance of each concept to each of the studies and trying to make cross-case translations as a foundation for making general claims.
  - c. Examining any eventual such claims against the total data capture.
  - d. Developing assertions that are then checked against the original data capture.
  - e. Highlighting the most consistent national/regional aspects and attempting to construct a national/regional research narrative concerning possible conjunctions that form possibilities for making common associations or a joint argument.
3. Comparing some relevant national aspects that are included in the ethnographic narratives and exploring the possibility for cross case generalisations.
4. Constructing a cross-national general narrative.

The main search criteria in the three meta-ethnographies were that they comprised recent (post-2010 mainly) ethnographic research focusing on education, teaching and learning in pre-schools or schools related to aspects of migration, race, or ethnicity. However, we have also selected some earlier studies (2000-10) which we considered to be significant for our analysis through having a specific focus on marginalisation. Our focus on these groups is not accompanied by an ambition to explore the experiences of exclusion of migrant and ethnic minority students comprehensively and exclusively however, but rather the concepts have been used as a convenient guide in the search of literature on the topic of our interest (stigmatisation, territorial segregation and educational exclusion). Therefore, our analysis remains untangled from discussions about identity, belonging and social exclusion as experienced by cultural, ethnic or national minority groups, but stays focused on the field of their experiences with regard to space, educational opportunities and marginalisation and how they may overlap with those by other, equally marginalised groups.

Our analysis involved a search for tendencies in each country/region that may indicate whether different findings (and findings from different places) can be compared and translated in relation to each-other and may have important things in common. Finally, our results have been discussed in relation to results on our topic in the recent debate in education and as expressed in international research articles.

### The Nordic study

The Nordic meta-ethnography is based on research conducted in multi-poverty, multi-cultural suburbs in Sweden and is related to the learning and creativity of young people inside and outside school contexts from these areas. It voices a very clear message about the creativity and learning potential of these young people that runs counter to the dominant media and political discourses surrounding their learning and behaviour.

These areas were associated with poverty and education failure among the white working class previously and then as now pupils there were treated and represented differently to those in other schools (Beach, Dovemark, Schwartz and Öhrn, 2013). However today this is taking place in far more difficult structural conditions, as the youth from territorially stigmatized areas are now living as an economic underclass without access to permanent forms of commodified labour (Beach and Sernhede, 2011, 2012, 2013; Gudmundsson, 2013; Lundberg, 2015). They are caught up in a world of inequality that they did little to create, where the richest 8 global economic individuals own and control more resources than the poorest 50% of the total global population and where the supply of a good education is being increasingly surrendered by the State to the whims of an economic market that is failing to mediate effectively in the interests of justice and equity (Beach, 2017a, 2017b). These issues have been addressed in educational ethnography. Details of that have been included in the present analysis are given in Table 1.

Table 1

Book length works: e.g. monographies and anthologies

1. Andersson, M. 2005. Urban Multi-Culture in Norway: Identity Formation among Immigrant Youth. New York: Edwin Mellen Press.
2. Aretun, Å. 2007. Barns 'växa vilt' och vuxnas vilja att forma: formell och informell socialisation i en muslimsk skola. Linköping: Linköpings universitet.
3. Arnesen, A.L. 2002. Ulikhet og marginalisering med referanse til kjønn og sosial bakgrunn. En etnografisk studie av sosial og diskursiv praksis i skolen. [Difference and marginalisation in relation to gender and social background: An ethnographic investigation of social and discursive practices in school]. HiO-rapport nr. 13/2002.

4. Author and Author. 2007. Replaced for review.
5. Bouakaz, L. 2007. Parental involvement in school: What promotes and what hinders parental involvement in an urban school. (PhD thesis) Malmö högskola, Lärarutbildningen.
6. Bunar, N. 2001. Skolan mitt i förorten. Stockholm: Symposion.
7. Gitz-Johansen, T. 2006. Den multikulturelle skole: integration og sortering (1. udgave ed.). Frederiksberg: Roskilde forlag.
8. Grüber, S. 2006. Skolan Gör Skillnad: Etnicitet och Institutionell Praktik. (Linköping Studies in Arts and Science 387). Linköping: Linköpings Universitet, Institutionen för Samhälls- och Välfärdsstudier.
9. Dovemark, M. 2004. Ansvar-Flexibilitet-Valrihet: En etnografisk studie om en skola i förändring. (Göteborg Studies in Educational Science). Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothenburgensis.
10. Jensen, S. Q. 2007. Fremmed, farlig og fræk: Unge mænd og etnisk/racial andenhed - mellem modstand og stilisering, Thesis (Phd), Aalborg University
11. Jonsson, R. 2007. Blatte betyder kompis. Om maskulinitet och språkanvändning i en högstadieskola. Stockholm: Ordfront.
12. Lundberg, O. 2015. On cultural racism and school learning: An ethnographic study. (Göteborg Studies in Educational Science). Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothenburgensis.
13. Lunneblad, J. 2006. Förskolan och mångfallden. (Göteborg Studies in Educational Science). Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothenburgensis.
14. Moinian, F. 2007. Negotiating identities : exploring children's perspectives on themselves and their lives. Stockholm: Stockholm Institute of Education Press (HLS förlag).

15. Rajander, S. 2009. School and Choice: An Ethnographic Study of a Primary School. Helsinki: PhD, Helsinki University.
16. Schwartz, A. 2013. Pedagogik, plats och prestationer en etnografisk studie om en skola i förorten (Göteborg Studies in Educational Science). Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothenburgensis.
17. Sernhede, O. 2007. AlieNation is My Nation. Om Hip hop och unga mäns utanförskap i det Nya Sverige. Stockholm: Ordfront.
18. Söderman, J. 2007. Rapp i käften. (Studies in Music and Music Education nr 10, Malmö Academy of Music). Lund: Lunds Universitet.
19. Widigson, M. 2013. Från miljonprogram till högskoleprogram: plats, agentskap och villkorad valfrihet. Academic Thesis. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg.

#### Book chapters

1. Brossard Børhaug, F. 2013. Conflicting anti-racist values in Norwegian and French civic education: To what extent can the curriculum discourses empower minority youth? In G. Gudmundsson, D. Beach and V. Vestel (Eds). Excluded youth in itself and for itself: Young people from immigrant families in Scandinavia. London: Tufnell Press.
2. Fangen, K. and I. Frønes. 2013. Structural barriers and individual agency: A mixed-methods approach to school-work transitions among young adult immigrants and descendants. In G. Gudmundsson, D. Beach and V. Vestel (Eds). Excluded youth in itself and for itself: Young people from immigrant families in Scandinavia. London: Tufnell Press.

3. Gitz-Johansen, T. 2003. The Problematic Ethnicity. In Democratic Education – Ethnographic Challenges, ed. D. Beach, T. Gordon, and E. Lahelma, 66-79. London: Tufnell Press.
4. Gudmundson, G. 2013. Introduction: Excluded youth in itself and for itself - Young people from immigrant families in Scandinavia. In G. Gudmundsson, D. Beach and V. Vestel (Eds). Excluded youth in itself and for itself: Young people from immigrant families in Scandinavia London: Tufnell Press.
5. Jensen, S. Q. 2013. Subculture, ethnicity and the politics of (post)modernity. In G. Gudmundsson, D. Beach and V. Vestel (Eds) Excluded youth in itself and for itself: Young people from immigrant families in Scandinavia. London: Tufnell Press.
6. Lappalainen, S. 2003. Celebrating internationality: Constructions of nationality at pre-school. In D. Beach, T. Gordon and E. Lahelma (Eds) Democratic education Ethnographic Challenges. London: Tufnell Press.
7. Lindbäck, J. and Sernhede, O. 2013. Divided city – divided school: Upper secondary school students and urban space. In G. Gudmundsson, D. Beach and V. Vestel (Eds). Excluded youth in itself and for itself: Young people from immigrant families in Scandinavia. London: Tufnell Press.
8. Mainsah, H. 2013. Transnational literacy and identity in digitally mediated contexts: The case of youth in Norway. In G. Gudmundsson, D. Beach and V. Vestel(Eds). Excluded youth in itself and for itself: Young people from immigrant families in Scandinavia London: Tufnell Press.

#### Journal articles

1. Andersen, C. 2006. Troubling Ethnicity and Cultural Diversity in Norwegian Preschool. Journal of Australian Research in Early Childhood Education. 13, no.1: 3-11.

2. Andersson, M. 2003. Immigrant youth and the dynamics of marginalization. *Young*, Vol. 11, no. 1: 74-89.
3. Arnesen, A.L. & Lundahl, L. 2006 Still Social and Democratic? Inclusive Education Policies in the Nordic Welfare States. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 50(3): 285-300.
4. Borelius, U. 2010. Två förorter, *Utbildning & Demokrati* 19, 11-24.
5. Bunar, N. 2008. If we only had a few more Swedes. *Ungdomsforskning*, 2. 39-44.
6. Bunar, N. 2008. The Free Schools Riddle: Between traditional social democratic, neo-liberal and multicultural tenets, *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 52(4): 423-438.
7. Bunar, N. 2010. Choosing for quality or inequality: current perspectives on the implementation of school choice policy in Sweden. *Journal of Education Policy*, 25, 1–18.
8. Lappalainen, S. 2004. They say it's a cultural matter: Gender and Ethnicity at pre-school. *European Educational Researcher Journal*, 3, no.3: 642-656.
9. Lunneblad, J. and Johansson, T. 2012. Learning from each other? Multicultural pedagogy, parental education and governance, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 15:5, 705-723, DOI: 10.1080/13613324.2011.624508.
10. Mainsah, H. 2011. 'I could well have said I was Norwegian but nobody would believe me': Ethnic minority youths' self-presentation on social networks sites, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 14(2): 179–193.
11. Schwartz, A. 2013. Pupil Responses to a Saviour Pedagogy: an ethnographic study, *European Educational Research Journal*, 11, 601–608.

12. Schwartz, A. and Öhrn, E. 2012. Fellowship and solidarity? Secondary students' responses to strong classification and framing in education, in W Pink (Ed), Schools and marginalized youth: an international perspective. Cresshill, NJ: Hampton Press.
13. Trondman, M., R. Taha and A. Lund. 2012. For Aïsha: On identity as potentiality, *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 19(4), 533-543.
14. Yang, C-L. 2016. Encounters between the 'oppressed' and the 'oppressor': rethinking Paulo Freire in anti-racist feminist education in Sweden, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 19:4, 835-855, DOI: 10.1080/13613324.2014.88542
15. Øland, T. 2012. 'Human potential' and progressive pedagogy: a long cultural history of the ambiguity of 'race' and 'intelligence', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 15:4, 561-585.

*Table 1 Publishing details regarding the analysed Nordic texts*

These works have also been analysed and written on previously and the article section is grounded heavily in a second synthesising analysis from these research products. They are presented in Table 2 (below).

Table 2: The previous Nordic meta-ethnographic products

1. Beach, D. 2010. Socialisation and Commercialisation of Education and Health Professions in Europe: Questions of Global Class and Gender. *Current Sociology*, 58, 551-569.
2. Beach, D. 2017a. Personalisation and the education commodity: a meta-ethnographic analysis. *Ethnography and Education*, 12(2), 148–164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457823.2016.1247738>

3. Beach, D. 2017b. Whose justice is this! Capitalism, class and education justice and inclusion in the Nordic countries: race, space and class history. *Educational Review*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2017.1288609>
4. Beach, D., Dovemark, M., Schwartz, A. & Öhrn, E. 2013. Complexities and Contradictions of Educational Inclusion: A Meta-Ethnographic Analysis, *Nordic Studies in Education*, 33, 254-268.
5. Beach, D. & Lunneblad, J. 2011. Ethnographic Investigations of Issues of Race in Scandinavian Education Research, *Ethnography and Education*, 6, 29-44.
6. Beach, D. & Sernhede, S. 2011. From Learning to Labour to Learning for Marginality: School Segregation in Swedish Suburbs, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 32, 257-274.
7. Beach, D. & Sernhede, O. (2012). Learning Processes and Social Mobilization in a Swedish Metropolitan Hip-Hop Collective, *Urban Education*, 47, 939-958.

*Table 1: The previous Nordic meta-ethnographic products*

One of the most consistent themes or messages from the analysis concerned how the Nordic welfare states have recently undergone extensive changes within which the education politics have shifted from comprehensive ambitions for common access, full social inclusion and equity, to decentralisation and individual choice (Wiborg, 2013). However, this is not to say that the Nordic education systems were perfectly just, inclusive and equitable before these reforms, as no-matter how highly these systems have been internationally proclaimed, the welfare state projects that preceded neoliberal restructuring were both contradictory and never fully completed.

A second point that was picked up consistently concerned territorial stigmatisation and its effects, which was described as representing the most profound challenge in

relation to possibilities for all pupils to gain a worthy and fulfilling education (Gudmundsson, 2013; Sernhede, 2007). It relates to low socio-economic (and today increasingly trans-nationalist) highly segregated housing areas and the strong devaluation of those who live there and their culture as worthy building blocks for a globally connected economically successful knowledge society (Borelius, 2010). These areas are portrayed in national politics and the media as dangerous places whose people need to be changed in the interests of their integration and the nation's economic future well-being and prosperity (Beach, 2017a). They are marked out as separate and distinct from other communities (Beach, 2017b); as a modern form of *hors-lieux* and spaces of rejection, after Agier (2009).

Academic theses by Anneli Schwartz (2013) and Laid Bouakaz (2007) illustrate the educational situation well. Making use of concepts from Bourdieu, but also Basil Bernstein, Schwartz research was based on an ethnographic investigation of the use of an individuating pedagogy that was marketed by a national entrepreneur and had been specifically selected and adopted for what had been identified as failing schools in multi-cultural/multi-ethnic contexts. The pedagogy was and adopted by the local authority but was dogged by several contradictions Schwartz indicated (2013). One of these concerned the constitution of the pedagogy as a pedagogy of achievement and possibility within a discourse about what weak pupils from difficult backgrounds need in order to compensate for their inability to learn due to deficiencies of motivation and language. This discourse positioned the pupils as struggling and unmotivated individuals from difficult areas with educationally uninterested parents who needed a compensatory kind of pedagogy more than others did in order to learn (Bouakaz 2007; Schwartz 2013).

However, there was also a second contradiction here. This time in terms of the ethnographic details about pupils and their learning. Rather than being uninterested in

their education and conditions, and basically unable to learn without special help in the ways predicted by the pedagogy, the pupils were very conscious of their situation and clearly aware of what was being signalled about how they and their backgrounds were viewed and valued. Moreover they had also constructed an alternative discourse inside the school and community. This stated that despite the 'formal failure' of their schools the pupils were not deficient and unmotivated but rather capable and interested.

Thus, two sides of the story about education needs emerge. One derives from official knowledge about schools as ineffective with unmotivated pupils who are incapable of raising themselves above a very basic level of learning. The other comes from the ethnographic studies. It states that youth from migrant intensive multi-poverty suburban areas are motivated learners who with the help of parents, teachers, each-other and other associations actively appropriate school knowledge as a crucial resource in their life- and learning projects were also provided.

Research by Sernhede (2007) and Söderman (2007) fit within this account. Their studies focussed on informal learning amongst young men from suburban areas and identified extensive examples of a strong capacity for advanced learning and communication that threw a significant challenge to common representations of these young people as simply unmotivated failures. It showed that these students are socially constructed as 'impossible, failing and hopeless', but that they are far from this. The 'hopeless label' is instead ideologically and politically generated in order to localise the difficulties of performance in a particular way, as problems of schools that are in crisis due to an over-abundance of trauma filled pupils from trauma filled backgrounds who don't speak 'our language'. But this is simply not the case the ethnographies point out.

The creativity and learning of the Swedish rappers in Sernhede's (2007) and Söderman's (2007) investigations are illustrative here. As pointed out in Beach (2017a,

2017b), their positive learning derived from and related back to lived cultural experiences of material conditions in the suburbs, and was communicated through linguistic and other skills gained from formal education that also required an educated audience to make good sense from the art forms that were used. It intertwined shared experiences through pedagogical communication within aesthetic practices that raised questions about why neighbourhoods and their citizens are labelled as deficient when they clearly are not and how increasingly racialised class divisions in the urban landscape can be understood in relation to this. It also pointed out that school was respected as a positive opportunity, particularly now that learning to labour is no longer a viable alternative. School wasn't where the youth in question felt they were most devalued and degraded. On the contrary schools offered relatively safe spaces to meet with friends and do interesting things they said.

### **The UK Study**

The association between socio-economic background, educational attainment and future employment in the UK is one of the strongest among similar countries (OECD 2012:15). British children from disadvantaged backgrounds do worse than those from advantaged backgrounds by a greater amount than elsewhere" (Hirsch, 2007, p. 3) and that this has detrimental effects on their future employment and social status.

The above, and generally what we know in recent years about the relationship between deprivation and its relation to educational attainment in the UK is based largely on quantitative research and on the analysis of school results in association with number of free school meals. With regard to the relationship of the above to migrant and ethnic minorities in particular research has been largely based on surveys and on the association of the above data with data on ethnicity and religion drawn from schools'

enrolment forms. Analysis of Census data seem to validate also the concern that ethnic communities in Great Britain are becoming increasingly spatially concentrated (Stillwell, 2010). Recent qualitative studies that exist in this area seem to share a more general focus and they are concerned with the study of social deprivation in the UK. In terms of methods, these seem to be largely based on semi-structured and focus group interviews and have avoided the longitudinal, in-depth engagement with the field (Pemberton et al., 2013, p. 7). In the relatively small number of recent educational ethnographies that we identified (see table 3) we noticed that although these do not ignore structural inequalities, their focus has been mainly on the study of the human relationships within education. More specifically their attention is on the phenomenon of institutional racism in education (Carlile, 2011), the role of religion in migrant students' schooling experience (Bhatti, 2011), the role of language learning (Moskal, 2014a), and to community cohesion (Reynolds, 2008). By stating this we do not suggest that social inequalities and the conditions which describe the broader space within which education operates are absent from the analysis of the ethnographic findings in Britain. However, these seem to take a complimentary role, they are often presented at the stage of the description of the field and the analysis does not include a description of the ways that lived experiences in modern education prepare students to live in the precariat. In the few cases that we are offered such opportunity the analysis shows that the links between students' educational experiences and life opportunities are not dissimilar to those that were revealed by educational ethnographies in Britain in 1970s and 1980s.

Table 3: The reviewed texts for the British Study

<u>Journal articles:</u>
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Bhatti, G. (2011). Outsiders or insiders? Identity, educational success and Muslim young men in England. *Ethnography and Education*, 6(1), 81–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457823.2011.553081>

Carlile, A. (2011). An ethnography of permanent exclusion from school: revealing and untangling the threads of institutionalised racism. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 15(2), 175–194. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2010.548377>

Moskal, M. (2014a). Polish migrant youth in Scottish schools: conflicted identity and family capital. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17(2), 279–291. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2013.815705>

Moskal, M. (2014b). Polish migrant youth in Scottish schools: conflicted identity and family capital. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17(2), 279–291. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2013.815705>

Research report:

Reynolds, G. (2008). The Impacts and Experiences of Immigrant Children in UK Secondary Schools', Working Paper, no. 47, Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, United Kingdom.

Table 1 2: The reviewed texts for the British Study

Moskal's study offers such an example allowing us to see the process of social reproduction in the association between the social isolation experienced by migrant families who find affordable housing in rural areas with the educational isolation experienced by migrant students. Using language as the entry for her analysis Moskal (2014a, 2014b) describes how the lack of resources prevent local schools in such areas from offering appropriate linguistic support to students and translation services

to students and to their families. Appropriately, Moskal and Carlile (2011) discuss the impact that the lack of such resources has not only on the educational provision and the quality of students' experience from formal education but also on the communication between school and families and on the integration of these families in the host communities.

Carlile (2011) recognizes in the availability, use (and misuse) of resources a form of institutional racism the effect of which go beyond the institution and they exacerbate the difficulties of migrant parents to become involved in the education (and out-of-home life) of their children. In that way the lack and misuse of resources does not only further the alienation of migrant families from the host society but allows this alienation to penetrate the relations within these families, affecting particularly the relationship of children with their parents. In practical terms, miscommunication with families facilitates "unofficial exclusions" (managed moves) which effectively seal off these students' chances of academic success. With regards to the relationships within the families, the exacerbation of the isolation of migrant families lead children to a search of new spaces which grant them recognition by the host societies, loosening the ties with their socially isolated parents.

In the research by both Carlile and Moskal we see the significance of social capital in migrants' (adults and young) engagement with social networks in the host community. School provides the opportunity to (and forces) students to interact with a wider network than that of the working parents who are often forced to follow a downward mobility pattern and get trapped in narrow professional networks populated by other migrants (often from the same ethnicity or country of origin). Children then are forced to operate not just as language translators for their parents but as cultural brokers,

which can turn family relationships to a battlefield between cultural associations and emerging belongings.

Children often refuse to assume the role of the family broker and sometimes, as Carlile shows, even to communicate effectively with their parents. To use Moskal's assertions about cultural capital, perhaps this is an indication of the adoption by them of the host country's recognition and of the associated value attribution to certain cultural capitals. As Moskal points out the 'social capital that they choose does not always 'work to promote educational outcomes, and sometimes, social relations within a family or in peer group help to reinforce behaviours that work against academic achievement' (2014b, p. 286). Trapped in this confined space, students' obvious choices seem to be between the sharing with their families of belonging to a space of non-integration or to limit of their chances to achieve success in the terms of the host country's value system. This is not a comfortable place to be neither for parents who experience isolation within their own families nor for young people who are then situated in an 'in-between space', strange to their families and disdained by the host community (Bhatti, 2011).

What we think that can be said from the synthesis of the British ethnographies is that the educational experiences of migrant students instead of preventing, they often contribute to the formation of pockets of isolation for young migrants and for their families. The complexity of migrant students' situation which involves conflicting loyalties and comprehension of new measures of success seems to be too difficult to be grasped by formal education. Importantly, formal education seems unable to offer to migrant students access to a range of choices that is comparable to those available to middle-class, native students. Instead, the space available to migrant students is

often situated within contexts of deprivation and of limited chances for upward social mobility. Considering what we know about the dominant discourses with regard to the explanations of poverty and deprivation in Britain, we think that it is justifiable to assume that from within such spaces young migrants are more likely to suffer another form of isolation, that which constructs the poor “as ‘other’, distinct from mainstream society with alternate value systems and distinct behavioural patterns” (Pemberton et al., 2016 p. 2). Confined in geographical spaces of deprivation and in multiple othernesses they are not only the vulnerable participants in a process of social reproduction (Collins et al., 2013) but they are often the victims of the behavioural explanations of poverty which currently dominate discussions about deprivation and of the hostility which is often directed from politicians and the media towards those who live in poverty (Pemberton et al., 2016, p. 2).

### **The German Study**

Numerous qualitative and quantitative studies in the last decades have hinted at the comparably minor participation in education and learning (“Bildungsbeteiligung”) of migrant children and youth (Radtke 2004). Even if this participation has increased in the last years (King & Koller 2009, p. 15), migrant children and youth still experience less pre-school support and are more often assigned to the least academic “Hauptschulen” in the segregated German school system. Also notable is that migrant pupils are sent to special schools at rates that are far above the national average (ibid.; Diefenbach 2010, p. 159).

The qualitative synthesis undertaken for this paper is based on ethnographies in the field of education exploring the relation between migrant students’ experiences of segregation and conducted since 1999. Most of them highlight discriminating practices of educational organisations and especially of schools. (Table 4)

Table 4: The reviewed texts for the German Study

Book length works: Monographies and anthologies (7)

Baumgärtner, E. (2009). Lokalität und kulturelle Heterogenität. Selbstverortung und Identität in der multi-ethnischen Stadt. Bielefeld: transkript.

Geisen, Th., Riegel, Chr. & Yildiz, E. (eds.) (2017). Migration, Stadt und Urbanität. Perspektiven auf die Heterogenität migrantischer Lebenswelten. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Kaya, V. (2015). HipHop zwischen Istanbul und Berlin. Eine (deutsch-)türkische Jugendkultur im lokalen und transnationalen Beziehungsgeflecht. Bielefeld: transkript.

Kuhn, M. (2013). Professionalität im Kindergarten. Eine ethnographische Studie zur Elementarpädagogik in der Migrationsgesellschaft. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Nieswandt, M. (2014). Hausaufgaben yapmak. Ein ethnographischer Blick auf den Familienalltag. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

Sauter, Sven. (2000). Wir sind "Frankfurter Türken": adoleszente Ablösungsprozesse in der deutschen Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Schriften zur Ethnopschoanalyse, 3. Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel

Schiffauer, W., Baumann, G., Kastoryano, R. & Vertovec, St. (eds.) (2002). Staat – Schule – Ethnizität. Politische Sozialisation von Immigrantenkindern in vier europäischen Ländern. Münster u.a.: Waxmann.

Weber, M. (2003). Heterogenität im Schulalltag. Konstruktion ethnischer und geschlechtlicher Unterschiede. Opladen: Leske und Budrich.

Wellgraf, St. (2012). Hauptschüler. Zur gesellschaftlichen Produktion von Verachtung. Bielefeld: transcript.

Book chapters (8):

Chamakalayil, L., Gilliéron, G., Günes, Sevda C., Hill, M. & Imširović, E. (2017). Marginalisierte Quartiere? Positionierungen und Deutungen von Bewohner\_innen. In Th. Geisen, Chr. Riegel & E. Yildiz (eds.), Migration, Stadt und Urbanität. Perspektiven auf die Heterogenität migrantischer Lebenswelten (p. 175-197). Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Diehm, I. & Kuhn, M. (2005). Ethnische Unterscheidungen in der frühen Kindheit. In F. Hamburger, F. Badawia & M. Hummrich (Eds.), Migration und Bildung (p. 221-231). Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Mannitz, S. (2007). Integration und Individualisierung: Heranwachsende aus Immigrantenfamilien auf steinigen Wegen zur eigenen Lebensführung. In R. Johler, A. Thiel, J. Schmid & R. Treptow (eds.), Europa und seine Fremden (p. 146-163). Bielefeld: transkript

Soysal, L. (2004a). Diversität der Erfahrung, Erfahrung von Diversität: Jugendkultur türkischer Migranten in Berlin. In M. Sökefeld (ed.), Jenseits des Paradigmas kultureller Differenz. Neue Perspektiven auf Einwanderer aus der Türkei (p. 139-162). Bielefeld: transkript

Tietze, N. (2004). Muslimische Selbstbeschreibungen unter jungen Männern. Differenzkonstruktionen und die Forderung nach Respekt. In M. Sökefeld (ed.): Jenseits des Paradigmas kultureller Differenz. Neue Perspektiven auf Einwanderer aus der Türkei (p. 123 – 137). Bielefeld: transkript.

Tietze, N. (2006). Ausgrenzung als Erfahrung. Islamisierung des Selbst als Sinnkonstruktion in der Prekarität. In H. Bude & A. Willisch (eds.), *Das Problem der Exklusion* (p. 147 – 173). Hamburg: Hamburger edition.

Vardar, A. 2011. Die Beteiligung von Migrantenern an einer deutschen Grund- und Hauptschule. In Arbeitskreis Ethnologie und Migration e.V. (Eds.), *Migration – Bürokratie □ Alltag* (p. 119 – 141). Berlin u.a.: Lit-Verlag.

Journal articles (3):

den Besten, O. (2010). Visualising Social Divisions in Berlin: Children's After-School Activities in Two Contrasted City Neighbourhoods. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 11 (2010), 2, 20.

Soysal, L. (2004b). Rap, Hiphop, Kreuzberg: Scripts of/for Migrant Youth Culture in the WorldCity Berlin. *New German Critique*, (92), 62 – 81.

Kurban, F., & Tobin, J. (2009). 'They Don't like Us': Reflections of Turkish Children in a German Preschool. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 10(1), 24–34. <https://doi.org/10.2304/ciec.2009.10.1.24>

*Table 3: The reviewed texts for the German Study*

The different ethnographies illustrate that the systematic disadvantages are not only related to the German educational system, but, as in the Nordic case, are often linked with having residence in segregated and economically deprived areas. This was also identified by Sabine Mannitz, Christine Riegel and Stefan Wellgraf who pointed out that living in places like Berlin-Neukölln goes along with experiences of stigmatisation (Mannitz 2007; Wellgraf 2012, p.30ff.) but also by earlier ethnographies in Tübinger Vorstadt (Held & Riegel, 1999; Riegel 1999). (See also: Baumgärtner, 2009; Tietze, 2006). However, as they then added, nevertheless, many youth still identify positively with their area and see themselves as “Neuköllner” rather than as Turkish (Mannitz,

2007, p. 187). This identity prevailed even though compared to more privileged areas they have to deal with significantly “poorer” spatial worlds, as den Besten (2010) pointed out. Also in a recent ethnography on migrant families’ life strategies’ conducted in segregated areas in Germany, Austria and Switzerland (Chamakalayil et al., 2017), the authors make clear, that their interview partners were able to craft creative new interpretations, re-articulations and adjournments of stigmatising and discriminating discourses on their areas. Moreover, they also perceived themselves as powerful in relation to those discourses, even if they experienced them as ambivalent (ibid., p. 194). This is again in keeping with the Nordic component.

The problem of educational stereotyping, which was highlighted in the Nordic Study, has also been explored in several ethnographies in the German education system. In a cross-cultural ethnography on political socialisation of immigrant children in Great Britain, Germany, France and the Netherlands published by Schiffauer, Baumann, Kastoryano and Vertovec in 2002, the German school system in comparison has the most difficulties to accommodate the realities of a multi-ethnic society (ibid., p. 17). One of the reasons for those difficulties is a dominant association of “culture” with membership of a certain parent culture, which therefore becomes an obstacle for integration, bearing per se a potential for conflict. Analyses of school books showed as well the widespread reproduction of an assumption that ethnical background, culture and nationality are inevitably interconnected (Schiffauer et al., 2002, p. 68ff.; Mannitz, 2007, p. 129).

Also in relation to school and pre-school teachers’ professionalism many ethnographies are rather critical – apparently more critical than the ethnographies in the Nordic Study. Schiffauer, Baumann, Kastoryano and Vertovec (2002, p. 196f.) show for instance in relation to an analysed school in Berlin, that teachers tend to call into account the number of pupils from migrant families for the problems they have in

their professional life. Simultaneously some of the teachers are perfectly aware of school's responsibility in reproducing societies' inequalities. In this sense, one teacher said: "Those Turkish pupils, which come from such a ghetto milieu in a German school are sold down the river, absolutely chanceless; there we (sic) are producing their further social decline".<sup>1</sup>

In more recent studies and in the field of pre-school education processes of "doing ethnicity" and experiences of discrimination have as well been analysed (Diehm & Kuhn, 2005; Kuhn, 2013; Kurban & Tobin, 2009). Summarising her results in an ethnography on schools' role of integrating minorities, Sabine Mannitz (2007, p. 297) states that the German education system fails in a blatant way to oppose the potentially negative influences of social discrimination of migrant youth (ibid., p. 297). In his ethnographic study on "Hauptschüler"<sup>2</sup> Stefan Welgraf (2012) speaks of society's production of contempt in relation to those students and discusses very critically the mythological aspect of an educational system claiming to open up the same chances for every student.

Some ethnographies in the German context also explored youth creative activities in deprived areas. Examples come from HipHop culture (Kaya, 2015; Soysal, 2004a, 2004b) and other youth cultural projects, which are inspired by global discourses and ideas but realised in the local context of an inner city area (Soysal, 2004a). In an ethnography undertaken in the field of anthropology and published in 2015, Verda Kaya argues that manners of self-ethnisation via rap-music or the opening of Turkish discos in Berlin were a self-confident response by migrant youth to the social

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<sup>1</sup> Original quote: „Diese türkischen Schüler, die aus einem solchen Ghetto-milieu kommen, sind in einer deutschen Schule verraten und verkauft, absolut chancenlos; da produzieren wir (sic) schon deren weiteren gesellschaftlichen Abstieg.“ (ibid., p. 197)

<sup>2</sup> Students of the „Hauptschule“, which in Germany's segregated school system is the secondary school meant to receive the most underachieving students.

discriminations they experienced (Kaya, 2015, p. 227). However, approaching it from a different perspective and using the observations made in our UK meta-ethnography we could also see this response as a temporary outcome of this youth's negotiations of their cultural associations. This outcome is not necessarily an indicator of a fixed identification with a particular ethnic minority group and of failed integration but as a conscious use of their flexible and multicultural identifications as a response to their experiences of segregation and discrimination.

### **Closing remarks**

Our meta-analysis has been developed from ethnographic research in education contexts in some of the poorest suburbs in rich countries in Northern and Western Europe. These ethnographic investigations show how formal education supports a devaluation of young migrants while the meta-ethnographic analysis reveals how it is left to the creativity and vitality of the youth in question to belie this labelling and stigmatisation and to develop new associations with their cultural heritage and negotiate their identifications. These negotiations, their creativity and their learning seems to happen despite rather than because of their schooling experiences. Their choices, their creativity, even their preparedness to use schools, as the Nordic study showed, for what they can truly offer to them, suggest that it is predominantly the attitudes that are expressed in formal education politics and ideology toward them and their places, culture, beliefs, religions, traditions and families that are deficit, not the things in themselves. If there is something for policy makers and practitioners to take from this, it is that policies for protection and inclusion of the vulnerable, may in fact be contributing to their vulnerability and to their marginalisation. Therefore, a change of perspectives on the process of exclusion and on how inclusion can be achieved could be far more beneficial than any system of protection, especially if this is to be

constructed upon (and therefore justify) their portrayal as being hopeless or impossible. Our analysis suggests that these pupils are far from being hopeless and impossible. Instead they are required to battle a "hopeless label" that has been ideologically and politically generated in a way that localises the difficulties of performance in a particular way and which associates hopelessness with deprivation, with culture and often with ethnicity. This is an important recognition however. Because if it is thus not the culture and background of the young people in these places that is the problem, it has to be something else, such as possibly the history of dominance, power and exploitation of the white upper-class, the values of the bourgeois cultural heritage of the white middle class and the history of dominance of this class in public sector politics due to the assumed superiority of its codes and modalities in educational organisations, policies and curricula.

The history of urban segregation, class and ethnic, as well as place stigmatisation, and discursive and material exploitation, all factor into these problems, as does the contemporary concentration of poverty and unemployment, the bourgeois sense of self superiority, and the way its class values are forced into schools as official knowledge. These are problems that have been recognised before, such as for instance by Bourdieu and Passeron in *La Reproduction* from 1970 and they continue to form a major obstacle for the education of dominated groups.

One thing is new in the present contexts. This is the way the effects of recent educational politics have worked out. The introduction of educational market politics is sometimes asserted to cause inequality. However, we feel the evidence for this is scant. Marketization doesn't create inequalities but at the same time it does nothing either to address the problems of accessibility of marginalised groups to choice possibilities. Inclusion as educational aim of educational institutions operating in line with market politics seems to be a paradox but this is not to say that educational

exclusion is a new phenomenon. Inequality has always existed in the education systems of the investigated countries and although market politics are having a worsening effect, young people themselves have responded in many different and creative ways to the threats and problems that confront them.

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